Race Problem-1927
United States.

THE CASE OF THE NEGRO TEN YEARS AFTER THE WORLD WAR

BY KELLEY MILLER

The world thinkers are now looking backwards over the past ten years to determine what, if any, benefit the World war has brought to mankind, The New York World recently contained a symposium of American and European publicists. There is no concensus of opinion. No single authority is able to point out in a convincing way the undisputed advantage such as flowed from the French Revolution, the Revolutionary War or the Civil War. Of one thing all must be convinced, and that is, if the statesmen of the world could have foreseen ten years ago the conditions which they now observe, they never would have precipitated this titanic struggle. Mr. Wilson's fourteen points have become the tetradecalogue of ridicule. His high-sounding and sonorous phrases have become the object of sport and jest. His League of Peace has become a piece of a league. The world has been upset, and no one can say, how it will resettle. It may be that we miss the advantage of perspective. We may be too close to the events to give them their proper placement and appraisement.

When we confine our attention to the American Negro, however, we have a much easier and simpler task. The Negro as a group, had no immediate concern in the World War. The quarrels between the Germans and the Russians, French and Englishmen were no cconcern of his. The destruction of autocracy in Germany had absolutely no meaning to the Negroes in Georgia. The Negro follows the flag wherever it leads. His not to reason why; his but to do and die. He responded to his country's call. Whether by volutary enlistment or conscription, when the general roll was called, he was there. He responded to the call of Woodrow Wilson, four hundred thousand strong.

Whatever advantage or disadvantage the race derived from the war, was incidental, and not calculated. He was requisitioned for his manpower alone. No more account of his personal gain was considered than was accorded the Hessian hireling during the Revolutionary War. I called on Secretary Baker, along with the first delegation to urge a training camp for colored officers. We found him keenly sympathetic, though hedged in by the traditional prejudice of the Army and the proscriptive policy of the Democratic party.

We had high hopes that the Negro would wrest from the prejudiced and unwilling disposition of the army recognition as an officer in the federal army by tested fitness and acknowledged capacity to lead his own race according to the requirements of war. Thanks to Secretary Baker, the camp at Des Moines, was established. There was every reason to believe that the Negro was to be given a squarer if not a square deal. I visited the camp and addressed the cadets when their hopes ran highest. Negro officers were shortly to be commissioned within a prescribed rank in the army. But in the meantime Houston had happened. There was a sudden change in public sentiment and a sudden shift in the program of commissions to be awarded. The time of training was prolonged. The race was sorely disappointed. Houston sounded the death knell of the Negro's hope for effectively functioning in the army above the level of a private soldier. The word, I am convinced was passed down from on high: "so far shalt thou go and no further." The few Negroes who received commissions as officers were so handicapped and embarassed, that effective functioning was impossible. The Negro came out with a lower level of esteem as a qualifyable officer than he entered. The effect has been far reaching. Negro leadership in Negro affairs has been greatly discredited throughout the whole circle of racial life and activity.

The World War created a vacuum literary form and artistic features, rank not unfovorable with white Journalism. The Negro is beginning to pay serious attention to his own press, which after all is the most effective voice of the people.

Strange to say, the war has not made the Negro more progressive and assertive of his rights as has been the case with all other suppressed races and classes in all parts of the world. Our militant organizations are, if anything, less radical than their ante-bellum prototypes. The N. A. A. C. P., while more efficient in method, is perhaps milder in spirit than the Afro-American League which preceded it. The Y. M. C. A. has not accentuated its militancy for racial rights. The Urban League is pursuing the wonted tenor of its way. Negro churches are certainly not more assertive, and in some ways seem more susceptible to the soothing balm of white overlordship than they were ten years ago. The radical magazines which sprung up like mushrooms just before the war have all but one passed out of existence. The Crisis has remained militant, but not radical. The Messenger alone holds the edge of radicalism. The Negro politicians are as conservative as Taft and Coolidge.

Dr. Locke has tried to convince us that the new Negro has arrived, but when we look for him we find he is mainly grinding out erotic literary output under sponsorship of the Jew. He does not yet display either the intellectual or volitional vigor to transform conditions or to bring new things to pass.

The best proof of the Negro's essentially conserveative nature is seen in the fact that he hardly seems aware of the current of movement that is sweeping through the world. The war has brought the race certain concrete advantages of incalcuable value, but it has not touched his spirit nor aroused his imagination.

DARROW AND SOUTH

On Sunday, Editor Trotter was the speaker at the Community Forum of 464 Massachusetts Avenue. He was introduced by the president, Dr. Albert Saunders, as a hero appreciated away from home. Mr. Trotter spoke on Darrow and the South, with reference to the recent report that he had been seriously threatened in Alabama for his honest speeches on the race issue.

The basis of Mr. Trotter's speech was the following report from the Chicago Defender, which he called the first of that modern race miracle, the mammoth Colored American weekly newspaper:

"I can't help you; you will have to help yourselves; but I advise an attitude of defiance toward the white men who calls himself your friend.' How has he manifested his friendship?

"By hanging and burning you, by making you do his work and use his back door, refusing to let you enter the best hotels and use the best coach in the train, and making you sit in the rear of the street car.

'The only front place the white man has ever given you is in the battle line. There you can stop the bullets; but when you return home you can't use the sidewalks. You have to use the road. What can the Colored man do to help himself

"I see you pray, but I don't see why. Your God must be a 'white' man, considering the way He treats you. No doubt there will be a 'Jim Crow' law in your heaven when you get there.

More Work—Less Songs

"You can sing. I heard you sing 'Sweet Land of Liberty,' but I don' see how you can. I don't sing it because I know it's not true.

"But you can work and gain a place for yourself if you can do better work than the white man. You are being recognized and you have some friends who are not afraid to sit at the table with you.

"I have done so, and even drank bootleg liquor with you; and in what better way can friendship be manifested?"

Compares the Speeches

Mr. Trotter undertook to prove that this speech was genuine, though the threatening, etc., had been much denied, by quoting essentially similar excerpts from the verbatim report of a speech by Darrow at Washington, D. C., the next week, in Pittsburgh Courier, which the editor praised as another specimen of the wonder mammoth Colored American weeklies.

Darrow and Sumner

Editor Trotter then pointed out that Mr. Darrow advocated virile resentment, protest and resistance to persecution and proscription, but especially that he stressed segregation and ostracism as the greatest of all the indignities to be resented and to be considered evidence against white friendliness.

He then uqoted Mr. Darrow as saying the proscription and contemptions not due to Color, but to the former slave condition carried into the present. Then the speaker quoted Chas. Sumner as declaring segregation and denial rights illegal because of their being a continuance of slavery and badge of the same. Therefore to overcome the contempt and mistreatment this badge of slavery, segregation, must be most fought.

N. Y. AMERICAN

APR 10 1927

Darrow Denies Threat by Mob

NASHVILLE, Tenn., March 9.—Prior to leaving for Chattanooga, where he will spend a few days before returning to his home in Chicago, Clarence Darrow, noted attorney, today denied he was guarded following a speech to negroes at Fairhape, Ala. He said:

"I did not leave under guard. Neither was I threatened."

Reports from Birmingham declared Darrow was threatened by a mob because he was alleged to have urged negroes to "rise against your white masters." Darrow denied he ever made any such speech.

DARROW CROWDS TWO ADDRESSING WASHINGTON N. A. A. C.P.

New York, March 18—Clarence Darrow addressing the Washington, D. C., Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a the opening of their spring Membership Drive filled two churches. The meeting was held at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church which was jammed with 3,000 people and when 5,000 vainly struggled for admission an overflow meeting was held at the John Wesley Church where Charles Edward Russel and Bishop E. D. W. Jones addressed the crowd until Mr. Darrow arrvied at 11 p. m. The Washington Post reports that at both meetings pledges and subscriptions were "received in basketfuls."

Neval H. Thomas, President of the Washington Branch, of the N. A. A. C. P., introduced Mr. Darrow who declared that scientists, ntelligent people and artists were friends of the

Negro and that only the morons of the world were his enemies. Mr. Darrow was given an ovation by the crowd.

Mr. Darrow in his address on "The Rampants of Civilization," declared that the real racial barrier was not color but the Negro's previous condition of servitude coupled with the Anglo-Saxon's "habitual moron conceptions."

"The white people want colored people in America," declared Mr. Darrow. "Somebody has to do the work and the Nordics are not going to do it." Mr. Darrow declared that "pure blood is pure nonsense," saying that the ancestry of all people was a very mixed one.

Mr. Darrow furthermore urged independence in politics upon colored people.

CLARENCE DARROW

Whatever one may think of Clarence Darrow's agnostic allusions at the meeting of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. on the 14th inst., (and everyone in this free country is entitled to his view of the matter) all agree, with singular unanimity, that Mr. Darrow's address was inspiring, informing and discriminating, and in addition to these things, was a strong plea for tolerance, justice and equality of right in all things relating to the Negro.

His exposition of the theory that there is no such thing as race, no such thing as pure blood, that "pure blood" is "pure nonsense," was really worth listening to and thinking about, even if he had said and explained nothing else.

The masses of our people need to listen to more lectures and to read more magazine articles and books dealing with biology, and other subjects relating to the life and structure of animate beings, including man.

It is the easiest thing in the world for people to divide into opposing camps over theological questions. A secular newspaper such as is The Tribune, has no mission to discuss matters of pure theology. Those matters may safely be left to such consecrated and competent ministers and churchmen as the Rev. Dr. Walter H. Brooks whose views we published last week.

While Dr. Brooks makes it perfectly clear that he utterly repudiates Mr. Darrow's views on religion, at the same time he recognizes his services to the cause of justice and humanity.

In this connection we would like to put this question to competent and consecrated ministers of Dr. Brooks's type: Admitting that there is to be a day of general judgment when men shall be called to account for the way they have spent their lives, who do you think will be more likely to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, Darrow, who would have all men delivered from discrimination and proscription, but does not profess belief in prayer, or that Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who professes belief in prayer and even prays himself, but advised a brother minister who was going to preach to Negroes, not to eat with them? We will give our answer in the words of the poet who said:

"He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all."

MAR 1 0 1927

DARROW TALKS TO DAPHNE NEGROES

Principal Says Segregation Is Just Common Sense

Clarence Darrow, noted criminal lawyer of Chicago, who is spending the winter at Fairhope, is the object of attack in a letter received by The Onlooker from A. L. West, of Fairhope, signed by two prominent educators of Baldwin county who claim to have been present at the Negro Industrial School at Daphne when Darrow addressed a colored audience from the negro school.

At the close of Darrow's remarks, however, the colored principal of the negro school countered Darrow's remarks when he asked that the white people pass out at one door and the colored people at another, stating, "That's not segregation, that's just common sense." The letter follows:

In a speech at the Negro Industrial School, Daphne, Ala., on the night of February 10, 1927, Clarence Darrow deplored the treatment of the negro at the hands of the white man, and particularly the white man of the south. His speech was in effect as follows:

"I can't help you, you will have to help yourselves, but I advise always an attitude of defiance towards the white man who calls himself your 'friend.' How has he manifested this friendship? By hanging and burning you; by making you do his work, and use his back door; refusing to let you enter the best hotels and to use the best coach in the train, and by making you sit in the rear of the street car. The only front place the white man has ever given you is in the battle line. There you can stop the bullets, but when you return home you can't use the sidewalks, you have to use the road. What can the colored man do to help himself? I see you pray, but I don't know why. Your God must be a "white" man considering the way he treats you. No doubt there will be a 'Jim Crow' law in your heaven when you get there. You can sing; I heard you sing, "Sweet Land of Liberty," but I don't see how you can. I don't sing it because I know it's not true. But you can work and gain a place for yourself if you can do your work better than the white man. You are being recognized and you have some friends who are not afraid to sit at the table with you. I have done so and even drank boot-leg liquor with you, and in what better way can friendship be manifested?"

Darrow referred repeatedly to his pet theme: "The origin of the species" and his talk throughout was marked by a satirical humor which might have pleased a different audience.

At the close of the lecture, Ligon Wilson, principal of the negro school, asked the white people to pass out at one door and the colored people at another saying: "That's not segregation, that's just common sense," and when Clarence Darrow asked, "Which is the front door?" Ligon Wilson answered, "Both of them are front doors."

Wilson is right! The people of the South are trying to use common sense in working out the race problem for the good of all. Even Darrow admits that it will take thousands of generations for the ideal state to be reached where the negro sits down with the white man in daily course of life.

If such is his logic, why stir up strife?.—Monroe Journal.

MAR 1 0 1927

Darrow Seeking Racial Hatred in Alabama

The following article is reported to be part of an address by Clarence Darrow, notorious criminal lawyer of Chicago, and who otherwise gained notoriety in the famous monkey trial at Dayton, Tenn., delivered before the negro industrial school at Daphne, Ala., a short time ago. The unintelligent element among the negroes will get much comfort from the words of the famous infidel, but those who are better informed on the problems of the races will regret such utterances, and especially that they come from a white man so stupidly ignorant of race conditions in Alabama:

"I can't help you, you will have to help yourselves, but I advise always an attitude of defiance toward the white man who calls himself 'your friend.' How has he manifested this friendship? By hanging and burning you; by making you do his work, and use his back door; refusing to let you enter the best hotels and to use the best coach on the train, and by making you sit in the rear of the street car. The only front place the white man has ever given you is in the battle line. There you can stop the bullets, but when you return home you can't use the sidewalks, you have to use the road. What can the colored man do to help himself? I see you pray, but I don't know why. Your God must be a 'white man,' considering the way he treats you. No doubt there will be a 'Jim Crow' law in your heaven when you get there. You can sing—I heard you sing—'Sweet Land of Liberty,' but I don't see how you can. I don't sing it because I know it's not true. But you can work and gain a place for yourself if you can do your work better than the white man. You are being recognized and you have some friends who are not afraid to sit at the table with you. I have done so, and even drank bootleg liquor with you, and in what better way can friendship be manifested?"

Race Problem - 1927
United States.

ROGERS ANSWERS QUESTIONS ON CONDITIONS IN EUROPE; WARNS AGAINST SEEKING WORK

By J. A. ROGERS

Paris, France, Sept. 30.

Perhaps the most pleasant feature of my trip so far is the large number of letters I have received from readers of the articles. So far there has been 183, some of which ask questions, and some of which are complimentary. This is all the more gratifying when one recalls that the average reader, which includes myself, is apt to postpone indefinitely the writing of complimentary letters to the editor, while we rarely ever fail to register our displeasure at those articles we do not like.

It was impossible to answer all the letters, or even the greater part of them personally, so in this article I shall endeavor to compensate. But here again space will not permit my treating each letter separately, and so I shall group the questions as much as possible.

The greater part of the letters are from persons who wish to come to settle in Europe, chiefly France, and want to know what are the chances of getting work, or of establishing themselves in business.

To the first half of this my opinion is that it would be the height of folly for the average working American to come to any part of Europe to look for work. To do so would be almost like carrying salt water to the sea. There is not a single European country I know of that has not an unemployment problem of some kind, notably England. Why, the height of ambition of no small number of Europeans is to get to America. In some countries there is a waiting list of two years at the American consulate.

Besides, the rate of wages in every European country is lower than in America, while taxes and other expenses are disproportionately higher in nine European countries, and so far I have seen now one in which the worker can live as comfortably and save as much proportionately, as in America. Every European country is paying in some way for the war.

For a long time to come the movement from America to Europe will be what it is now, that is, the quest for pleasure, relaxation and culture. And if the American has money he will find all three in abundance, for if the truth must be told not only is the average European more cultured than the average American, but he is far more skilled in the art of savoir vivre, of knowing how to get the most out of life.

I have discovered that Negroes who come here in search of work very soon wish that they were home again. This is true to no small extent also of Negroes who come from regions other than the United States, a condition due not to color prejudice but to the keener struggle for existence, the greater competition for the job. In Continental Europe the oppressed Negro from South Africa or the United States will find perfect freedom from color prejudice; he will also find unless he has money, that it is one thing to have freedom, but another to have something which with to enjoy it. He will be reminded of the story of the rich man in the Arabian Nights who took a hungry beggar to his sumptuous home, seated him at a magnificent table, and then had him served empty dishes. I have told of the hardships of Negroes in London, Marseilles and other places, and there is more to follow.

The single exception to the above has been the Negro musician, and that field is now over-crowded. With England doing her best to keep out colored performers, France—and to speak strictly—Montmartre is really the only field worth speaking of in Europe.

My advice to those, colored or white, who must earn their daily bread is: Stay at home. You're lucky and don't know it! And let me add that this is an admission I make unwillingly.

The next most popular question is: What are the business chances? These, I have been told, by persons who seem in a position to know, are good. But in an overcrowded country or countries, there is again the matter of keen competition. My advice then would be that if one knows the language thoroughly, is experienced in his particular line, and is willing to sink a considerable part of his capital in "getting on" to the business ways of the country, let them come if he has made up his mind. But I have been noticing that the only American firms who seem established in the large European cities are those firms with large branches at home like Woolworth.

The two European counrties with the largest number of Negroes are England and France. In the former the chief business of these colored folk seem to be the sale of fake medicine and charms; in France it is music. In this latter case I am speaking of the American Negro.

I understand that the field is very good for dentists—American dentists are very highly thought of. Europeans seem to pay less attention to their teeth than Americans, and with a Good Teeth Campaign there ought to be plenty of work. Color makes no difference; indeed, it might help. I heard the rather amusing story of a Negro, a very dark one, of fine physique and flashy appearance, who made a lot of money in Paris and Deauville. Most of his clients were of the fair sex who would consult him whether their teeth were good or bad.

But even in dentistry there is also the matter of the language, except in England.

The third question in frequency is: What does a trip to Europe cost? Well, there are trips and trips, of course, but I am positive it could be made to cost as low as $300. Return trips are advertised for $175 by some of the leading steamship companies. In addition there would be $10 for a passport and $10 for a visa, leaving a balance of $105. Now one could spend a fine month seeing Paris and its beautiful suburbs on that. A pretty good room with hot and cold running water can be had in almost any one of the numerous hotels in the Latin Quarter for fifteen francs (sixty cents) or lower, and one may eat at Boulant or Chartier also in the Latin Quarter for forty cents a meal without wine—only two meals a day are eaten in France. In many restaurants passably good meals may be had for as low as twenty cents, or five francs, with wine. But of course, the person attempting to come over on that must know a little of the language, or be expert in the sign language, or be in contact with English-speaking persons.

The fourth question: Are the Europeans really free from color prejudice as you have been saying or is it a case of their being merely polite?

Of course it is impossible to look into anyone's mind, but one's actions are usually a pretty fair index if one is a skilled observer. Persons who restrain their prejudices from mere politeness lack spontaniety. One meets with such a quality of friendliness from the average European that it is difficult to believe that it is a mere 'put on." Colored tourists with whom I have exchanged experiences tell me that it seems to them that those with whom they come in contact seem to be kinder to them just because they are colored, which is my experience precisely.

When Mr. Anthony Bagley of Sheepshead's Bay, New York, was presented to the Pope recently I learnt that he received the most notice from him, getting a special blessing. Mr. Bagley was the only black person present. Many other instances could be cited. Instead of there being color prejudice in Europe I should rather say there was color attraction. England is the only European country in which one is likely to find color prejudice, and that I must say is largely, perhaps, almost wholly due to the type of most Negroes found there. Britain is such a hard country for the Negro in which to find work that it is largely those of a certain type who can hold on there. In a recent article I told of some of the fine positions held by dark Negroes in France.

Several questions were asked about Morocco and segregation. As I said there was no color prejudice there. As to whether the Moroccans were superstitious I said that I thought the masses of them were, and gave instances. As to climate Morocco is hot in the summer, but mild and agreeable in the winter months, though I am not sure whether there is plenty of rain. As to whether the Catholic religion is well-established there I am not prepared to say, though I hardly think so. The principal religion is Mohammedanism. Of the hospitals, of nursing, and as to whether United States agencies controls such hospitals as are there I regret that I am also unable to say.

One lady "double-dared" me to tell what I saw in those places in Pompeii from which ladies are barred. I see that she is trying to get both the editor of this paper and myself "in Dutch."

Another writer wants to know what the French people think of the "colored boys" of the A. E. F. All with whom I have talked speak in the highest terms of the colored soldiers and say that they were polite and considerate, and never attempting to show any superiority. As will be recalled Marshal Foch gave one colored regiment (was it the 369th?) the honor of being the first to dip its flag in the Rhine.

Another, Emma Lue Sayers of the Pacific Coast News Bureau, sent me a charming letter and wished to know where my book "From Superman to Man" could be had. At 2293 Seventh Ave., New York City: $1.65 postpaid.

But I must cease answering questions as I wish to reserve space to pat myself on the back by publishing one or two excerpts from the letters:

Mrs. C. H. Dublin, 336 Willard St., Bridgeport, Conn., says: "I trailed you from Morocco to Spain then to Italy. . . . . I enjoyed the trip with you to Monte Carlo very much indeed. The climate and open spaces! And when you wrote 'Rocks! Rocks! and ever so many more rocks!' I felt compelled to look up and see awing mountains and great precipices. It must be glorious to be absolutely there in person."

Mr. L. F. DeBeary, 1820 Wylie Avenue, Pittsburgh: "I am writing these few lines to let you know how I admire your articles. I am a person that never cared for reading, but some how I read your articles and the more I read them the more I want to read them. . . . Your articles are very educating to the young colored men and women. . . ."

Mrs. Hazel Thomas, 5730 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill., says in part: "I must tell you how we are enjoying your articles each week. We travel right along with you and we see and enjoy the beautiful and interesting sights that you do. Your versatile pen tells us many details that our eye would doubtless overlook. . . . Your description of Rome equaled that given in "Ben Hur."

And with that I had better cease or the editor will begin to suspect that I am fishing for "a raise."

Many letters have come regarding my health and I will take the opportunity to say I feel completely re-established. Yesterday I walked twelve miles over the battlefields at Verdun and Douaumont without fatigue.

My next articles will be a series on Belgium, the first being on Brussels.

TIMES
ST. LOUIS, MO.

AUG 31 1927

More "Red" Training.

Complacent and "liberal" Americans who pooh-pooh the idea of any real Communist effort to overthrow the present economic situation in the United States ought to be interested in the report of a recent survey made by the New York Herald Tribune on certain phases of Bolshevik activities in America. This survey shows that the Reds of Russia working through their agents here are busy attempting to bore into the ranks of the colored Americans with a view to causing social and political unrest in the United States.

According to this survey, the method used is simple but one which might be very effective if not curbed. It embraces the establishment of a committee or organization among American negroes for the purpose of disseminating Bolshevik propaganda among the members of the race in America. Certain negroes who can be induced to take the trip are to be taken to Moscow and instructed in the "beauties" of Communism and just how to spread the doctrine among their comrades back in America.

It is said that this committee or "clearing house" among the negroes has already been formed and that the plan of instructing negro agitators in the red school of Moscow is already under way. Several months ago Zinovieff, the arch Communist plotter, announced at Moscow that "a clandestine method adopted for America, would concentrate gradually with [illegible] and greater power."

The American negro has generally been a patriotic citizen and comparatively few of the race joined the old Socialist party. But the reds have conceived an ingenious scheme for propagandizing the more ignorant of the race and one which deserves a little attention on the part of the leaders who can see the perversiveness of the red doctrine.

Suffolk, Va. News

AUG 29 1927

OPPORTUNITY AND OBLIGATION

The Goldsboro, N. C., News, in an admirable editorial article on the duty of the American people to the Negro, concludes that it must be fulfilled through education such as will bring out his latent abilities and fit him for the work he is best qualified to do. It used to be popular to refer to the colored race, meaning our American Negroes, as "the white man's burden." While we were busily engaged in civilizing the "heathen Chinee" and trying to force our religion and civilization down his throat because he was too weak to resist our good intentions, our own citizens for whose presence here the white man is solely responsible, were left to shift pretty much for themselves, except what they could pick up from our tables or absorb by contact. Like most ignorant people, they contracted most of our vices along with a few of our virtues and we have assiduously assisted him in the former in particular. The wonder is that he has done so well under the circumstances.

It must also be borne in mind, as pointed out so well by the North Carolina newspaper, that the colored race is no more a "problem" here than any other group of our citizenship. At least ninety per cent of the race are producers of wealth and even for economic or selfish reasons, if none other obtain, the welfare of the Negro deserves first consideration. In this connection The Goldsboro News says:

"Now whether we think of the preence of 11,000,000 Negroes in the United States as a "problem"—the usual but quite misleading word—or as a burden, a responsibility, or an opportunity, it is becoming more and more obvious that we must do something about it. There is a historic reason why we should: Our Negro Americans have been here as long as most other Americans —since 1619—and they came, as Booker Washington used to say, by the "personal invitation" of white men. There is an economic reason: The country cannot afford to let any tenth of its population stagnate in ignorance, inefficiency, and degradation. There is a moral reason: no clearer case of "noblesse oblige" can be imagined.

"Increasingly this debt of honor is being felt, acknowledged, and paid, in the south as well as in the north. Obviously the nation's duty to the descendants of the slaves must be largely fulfilled through education; real education, such as shall bring out latent abilities and fit each individual for the work in the world which he can do best. Such education will train young men and young women, first, for honest self-support; second, for useful service to their race and community; third, for friendly co-operation with white people and with all people for the common good; fourth, for the disciplined freedom of honorable citizenship."

The south no more than the north is responsible for the presence in this country of these millions of citizens, but since the greater number live in this part of the country there is a greater opportunity for southern communities to join in his uplift. This opportunity carries with it a supreme obligation that may not be shirked at the peril of both races. The southern farm and shop need the Negro even more than he needs them. But we have not sought to make him an ornament to whatever he may undertake so that he shall become stable, dependable and indispensable. We have not taught or trained him as we should and so the whole social and economic fabric has suffered immeasureeably by the shortcomings of the white race. As the country as a whole can be no stronger than its weakest part, so no section can rise above the common level of its average citizenship. If the Negro fail to reach a higher level it will be only because the opportunity is not afforded him to pull himself up by the hand of his stronger and more reliant white neighbor, both of whom suffer for his backwardness and his follies.

Race Problem - 1927

United States

PUBLIC AGENCIES AND THE NEGRO

—o—

There is too much murder in Kansas City and Negroes have too large a share in it. Settling differences by personal combat is a relic of the days before civilization established law and order, and required of the individual that he submit his claim to courts. But Negroes' proneness to take the law into their own hands is due to lack of confidence in the law and in the courts. Kansas City Call

The law is not the same for the poor as for the rich, and still less the same for the poor who are black. The courts give us less rights than the Constitution provides but are generous with punishment. American race prejudice has done its best to kill off our faith in the community's agencies. It has driven us to individualism which in time of differences between man and man, leads to personal combat, and murder. 10-7-27

At the first glance it seems that we are fools to hold our lives so cheaply. The blame for that state of mind is the community's. Every Negro murderer should have tried along with him his accomplice, Kansas City with its harsh judgment, its refusal of rights and its half justice. Had he confidence in the courts he would settle his property difference in a civil suit. Had he faith in the authorities, he would ask the police to protect hs life. Judges and juries violating the spirit of the Constitution and influenced by race prejudice when Negroes are before them, have destroyed the law for us also. Our recourse to personal combat does not show that we hold our lives cheaply, so much as it expresses utter disdain for the public agencies as a means of justice for Negroes. Kansas City, Mo.

No white man can understand the unreasonable lengths to which prejudice goes to take from Negroes their lawful rights. The injustices pass belief. A case last week illustrates our point: A Negro man, who had a difference with a Negro woman about a few dollars, armed himself with a pistol and made threats against her life, as a means of winning his argument. The law provides courts where he could have sued and recovered his money, but he chose no court. To protect the woman, her husband asked the proper authorities for a warrant. Foolish fellow he for thinking the law is for Negroes. The authorities refused the warrant, leaving the husband to choose between seeing his wife shot, or arming himself and shooting it out with the pistol-toter. All about a pitiful few dollars.

But what good does it do to tell the Negroes not to adjudicate differences in a way costing many times the value involved, when the white people of Kansas City, presumed to be much wiser than we, keep on thinking they can sow injustice and reap peace and prosperity?

OCT 13 1927

FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS.

"There is nothing in any Southern State," says the Lynchburg News, "or in any statutory enactment of any Southern Legislature which is in violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States."

But the News knows, of course, that these amendments are not enforced. The News knows that the negro masses are not allowed to vote, and that if they did vote en masse some action would be taken to stop them. So long as the negro masses did insist upon voting, the whites managed by one device or another to nullify that vote. In Virginia cheating, ballot box stuffing, intimidation and other desperate measures were employed to prevent the negro voters from controlling elections, and it became so demoralizing in this State that a Constitutional convention was called to devise some plan of eliminating the negro vote, in order that the whites might have no pretext for cheating.

The new Constitution made provision for a new registration in 1902 and 1903, so that all white men twenty-one years of age and over might get on the permanent registration list, and all but a few negroes excluded. This was done openly and without pretense and after the registration of 1904 all persons of both races were registered only under an educational qualification. Very few negroes comparatively have been able to register under that provision, and since that time the negro vote has been almost negligible. So the statement in the Lynchburg News that there is nothing in any Southern State or in any enactment of any Southern Legislature which is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment or the Fifteenth Amendment is misleading.

Further along in its article the News says: "No statute has ever been enacted to carry out the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment and if such statute had been enacted it would not apply to any Southern State, for the simple reason that no Southern State has violated the amendment."

But if such an enforcement statute should be enacted by Congress and an attempt made to enforce it, similar to the attempts to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, it would be resisted in the South to the full extent of the powers of the States and the people.

The fact is that the Fifteenth Amendment, and the Fourteenth Amendment in part, have been nullified in the South and that fact remains no matter how one may attempt to camouflage it.

PRESIDENT TOUCHES "NEGRO QUESTION"

In his annual message to congress last week, President Calvin Coolidge devoted a paragraph or two to the "eternal Negro question," and took the attitude that he thought that congress should pass and enforce legislation to remove the evil of lynch-law from the domain of the American commonwealth.

Going a bit further, Mr. Coolidge complimented the Negro race upon its progress and history in America since its emancipation from human bondage, and mentioned the great work which is being done at the U. S. Veterans Hospital at Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Some will contend that the president's advocacy of congressional action to reduce or eradicate democracy from the confines of the republic, was a political stroke of a partisan nature; and that the G. O. P. "faithfuls," white and black, will now herald to the Negro constituency of the nation that, since a Republican president has assumed such an attitude (the enunciation supposedly being representative of his party) the Negro voters of the country should rally to the standard of the Republican party and support its various nominees in 1928.

However much we might admire, laud and approve the reference in Mr. Coolidge's message to "outlawing" Judge Lynch and his lynchocratic loop, we must also bear in mind that there is a vast difference between platitudes and performances; between preachments and palaver.

The Informer does not question nor doubht the president's sincerity along this and other lines, as they especially relate to or affect the Negroes of the United States; but what has he done during his tenure of office, officially or personally, to help bring about a change in conditions as they relate to and affect black Americans?

With segregation of and discrimination between employes being practiced in the various governmental departments at Washington since his induction into office, has President Coolidge, as chief executive of the nation, ever made definite his position along this line?

Has he ever, by written or spoken word, placed his stamp of disapproval upon a pernicious policy which seeks to deny American citizens of their inalienable and constitutional rights, right under the dome of the national capitol and just a few blocks from the White House?

Despite the fine physical condition and mental alertness of young Negro men, neither the United States naval academy at Annapolis, nor the military school at West Point will admit or encourage Negroes to enter these governmental training schools for our national and military leaders and the defenders of American rights at home and abroad.

If President Coolidge believed all which he said in his annual message about the Negro and what he is entitled to as an American citizen, The Informer would be interested in knowing his reaction to this exclusion edict, as far as the "colored brother" is concerned, at these two institutions owned and operated by our national government!

After reading the president's able and masterly state paper and observing his humane stand in behalf of the American Negro, we could not help but wonder if he were really cognizant of so many un-American practices and undemocratic conditions which prevail right under his nose, and which he could relieve by presidential proclamation?

Reformation, like charity, should begin at home—at the seat of the national government—and then spread abroad; and if President Coolidge's remarks and observations concerning the American Negro were prompted by patriotism rather than partisan policies, they should go a long way towards making and maintaining the United States a safer, saner and better place for its Negro population.

In the meantime, let us qualify as citizens and get ready for the political battles of 1928; for when the black man learns how to use the ballot for his own protection and defense, he will enjoy and exercise a new type of Americanism and democracy.

Here's hoping that every Negro man and woman in Texas will pay his or her poll tax or secure an exemption certificate by January 31, 1928, and thus become qualified as full-fledged citizens and electors.

Race Problem - 1927
United States

Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer-Sun
FEB 19 1927

University of Georgia Row Over Y Official's Activities is Adjusted

ATHENS, Ga., Feb. 18—(Special)—Objections to Paul Guthrie, assistant secretary of the University of Georgia Y. M. C. A., for his interracial work and alleged "pacifist" utterances have been adjusted. Chancellor C. M. Snelling announced here tonight.

Hugh Rowe, member of the Prudential Committee representing the general board of trustees, made the objection to Secretary Guthrie and urged his dismissal, it is stated, but no action was taken to oust him and the matter has been settled, the chancellor states.

When asked for a statement here tonight in regard to the Guthrie case and his activities concerning it Mr. Rowe declined to comment.

Three Meetings in Discussion

The Guthrie matter was discussed here this week at two meetings of the Prudential committee and one joint session with the University Y. M. C. A. directors.

A joint meeting of the University Prudential committee and the Y. M. C. A. directors was held Monday and another meeting of the Prudential committee held Tuesday at which time the Guthrie case was discussed and Mr. Rowe made his objections. He said Guthrie is a "pacifist" Mr. Guthrie's interracial work is not being carried on as a part of the University Y. M. C. A. program of activities but it is pointed out by members of the board of directors that it should be adopted. Guthrie is a student, taking his master's degree, and the Prudential committee has jurisdiction over his activities as a student but it is claimed that it has no jurisdiction over his work as Assistant Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.

Rowe Presses Charges

However, the Y. M. C. A. board was requested to meet with the Prudential Committee Monday where Mr. Rowe pushed his charges, objecting to both Mr. Guthrie's military attitude and his work with negro students in local educational institutions, carried on for the purpose of enabling both white and negro students to discuss problems which interferes with proper racial cooperation. Members of the university faculty have accepted invitations to address the interracial group, it is stated.

Secretary E. I. Segrest of the University Y. M. C. A. states that the interracial work Mr. Guthrie has engaged in is similar to that carried on by the International Y. M. C. A. and the association at Emory, Mercer, and other Georgia institutions. T. J. Woofter, well known interracial worker of Atlanta, has been asked to address the group here next week.

Commandant James E. Ware at the university is known to have charged this week that Guthrie is in the "pay of the Russian Government," a charge which caused the young secretary to laugh heartily when told of it. Guthrie is said to be very popular with the students. Ben H. Cheek, editor of the student newspaper, having told the directors of the Y. M. C. A. and Prudential committee that Guthrie should be retained for the influence he has on the students because of his high character if for nothing else.

Asheville, N. C. Herald
FEB 19 1927

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA STUDENTS MUCH AROUSED

Over Efforts To Oust Paul Guthrie On His Beliefs

Athens, Ga., Feb. 18.—(AP)—University of Georgia students today were aroused over efforts to oust Paul Guthrie, assistant secretary of the College Y. M. C. A. for his work on the inter-racial commission and alleged pacifist beliefs. The Red and Black, student publication, in its issue of today, charged the ousting effort as an "attempt to suppress freedom of speech."

The ouster efforts were instigated the paper says by H. J. Rowe, a member of the prudential committee of the board of trustees. This board represents the general board when it is not in session and has met twice this week, once with the board of directors of the Y. M. C. A.

Guthrie denies any interference with the military department of the university, although he "doesn't approve of militarism."

Dr. E. L. Hill, pastor of the First Presbyterian church here and member of the board of directors of the Y. M. C. A., told the committee that so far as he was concerned Guthrie would be retained as he approved of the work of the interracial commission.

The editorial of the Red and Black referred to the situation as similar to that brought about in the Scopes case of Tennessee, being a matter of "free speech."

HOUSTON EDITOR TO APPEAL FROM LIBEL DECISION

C.F. Richardson Declares He Will Take Case To Supreme Court Of The U. S.

HOUSTON, Tex., Mar. 30.—Clifton F. Richardson, editor of the Houston Informer, was fined $750 for libel in a decision handed down by a jury in the court room of Judge Ben F. Wilson's court Saturday on charge of criminal libel. The verdict of the jury was rendered on a charge brought by W. L. Davis, acting principal of Gregory School. Motion for a new trial is scheduled for next Saturday.

Based on Editorial

Editor Richardson, it will be remembered, some months ago wrote an article on conditions at Gergory School, which he declared was situated in the mire and muck of the ward. Following this editorial, Davis wrote a letter to the daily press of this city, in which he took Richardson to task for his attitude and declared that the colored citizens of Houston were "satisfied."

Editor Richardson's reply to the letter was in the form of an editorial headed "Pussilanimous Pussy-footing Principal." Upon this editorial the action of criminal libel was based.

Verdict Expected

The guilty verdict was no surprise to the citizens here, however, as it is well known that Editor Richardson has often been the subject of attacks for his uncompromising attitude toward the oppression of colored citizens in the South.

It will be remembered that several years ago Editor Richardson and his wife were both arrested and severely beaten by officers. For failure to have a tail-light on his automobile on this occasion Richardson was fined $200 and costs—which fine was promptly paid.

Following this occurrence there was an attempt to get Richardson down to Wharton, Tex., a town absolutely in the control of red-necked Klansmen, where it was later learned there had been a plan perfected to take his life.

Court Prejudiced

The libel trial was attended by hundreds of citizens, who took a decided interest therein. Many of these volunteered to assist in defraying the expenses of the trial.

All during the trial, it is reported, Davis was referred to as a "good nigger," an "ante-bellum nigger," etc., while Richardson was characterized as an undesirable radical.

The editor, through the columns of his paper, declared:

"Whatever the motive was that backed and is backing this case. The Informer and its editor shall always be found fighting for the rights of our people in particular and the entire human family in general; AND WE WILL FIGHT IT OUT ALONG THIS LINE IF 'HELL FREEZES OVER US'! That's that!"

If the motion for a new trial is denied, Editor Richardson will carry the case to the Supreme Court of the United States to win vindication, if necessary, he declares. The appeal to the U. S. courts will be based upon the plea that as the judge who heard the case had an interest therein under the uniquitous "fee system" of the Texas courts, he was disqualified to sit on the bench. This plan pays judges, prosecuting attorneys and police officers only for convictions.

Chicago Defender 4-2-27

A Word to a Friend: Lindsey and His Views

Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver, is welcome—at least he should be welcome—wherever he may go throughout his country. His right to enjoy freedom to think and freedom to speak is undeniable. For the greater portion of his interesting career he has expounded sound as well as original views. Of late, he has given his attention to a subject which, instead of being something new under the sun, is as old as the race he's a member of.

It is a mere commonplace to add that in this latest crusade of his—perhaps "crusade" is hardly the exact word to characterize his work—he is colliding with what a great many level-headed countrymen of his sincerely believe to be the sifted wisdom of the centuries on a matter of prime importance to human society. Judge Lindsey now wars upon what may be called, not to use a more irritating term, definite and cherished social conventions.

Is he wise in doing this? Is he prudent in undertaking this work?

"Conventions," said Arnold Bennett, in an unforgettable essay of a few years ago, "are to society what form is to art." In this observation lurks profound truth. Violation of conventions invested by immemorial usage with the quality of sacredness is not recommended by discreet counselors. The test of all things is their value not to the man but to the many. In the very nature of human society, laws should be uniform—they should apply to all alike.

In the south, where the racial problem obtains, it is highly important that these conventions, sanctioned by public conscience and approved by public taste throughout more than 300 years, be respected. Law is nothing more than sound usage enacted into statute. The white race of the South can not violate these immemorial conventions with impunity. They have served civilization here well. Proximity of the white race to a race lacking the white man's intellectual, cultural and moral discipline requires that the more advanced race alertly watch its own step—primarily for its own sake and not unimportantly for the sake of the less fortunate race.

The marriage tie has been traditionally cherished by white men as well as by white women of the South. Love of home, of children, of altars where men have wedded their sweethearts, of churchyards where are buried fathers and mothers and sisters and brothers—is not this one of the distinctive marks of Southern life? Is all this, or indeed any portion of this, to be imperiled by experimentation, incited, in some cases, by zest for change! in many more cases by unhappy experiences in one's own individual emotional life?

Church and state alike in the South—separated though they wisely are in all other respects—are one in their determination to safeguard and promote purity of manners and regularity in home life. In front of these white elders of the South, and watching their example, are the young sons and young daughters of the white race here. Over their shoulders, these white elders of the South note the sons and daughters of the black race keenly awaiting every sign that may be made by the whites, touching all social conventions.

The duty of these whites to these negroes is an imperious one. It may not be avoided. It should not be evaded. What reasoning white man or reasoning white woman of this section can be blind to the importance of the example to be set by Southern whites to Southern blacks on this grave subject? If the rigor of the white discipline be permitted to relax, what effect will this weakening in the white line have upon the black race? Is not the call distinctly one of "noblesse oblige"?

Judge Lindsey is no stranger to the South's traditions. If our recollection is not erroneous, he should not be innocent of the Souths' respect for things that have been tested and proved to be acceptable. His father was one of Bedford Forrest's men. In his home out where the West begins, Judge Lindsey has exemplified a passion for fine things and a will to make fine things prevail.

But the problems of Alabama differ from Colorado's problems. This state respects Judge Lindsey's achievement. But Alabama's people may be justified in holding fast to things proved by long usage to be true—justified in clinging to conventions and traditions that are interwoven inseparably into the warp and woof of this commonwealth's life.

A certain good taste that is the conscience of the mind demands that these conventions be preserved. A certain conscience that is the good taste of the soul requires that these traditions be cherished.—Birmingham News.

Ala. 10-4-27

CLARENCE DARROW IN WASHINGTON

By KELLY MILLER

I have lived in Washington for more than forty years. During all or that time, I cannot easily recall that the appearance of any single individual ever stirred the imagination of the multitude as did the coming of Darrow a fortnight ago. We are accustomed to so many distinguished personages in the national capital that we pay little heed to any particular celebrity aside from political excitation. There are few if any renowned orators since Bryan died whose announcement would fill an ordinary auditorium. When Neval Thomas, the local head of the N. A. A. C. P. announced the coming of Darrow, the more cautious and hesitant became fearful that the audience might not prove to be complimentary to the renown of the great commoner. A shabby showing on such an occasion would have been a sad reflection on the part of the colored of the capital city.

Neval Thomas deserves the bulk of the credit. He is a human dynamo in the cause of liberty, fraternity, equality. Under the guiding hand of his leadership, our militant organization moves on from victory to victory. The Washington branch of this organization has national significance. Everything radiates from this local point. Neval Thomas is the right man in the right place at the right time. It was his eloquent persuasion and impassioned appeal that swung the populace to this great national reception to Mr. Darrow. The city of Washington expressed the sentiment of the race at large. The daily papers stated that there were three thousand enthusiastic auditors inside the building with five-thousand on the outside clamoring for admission. An overflow meeting quickly filled an adjacent church which Mr. Darrow addressed at the termination of the central meeting. I was among the throng which arrived out of due season and had to hear the emphatic pronouncement of the usher—"too late, you cannot enter now."

Human nature changes slowly, if at all. The same appeal that moved the multitude in the days of old moves it still. Whenever appeal is made to the human heart, the human heart responds. Darrow touches the fundamental depths of human nature. He pleads for elemental justice. To him race and color are but meaningless surface markings. I know of but one great American with whom to compare him, and that is Robert G. Ingersol, the eloquent apostle of freedom. Ingersol was the great religious liberal of his day. He ridiculed the religious beliefs and feelings which his fellow men held dear.. But at the same time he was the oustanding liberal in the field of human rights. The Negro never had a more fearless champion than this great infidel.

Mr. Darrow pitted his wits against that of the great defender of the faith, William J. Bryan. They met on the battle field at Dayton, Tennessee. Darrow won and Bryan died. Had this champion of religious liberalism come to the capital to speak on religious freedom, he doubtless would have met with wide acclaim. But on such a mission his welcome would have come all but wholly from the whites.

But turning aside from his great legal triumph in the religious arena, he took up the cause of an unpopular race. He lent his legal talent and the detached devotion of his soul to the defense of the Negro's right to defend his home and fire side just as the white man defends his home and fire side. Darrow at Detroit touches the high water mark of legal altruism. He was working neither for fee nor for fame, but simply for the joy and zest of the working. I have known Mr. Darrow for many years. I first met him in the office of my good friend, Dr. Bently of Chicago. He was introduced as a white man who was willing to go all the way with the Negro. Detroit merely presented the occasion to bring out what was in him. He rings true at every point. He is not putting on, but giving out. I did not hear the address, but read large quotations in the morning press. Those present tell me that his speech was not characterized by moving eloquence and flamboyant words, but was a simple straight, almost conversational presentation of the faith and doctrine in which he believes. After all, this is the most impressive mode of eloquence. One can pick out few pointed sentences or polished periods as illustrative of his discourse. The presence of the man and his straight forward attention. On the morrow, the universal comment was, "It was good to have been there." The address covered his usual range of topics In his address to the colored audiences, he repeatedly is common stock advice upon religion, urging upon the race that it has been too dependent upon vicarious religious succor. Upon this feature of his doctrine I most sincerely disagree with the great commoner. I have expressed the basis of my disagreement on another occasion. It was unfortunate that he was invited to speak in a Christian Church. All knew before hand just what his views were. None could hope too, that he would refrain from the expression of his belief merely because of the place in which they were to be presented. He would not be true to his nature and to his mission, had he done so, even out of respect for the religious feeling of the vast majority of his hearers. He would no more withhold his honest views on religion out of the deference to the feelings of colored people than he would refuse to speak out straight and clear on the race problem out of respect of the sensitiveness of white people. It would have been best had the management secured a secular hall where there would have been no constraints of any kind. Most of the colored preachers on the following Sunday had something to say about the irreligious feature of the great discourse. They advised their congregations to stick to the old religious morrings which had brought them safe thus far. They accept his gospel of human equality, but balk at his denial of the benefit of our cherished religion.

* * * *

It would be a great calamity, in my view, if the colored people should act upon this part of Mr. Darrow's advice. We are not willing, however, gloomy the prospect may seem, to curse God and die.

Mr. Darrow is an Anglo-Saxon, with all of the Teutonic fearlessness and dare of his blood. He is wholly impatient with the meekness and submission which all religion teaches as a means of overcoming evil He looks upon the Negro's cause without an outside eye of pity. He believes in measuring might against might which may become the race and class which holds all power within its grasp. But where there is want of power, we must resort to patience. Gandhi in India, in humble submission to British dominion, urges his race to resort to the resistive power of the spirit. He knows that his race cannot measure power with the Englishmen in terms of European standards. Darrow would have no patience with Gandhi. But Gandhi knows his race better even than Darrow knows them. The Negro minister in close contact with the race knows better than a good natured outsider just how far the race may rely upon its own exertion and to what extent it must look beyond for higher guidance and direction. Mr. Darrow stated that it was only the white morons that were opposed to the colored race. In so far as this may be true it brings us little consolation. It is the mentality of the moron that furnishes the best lodging place and breeding ground for race prejudice and hatred. There is no reason to which appeal may be made. When this animosity of race becomes a part of the passion and emotion of the feebler minds, it takes on all but the virus of animal fury. The lynchers are doubtess made up largely of this class. We are still in quest of the remedy for race prejudice especially when it finds lodgement in the brutish beast of human beings.

* * * *

Let us hope that Mr. Darrow will live for many years to go up and down the land preaching the gospel of human brotherhood which will not balk at the complexion of the skin or the texture of the hair.

One cannot escape the reflection that our champion has already reached the mark of three score and ten. In course of nature he must shortly decrease. There are few if any white men of the rising generation making ready to take his place. The allurements of money and the temptations of pleasure are too strong for the spirit of sacrifice to thrive in our day and generation. Let us say the good and pleasant things about him while his ears are still able to hear. Let us never more be accused of failure to appreciate the vicarious service which comes to us from across the color line. What Washington has done the Negroes of the nation joins in honoring this great commoner for his sacrifice and devotion to an altruistic cause.

EXPRESSED BY OUR CONTEMPORARIES

Cole L. Blease

(From the Florida Sentinel.)

The distinguished Senator from the Palmetto State a few days ago in addressing the Senate took advantage of the occasion to declare his likes for the Negro and referred to many acts of kindness shown by him to Negroes during his term of office as Governor.

There are but few white men in the entire South who do not like Negroes.

The Southern white man likes the Negro for more than one reason. He knows the Negro can be worked harder, longer, and for less (or no pay) than any other race on earth. The Negro is less envious of his white neighbor and more trustworthy than any other. During the days that have sunken deep into history pages he cleared the lands, dug the ditches and tilled the soil that has made fair and beautiful the land of the South, and under cheap wages made the cotton and corn grow that brought riches to the forbears of Cole L. Blease, and also made it possible for him to become a Senator of the United States. Why, then, should he not like the Negro race? Not only should he like the race, but he should do all in his power to secure for the Negro every right and privilege under the constitution of our country and not cease in his fight until he does secure it.

He says: "Now, as to their voting; THEY DO NOT. I DO NOT KNOW THAT THEY WANT TO VOTE." If the Negroes of South Carolina do not want to vote they are a different lot from the Negroes of Jacksonville, of Florida, and the other states of the South. It may be among the things possible that he does not go to the polls to vote for the reason that he does not want to have a falling out with his white neighbor, or perhaps that he has a mighty distaste for the ride he may be forced to take from the polls, which might be "in a costly motor driven vehicle," but most likely it would be in the guise of the old-fashioned horse and wagon "contraption" with him riding "head forward." Again, he may not want to go to the polls, stand all day in line and when the sun begins to seek its resting place beyond the western horizon have to return home without having voted.

Let it be known and understood that the Negro in the South wants to vote. He lives here and he contributes his share to the beauty and riches of the cities and country. He loves dear mother earth of the South with as much warmth as any man and he wants to advance in his pride and love for his Southern home. He wants to help rid the South of some of its traditions. He wants to help select the officials who hold office over him. He wants to feel that he is a free, American citizen. Let the Negro, therefore, vote. State Rights will not be interfered with any lynching will soon take wings and fly away from these sweet and sunny shores of America and leave in its wake a real and true home for the free and make it a land of the brave.

Race Problem—1927

United States.

Locke-Stoddard

New England ordinarily envisaged as the champion of toleration, freedom and human rights has experienced a throw back in Mr Lothrop Stoddard, white, who argues for a "white" America in the current issue of the "Forum."

Fortunately for the readers of that magazine, Mr. Stoddard caught a Tartar in Dr Alain Leroy Locke and in the debate is whipped soundly as he deserved.

To Dr. Locke's argument that unless racial equality or American citizenship is granted to all citizens, the best of those citizens will either quit the country or remain here as apostles of race war and social revolution, Mr. Stoddard contents himself with a demurrer.

Disregarding all historical cases involving race problems similar to ours, Mr. Stoddard sets up some chimerical theory of biracialism in which the two races shall live together satisfied but separate.

To use the words of Dr. Locke he fumes about keeping society "closed at the top" by making intermarriage unlawful, but insists on keeping it viciously "open at the bottom" by promoting race mixing of the type that has already produced millions of mulattoes.

Another and most fatal trap into which Mr. Stoddard falls is his threadbare argument that there is a school of thot among colored folk founded by the late Booker T. Washington and now represented by Dr. R. R. Moton, which does not seek American citizenship and racial equality.

This group according to Mr. Stoddard has as its watchword that youthful and forgotten phrase of Booker Washington's separate—as the finger in all things purely social, one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

Dr. Washington's disciples today are not the same as they were 25 years ago. Listen to Dr. Moton on whom Mr. Stoddard relies.

Said Dr. Washington's successor, in an address delivered just two weeks ago before the National Baptist Convention:—

"The very fact of churches for whites and churches for blacks involves a bold disregard of the wishes of the Master who opened his arms to everybody."

"I believe that every Negro should use all his energy, all of the time to see that he gets absolutely every right and privilege that is his as an American citizen."

Full and complete citizenship for all is no "vain dream." Whether this means amalgamation or biracialism, who cares.

For those who want light and not heat, we suggest a perusal of the census figures of the United States.

They will find it recited there that 405,751 mulattoes in 1850 grew by 1910 to 2,050,000.

Society "left open at the bottom and closed at the top" apparently will have 10,000,000 colored folk nearly white by 1970.

THE NEGRO CHURCHES

Our good friend, Mr. H. L. Mencken of the American Mercury, is devoting much of his thought to the Negro group; and what he is saying is worthy of the most careful consideration, even though one may not follow him in all of his statements.

For instance; Mr. Mencken has not a very high conception of the Negro minister, or preacher or pastor. He regards the Negro clergyman as the personification of pompous ignorance, and withal as the worst enemy the Negro has within his own group. We have heretofore taken occasion to express our dissent from Mr. Mencken's extremely unjust characterization of the entire body of Negro clergymen. We renew that dissent, at the same time admitting that there are many ignoramuses, fakers and grafters among them. We also know and testify that there are excellent, intelligent, sincere and upright men in the Negro clergy, who have contributed and are contributing much to the advancement of the race.

Mr. Mencken thinks that the Negroes have too many churches. In the New York World of Sunday, September 25, in an article on the Negro, he says among other things the following:

> The Negroes everywhere have too many churches, and keep themselves poor supporting them. In my own town of Baltimore, when the late war gave them ready money, they wasted most of it buying abandoned white churches. The higher the steeple the more they were willing to pay for it. As a result they were stripped bare and led into debt, and a bit later on, when a chance offered to set up a badly needed hospital for their people they had a hard time raising the money. Much the same thing happened in other towns. In proportion to their incomes, the Negroes probably spend more money upon religious enterprises than any other group among us, and a great deal of what is left is wasted upon tin-pot fraternal orders.

Here in Washington we have more than eighty Negro churches. A very efficient and intelligent pastor of one of these churches said in a sermon recently that out of an estimated Negro population of 120,000, not more than 40,000 came in any way within the range of church influence. The average budget of these churches is about $4,000 a year. In other words, 40,000 people are paying $320,000 merely for current church expenses, or about $8 a year for each man, woman and child. This does not include the value of church property, nor does it take into consideration the existing indebtedness of the churches, which is no small figure.

There are some denominations which can control the number of churches which may exist in a particular territory, as for instance the Methodists, the Episcopalians and the Catholics. In the case of the Baptists and some others, any number of professing Christians may organize a church and be received into fellowship of other churches.

The greater number of churches here and elsewhere among our people are Baptist churches. There seems to be no way to control the number of these churches, except by the method of public discussion and education. Most of these small Baptist churches are composed of communicants who are very poor, indeed, and the support of the church imposes the greatest personal sacrifices on them. These same people could be provided with religious instruction and guidance in existing larger churches.

This matter is one of great importance and should receive careful consideration from leaders in church work. It seems to thoughtful people that the need of the Negro, in the populous centers, at least, is that there should be fewer churches, larger churches, and better equipment for meeting the needs of the community.

We believe that the church has a most important function to perform in the uplift of the race. We further assert that many of the churches are performing this function conscientiously and in the spirit of true religion; but we are sorry to say that the number of those who are not doing this is altogether too large.

DISCUSSING THE UNDISCUSSIBLE

In the October number of the Forum there are two articles dealing with the question of race relationship; one by Alain Le Roy Locke, entitled, "The High Cost of Prejudice," and the other by Lothrop Stoddard, entitled, "The Impasse at the Color-line." On the cover of the Forum both articles are announced under the title, "Can We absorb the Negro?"; while in the text they bear the title, "Should the Negro be Encouraged to Cultural Equality?"

These titles are not without interest as indicating the varied and changing aspects of the racial discussion as it appeals to different minds, or to the same mind at different times.

Fundamentally, neither Mr. Locke nor Mr. Stoddard has anything new to say on the subject. Mr Locke does present the matter from a somewhat novel point of view, although his premises are narrow, from which it results that his conclusions appear to be in like manner narrow.

He is asking for "cultural recognition." In effect, he says: "You have Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes and Weldon Johnson. Each one of these is a man of Negro blood, and has made contributions to the field of art in poetry, drama, fiction and music. You have accepted these contributions and crowned them with approval and appreciation. Having thus accepted and enjoyed the works of these artists, accept, I pray you, the persons of these artists. I plead only for 'the social recognition of the culturally advancing type of Negro'; for 'the recognition of the outstanding few.' It is better that the contact between the races should be from the top, rather than from the bottom."

In reply, Mr. Stoddard gives no attention to the contentions in detail of Mr. Locke for "cultural recognition" of the "talented tenth." He in effect says: "The Negro is the victim of illusions. I will not discuss racial inferiority or racial superiority; that is a matter entirely beside the question at issue. All that I claim is that Negroes are 'different,' and that fact excludes the idea of social equality. What I advocate is a bi-racial understanding. No amount of culture, or achievement, or character on the part of races 'different' from the Caucasian race can be permitted to gain for them social equality with the Caucasian race."

The attitude of Mr. Stoddard was made known by his voluminous writing on racial questions, and especially in his book, "The Rising Tide of Color." He says that he is a New England Yankee. That statement is utterly irrelevant, for the sufficient reason that some New England Yankees have been slaveholders and many were defenders of the institution of chattel slavery. They mobbed William Lloyd Garrison in the streets of Boston for advocating the abolition of slavery, and they returned fugitives from slavery to the house of bondage.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, in her "Uncle Tom's Cabin," makes her most despicable character a person of New England birth. Because a man is of New England birth is no warrant for the inference that he has any of the humane principles of Garrison, Phillips and Sumner.

As a general proposition, we can see no good to come from discussions involving questions of private, personal, intimate intercourse. In this designation we do not include places of public amusement, places of public refreshment, public instruction, public utilities, and agencies of a quasi public nature. But when it comes to questions of purely personal choices and affinities—as to matters of private and intimate concern—public discussion is all out of place.

In this present discussion, Mr. Stoddard absolutely does not argue at all. He makes assertions. Mr. Locke does not provide himself with a sufficiently broad thesis. He does say that prejudice is costly, but he seems to be all too willing to temporize and compromise with it, for the mess of pottage which he calls "cultural recognition."

The lesson is that the Negro

must be not only an artist, but a trader, a banker, a manufacturer, an organizer and administrator of industry and enterprise, a politician in the best sense, and adept in all that concerns man as man.

Mencken Repeats

MR. H. L. MENCKEN is with us again. Undismayed by the protests of Negroes against his criticism last July, he returned to the subject of Negro achievement in last Sunday's New York World. Explorers and hunters say that Africa is the most fascinating continent; that once a man knows it he is drawn back to it again and again by some mysterious spell. The American African seems to exercise the same charm upon white critics and artists; once they take hold of him they cannot let go.

MAKING an exception of R. Nathaniel Dett, Mr. Mencken repeats his assertion that the Negro has done nothing of serious artistic importance. He calls the Negro preacher the worst enemy of the Negro and describes him as a magnificently uneducated, self-seeking ignoramus with a swamp-bred theology and a pork-chop culture. He thinks that one of the Negro's ailments is self-satisfaction and prescribes a dose of George S. Schuyler and unsentimental self-analysis.

MR. MENCKEN is progressing. Since July he has found one worthy Negro composer in Dr. Dett; by Christmas he may find another. He may learn why the white public wants Negro novels and dramas written by white authors and not by Negroes. By next July he may realize that there is as much God in the swamps of the Mississippi as there was in the swamps of the Nile where Moses began. In ten years he may come to know that the Negro preacher is no more and no less self-seeking than the white preacher; that, as a class, the Negro preachers perform a more extensive social service to the community than any other group of the race.

THE NEGRO will laugh to hear himself accused of too much self-satisfaction. His trouble all along has been that he had too little of it; two hundred and fifty years of slavery rubbed an inferiority complex deep into him. He is just beginning to shake it off, to appreciate himself, to feel his potentiality. He needs more squaring of shoulders and lifting of heads instead of less.

THE MERCURIAL MR. MENCKEN

In the current number of the American Mercury, Henry C. Mencken broke out in a new spot by avowing that he was not above believing that this republic, "emerging painfully from the age of Rotary, comes into a Coon Age." This designation, while lacking in elegance was derived from the creole term barracoon, applied to the barracklike buildings where slaves were confined before the Civil War, according to a writer in the Mercury some months ago. The term was originally applied to colored Americans who were not confined to the barracks.

Having held up to derision the Babbits and the Rotarians, the mercurial Mr. Mencken has turned the shafts of his irony upon the colored brother, whom he describes as "once so lowly but now bursts into the sunlight all along the line." In a flood of hyperbole, he invidiously proclaims that in New York City he (the said colored brother) "has made such astounding progress, all within a few years, that he now ranks, socially, next after English actors, and elsewhere he has gone ahead almost as fast, relatively if not absolutely." Here is where the ambidextrous Mr. Mencken twists the lion's tail, of both British and African species. He jeeringly notes the diminishing of lynching in Alabama, the lessening of Ku Klux outrages and ventures to guess that these must be sad days for Dr. W. E. Burghart Dubois. He admits that the Jim Crow car survives in such sinks of barbarism as Mississippi, but asks what enlightened colored man goes to Mississippi save perhaps to get material for a comic article. In short, Mr. Mencken jumps through the hoops of rhetoric in his most mercurial manner.

But his serious indictment of the influence of the African on American development seems to be based on the jazz movement in music and the dance, the inventions of black cooks in the culinary art and the adoption of gin as the popular beverage. This last count is hardly a substantial one, as the readiness with which such a synthetic compound as gin of the prohibition era can be produced by the average druggist or bootlegger, would account for its universal acceptance.

Language, social customs and religion are also cited by Mr. Mencken as showing the results of African influence. He quotes a Columbia professor as showing that the speech of the Southern white and that of the Southern blacks is phonetically the same, and thus assumes that it is an Afroid, if not African, dialect. A Kittrell College professor noted this similarity and attributed it to the old English idioms absorbed by the African slaves and their descendants from the low class Southern whites. This professor even traced the derivation of many of the words to their English origin and instanced the paucity of African words adopted into American speech.

As to cabarets and night clubs, being essentially African in character there is room for controversy, but there may exist some slight ground for Mr. Mencken's assumption that "the proud Nordic Blond, pushing always, has pushed at last into colored society." But the editor of the Mercury should know that this is no new thing, as his native State, Maryland, a century or two ago, sought first to regulate by statute and then forbid the marriage of whites and blacks. But Mr. Mencken waxes malicious when he seeks to saddle upon an innocent and guileless race responsibility for "the Methodist-Baptist voodoo worship which now colors all American legislation and has declared a war of extermination upon the more urbane sects and creeds." He does a grave injustice to a great denomination when he asserts that "the greatest Christian country in the world is not only Methodist; it is A. M. E." The recent letter of Bishop Walls in The Age on Mr. Mencken's strictures of the Negro ministry, and Dr. Moton's address before the Baptist convention are indications of the liberality and tolerance that pervade the Negro churches of America. As to the matter of social contact between the races resulting in intermarriage even that would be no new thing. It has happened before in all classes of our cosmopolitan society and probably will happen again. While differences of class, race and religion do not always make for harmonious unions, love has a way of leaping barriers and disregarding consequences. If, as Mr. Mencken somewhat hazily predicts, "the heiress to one of the great New York fortunes will run off to Union Hill, N. J., and there marry a dark shiek from Harlem," there will be another front page story for the newspapers.

The mercurial element in Mr. Mencken's composition leads him to write many things that are not so. Nevertheless, he is always, or nearly always, edifying and entertaining.

Race Problem - 1927

United States

The people of this country are not impotent and helpless in the face of a Supreme Court decision. There are three courses open. Amend the Constitution. Elect the kind of President who will appoint justices who will render the desired decisions. Create powerful public opinion. The history of the Court makes clear that in the long run it is responsive to public opinion. In his dissenting opinion in the theatre case, Justice Holmes said, "If the people of the State of New York, speaking by their authorized voice, say they want it, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent their having their wills." And evenually, if they desire anything with sufficient intensity, they will secure it.

DARROW, THE TRUTH, AND THE MOB.

The almost uncanny reasoning ability of Clarence Darrow has won him the respect if not the love of the whole of America. During his later years, having amossed a comfortable fortune, he is lecturing in various parts of the country to the youth and telling them the truth about American conditions as he views it. Most of the time he speaks to Negro youth and his opinions have to do with with their status in this country and with the actual mind of the American white man. Last week he spoke in Alabama and was almost mobbed by those who did not agree with his doctrines.

The mob has always existed as has the truth. And strange as it may seem, the truth has finally, though never swiftly, made itself apparent despite the actions of the mob and once apparent, has attracted enough followers to make itself, permanent. It has also happened many times that those who have announced the truth for the first time have been persecuted and killed. But that has only served to make more definite the truths which they have told.

Darrow, if he would live longer, should stay away from the south and its mobs with his conception of the truth. His conception, we said. But if he considers that the gravity of the American situation demands his coming and risking the dangers, let him come. Certainly the truth could be told in no action of America where it is more soldom heard.

RACIAL BARRIER NOT COLOR, SAYS CLAR'CE DARROW

Washington.—That the scientists, the intelligentsia and the artists of the world are all friends of the Negro, and the morons of the world his enemies, was asserted in an address on "The Ramparts of Civilization," by Clarence Darrow, of Chicago, Sunday night at the Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church at a meeting held under auspices of the local branch of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

More than 5,000 taxed the capacity of the auditorium, while more than 5,000 strove in vain to gain admission.

An overflow was organized at the John Wesley Church, and Dr. Charles Edward Russell and Bishop E. D. W. Jones held the audience there until they could be greeted after 11 o'clock by Mr. Darrow. The association began its annual membership drive under unusual auspices, pledges and subscriptions being received in basketfuls.

Mr. Darrow was introduced by Neval H. Thomas, president of the local association, and given an ovation. Accompaning him was Capt. William L. Smith, one of the defendants in the Sweet residential segregation case, which Darrow won last year in Detroit for the association.

He analyzed color prejudice not so much as hatred of white people for colored as an insistence that the colored man, "know and keep his place," the position ascribed to him by master and slave psychology of generations ago, which 60 years of freedom has been insufficient to destroy. That the real racial barrier is not color, Darrow said, was proved by attention lavished on Swamis, of India, and on men of China and Japan. The formula for racial prejudice he adduced as the Negro's previous condition of servitude coupled with the Anglo-Saxon's habitual moron conceptions.

Brutal Whipping in Two Counties Challenge State

By PAUL STEVENSON
In Atlanta Constitution

Two brutal and dastardly whippings administered to private citizens of Georgia in recent weeks by bands of masked and robed men have brought to light a situation existing in two Georgia counties, which is going to put to the test of time the power of the constituted legal machinery of this state to punish two groups who have taken the law into their own hands, have set themselves up as arbiters of community affairs and who have cowed and defied the mass of the people of those two counties, who believe in law and order, and are ready at the first opportunity to back the law in eradication once and for all the evil that exists.

In Treutlen County, near Soperton, the fiendish beating of Editor H. M. Flanders, of the Soperton News, on the night of February 25, and in Toombs County the flogging of Wimberly Brown, a lawyer, on Christmas Eve night last year, brought to light the strange situation existing in these counties. The Soperton whipping was planned and executed by a body of men known as 'the whisky crowd" and their victim was an editor who was one of the leaders of the so-called "moral element."

Just a few miles away in the adjoining county of Toombs the masked and robed band was composed of the self-styled "moral forces" and the victim was a man charged with being an ally of "the whisky crowd."

DARROW PREDICTS GREAT FUTURE FOR NEGRO IN AMERICA

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER

Washington, D. C., March 16.—Notwithstanding the trials and tribulations under which the Negro in America is laboring, his future is promising, Clarence S. Darrow, noted criminal lawyer and champion of human liberty, declared in an address under the auspices of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Metropolitan A. M. E. Church Monday night.

"It is not possible," he said, "that a caste system can forever exist in the United States. It is not possible that through force and fraud and violation of law colored people can ever be submerged in a country dedicated to freedom."

The church was crowded to capacity. Not even standing room was available an hour before the meeting began. Thousands clamored in vain to gain admission. Finally the thousands on the outside were told to go to the John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church and Mr. Darrow would address them afterwards.

The John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church was filled to capacity. Charles Edward Russell, socialist, who accompanied Mr. Darrow to the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, and Bishop E. D. W. Jones, of the A. M. E. Zion Church, went to John Wesley and addressed the crowd while they were waiting for Mr. Darrow.

The meeting was a membership drive for the local branch of the lynched in Georgia in 1926.—Atlanta Constitution.

vancement of Colored People. The appeal for memberships was made by Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, principal of the National Training School for Women and Girls. The crowd responded liberally.

Captain William L. Davis, who was one of the defendants in the Sweet murder trial in Detroit, was introduced by Neval H. Thomas, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He and Mr. Darrow, who represented the defendants in that case, were loudly applauded as they greeted each other.

The Dunbar High School quintet, under the direction of Miss Mary Europe, sang "Deep River." Mr. Thomas introduced Mr. Darrow.

Darrow Denies That He Was Threatened

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., March 14.—(By the Associated Negro Press)—Clarence Darrow, eminent Chicago lawyer and exponent of free thought, stopped off here long enough to deny the charge that he was forced to leave Mobile, Alabama, under the protection of the police for delivering an address urging Negroes to stand up for their rights and "to strike as they had nothing to lose but their chains."

The report, which emanated from Mobile, declared that the attorney had aroused the ire of the Ku Klux Klan by his address to the colored people and further by repeating it before a white audience. So aroused was this group, according to the report, Mr. Darrow only escaped a coat of tar and feathers by police protection.

MR. DARROW DENIES IT

Some weeks ago Clarence Darrow, who was wintering on the Alabama Gulf Coast, made an address before an audience of negroes at Daphne about which there has been some heated controversy. A committee of white citizens addressed a letter to the Fairhope Courier, in which they quoted Mr Darrow as having made some sensational statements on the "race question" in his address to the negroes. His speech as quoted in some newspapers made a bad impression and naturally was much deplored.

Mr. Darrow, however, assures his friend, Dr. D. J. Spotswood, of Mobile, that he was not correctly quoted. In a letter to Dr. Spotswood, published in "Common Sense," a periodical edited by the doctor, Mr. Darrow says in part:

Let me say I have always been a friend of the colored people, as I have all who need me. I believe the condition of the colored people is gradually improving throughout the South and North. I believe it will still further improve in the future. Of course it is a silly lie that I said they must resist the whites. I knew that would mean death. I always explain and did at Daphne that only education and property could be relied on to help and they must help themselves. Much that was said in the circular I never said there or elsewhere, especially that their condition in the South was much different than in the North. Of course I deplored lynch law which has been only too common in the North and South, and I presume the most intelligent of the Klan deplores it, too. Certainly those who speak for the South deplore it and are doing all they can to prevent it.

There is another denial made in Mr. Darrow's behalf which should be given further currency. A dispatch from Mobile to the Chicago American and the Chicago Tribune, said that the Lyric theater in Mobile had to be guarded to prevent mob violence to Mr. Darrow when he made a speech there. Dr. Spotswood declares in his publication that this story "is not only a malicious falsehood, but a fabrication calculated to give the people of Mobile an unenviable reputation for intolerance, inhospitality and advocates of lynch law."

Dr. Spotswood continues: "Mr. Darrow throughout his address received unstinted applause and at its close an ovation, many ladies and gentlemen lingering to personally congratulate him."

CLARENCE DARROW NOT THREATENED IN ALABAMA

Clarence Darrow, who delivered an address before two overflow audiences here Monday night, in an interview with several newspaper men, said, referring to the press reports from Alabama that he had been attacked there:

"There was nothing true in the stories the press dispatches were purely fictitious."

It was reported in several publications that Mr. Darrow, after making a speech before a Negro audience telling them to demand their rights, was attacked by members of the Ku Klux Klan and had to leave.

MOB IN DIXIE AFTER DARROW

From The Day Leased Wire

Exclusive Dispatch

Mobile, Ala., March 10—Accusing him of urging social equality for Negroes, an angry mob of whites forced Clarence Darrow, noted lawyer, to flee from Fairhope, a bay resort hear here, under a heavy guard.

Darrow had just spoken to the students of the Negro Industrial school at Daphney, Ala., on "Crime, Its Causes and Treatment" when he was accused of inciting race hatred.

MAYBE YOU CAN ANSWER THIS ONE, CLARENCE

Mr. Clarence Darrow, who is spending several weeks at Fairhope, is quoted as making the following speech at the Negro Intustrial School in Baldwin county:

> I can't help you, you will have to help yourself, but I advise always an attitude of defiance toward the white man who calls himself "your friend." How has he manifested this friendship? By hanging and burning you, by making you do his work, and use his back door; refusing to let you enter the best hotels and to use the best coach in the train, and by making you sit in the rear of the street car. The only front place the white man has ever given you is in the battle line. There you can stop the bullets, but when you return home you can't use the sidewalks, you have to use the road. What can the colored man do to help himself? I see you pray, but I don't know why. Your God must be a "white" man, considering the way he treats you. No doubt there will be a "Jim Crow" law in your heaven when you get there. You can sing—I heard you sing—"Sweet Land of Liberty," but I don't see how you can. I don't sing it because I know it's not true. But you can work and gain a place for yourself if you can do your work better than the white man. You are being recognized and you have some friends who are not afraid to sit at the table with you. I have done so and even drank bootleg liquor with you, and in what better way can friendship be manifested?

As a criminal lawyer Mr. Darrow is without a peer. As one who possess a towering intellect he is admired throughout the country. As an independent thinker he is refreshing as one to breed good will and tolerance between the white and black races of the South, Mr. Darrow's ability is surpassed only by his engulfing faith in God and his passionate efforts in behalf of the Christian religion. In short, on this question Mr. Darrow is in a strange sea with his paddles gone and his rudder swept away. On top of that he is seasick.

The Birmingham News thinks that Mr. Darrow is merely seeking publicity. Safs that paper. There is no more avid notoriety-seeker than this same Darrow; but he is going a bit too far when he comes down here and out of his ignorance and desire for the limelight endeavors to stir up trooble and ill-feeling between the two races * * * and every intelligent negro knows it.

The Eagle, however, does not believe that Mr. Darrow is talking with one facinated eye fixed on the front page of the press. He is old and his hide is tough, and we imagine he cares not a whoop about newspaper publicity. We believe that Mr. Darrow is enjoying himself according to his peculiar taste, i.e. by raising mental Hades. He enjoyed blowing off his ideas on the Negro question because they are radically different from Alabamians' ideas, and it was fun to him.

We confess that Alabama has Jim Crow laws; that whites and Negroes eat at separate places, and sleep not only in separate houses, but in houses located in separate parts of town. The reason for this is so simple that it distresses us that one with Mr. not see it. It is his: "East is east, and west is west, and never the twain," etc.

Before Mr. Darrow offers further advice to the Negroes we suggest that he first explain how the east may meet the west gracefully and without bloodshed. Then Jim Crow laws will take care of themselves.

Aroused Over Ouster Effort

Students at University of Georgia Rally to Support Y. M. C. A. Secretary

Alleged Pacifist

Magazine Says "Freedom of Speech" Involved

Athens, Ga., Feb. 18.—(AP)—University of Georgia students today were aroused over efforts to oust Paul Guthrie, Assistant Secretary of the College Y. M. C. A., for his work on the Inter-racial Commission and alleged pacifist beliefs. The Red and Black, student publication, in its issue of today charged the ousting effort as an "attempt to suppress freedom of speech."

The ouster efforts were instigated, the paper says, by H. J. Rowe, member of the Prudential Committee of the Board of Trustees. This board represents the General Board when it is not in session and has met twice this week, once with the Board of Directors of the Y. M. C. A.

Guthrie denies any interference with the military department of the University, although he "doesn't approve of militarism."

Thermite, a chemical which burns at a temperature of 5,080 degrees Fahrenheit, is being used experimentally to melt ice jams.

Race Problem—1927
United States.
DETROIT, MICH.
Saturday Night
JUL 23 1927

Bigots Help to Kill Off Intolerance

AS time goes on, religious and racial controversies and persecutions are becoming fewer and farther between, for it seems to be the way of the world to gradually outgrow such things in the same manner as a child leaves behind it the shortcomings of early infancy. Yet in the past few years, America has witnessed two singularly spectacular outbursts of intolerance, and the observer who has followed the course of Henry Ford's anti-Semitic activities and the campaign of the Klan and others against Catholicism and Al Smith, cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that these events represent the survival, in lesser degree, of the sort of group antagonism that flourished in walled towns during the middle ages.

Mr. Ford has lowered his battle flag, and *The Dearborn Independent* swallowed its own words against the Jews. Beyond the approval expressed by certain fanatical European groups, the world watched the whole procedure rather apathetically. The Klan, whose influence at one time assumed really ominous proportions, is now neatly packed away in moth balls and many of its promoters have turned to other pastures. Occasionally, the hooded brethren in some remote southern community muster sufficient enthusiasm to flog a schoolboy or a restaurant proprietress, but outside of such functions the Klan is of little consequence. Running for public office on the Klan ticket once insured an excellent chance of finishing in the money; except in scattered communities, it has now become recognized as a almost convenient form of political suicide.

Sometimes, in the past, the bigots have gotten farther than the Klan and Mr. Ford did. They have made their peoples miserable—even exterminated them.

Yet, in the long run, the net effect of persecution in the extreme intolerant spirit is quite the opposite of what the bigots intend to accomplish. The edict of Nantes helped Protestantism; czarism in Russia, which was political bigotry, bred radicals and revolutionists; lynching of Negroes and others in the south has helped create more enlightened ideas on the great racial problem; in the end, the debate over Al Smith, which may leave Al about where he was politically, will tend to make it harder to stir prejudice against a good American merely because he belongs to the Catholic church; Henry Ford's crusade against the Jews will ultimately have no noteworthy effect except to make people wonder at the peculiar mental slant and gullibility of its author and to make it harder for anyone else to get public support for such a silly campaign.

Intolerant exhibitions such as those referred to are finally educative. Their authors usually aim to "reform"—or sometimes exterminate—their victims, but the way of the world is that the great public, or at least some part of it, learns a lesson that helps, in the end, in the great battle against darkness, fear, stupidity and narrow-mindedness. So such men as Wizard Evans of the Klan and Mr. Ford really do some good by their bigotry—but not in the way they expected when they started on the warpath. Will they ever learn that that is the way things work out?

"ALL coons look alike to me"—was once the title of a popular song which expressed the homely philosophy of a multitude of white people on the Negro. It typified their spiritual attitude toward the Negro as well as his physical effect upon their sense of right.

Hating All White People

This opinion had economic consequences, too. Insurance companies made this a pretext or excuse for not insuring colored people, saying one Negro would die for another, and they could not, therefore, protect themselves against fraud. (Finger printing had probably not reached its present stage of accuracy in identification!)

Moreover, the theory had social consequences. When a crime was committed by one Negro, instead of taking pains to detect and to apprehend the real culprit, punishment meted out to "just any Negro" was regarded as sufficient. It was commonplace for a mob to lynch an innocent Negro, then later admit that a mistake had been made, while after the Chinese cynic's philosophy its members would soothe their slippery consciences with the consolation, "well, they are all bad fellows anyway!"

In physics there is a law which reads, Reaction is equal to action in the opposite direction. Which is also true of social physics—human psychology. Thus Negroes concluded that the way to fight fire is with fire. "All white people are alike," countered the Negro to the whites saying, "All coons look alike." Negroes grew to hate or distrust most white people. They acted trustfully in their presence, it is true, after that well known histrionic ability of weaker peoples, yet all the while they had reservations just as they believed and still believe that white people have reservations as to them. Abraham Lincoln gives a rather nice and succinct illustration of this principle in his Douglas debates. Said he, "When our fathers wrote in the Declaration of Independence 'all men are created equal,' they whispered behind their backs, 'all *white* men are created equal'."

That both the white and the Negro opinion was and is erroneous is easy to expose by analysis, but more difficult to dispel by logic. In their sober moments most Negroes were always willing to admit that John Brown—who gave not only his own life, but the lives of his sons for Negro freedom—was not like all the Negro-hating whites. Today they accord to Clarence Darrow the high place of true friend, despite his being a Democrat and an agnostic—both of which are normally anathema to the Negro mind.

We are not, however, thrown for proof upon such isolated examples as John Brown, Lincoln, Sumner, Lovejoy, Greeley, Lowell, Beecher, Stowe, Garrison, and Darrow. For thinking colored people are well acquainted with Blaine's history of the Ku Klux Klan in the reconstruction period, wherein he points out how that notorious organization murdered over fifty thousand white union soldiers and Yankee teachers who went South to protect and instruct the freedom during those hectic

and hazardous days. Likewise all Negroes, who have journed or been educated in the South, recall the splendid New England white teachers of Hampton, Howard, Fisk, Virginia Union, Atlanta, and other schools—remember with what industry they labored, with what devotion they toiled, with what unselfishness they chose to do a work for which there was little compensation except ostracism as "nigger-lovers," outside of the joy which one gleans from doing good deeds for others and performing what he considers his duty.

Chicago Negroes today would readily recall Darrow and Rosenwald, the late Victor F. Lawson, and Patrick O'Donnell, Mary McDowell and Jane Addams, and many others whose lives impress them as refuting the absurd principle that "all white people are alike."

A more powerful example as proof that homogeneity of opinion on the race question does not exist among all white people is to be found in a comparison of Negro treatment in different states. For instance, Mississippi has about 950,000 Negroes, and 800,000 whites. South Carolina, 900,000 Negroes, and 800,000 whites. New York has about 250,000 Negroes and 12,000,000 whites; Illinois 200,000 Negroes and 7,000,000 whites.

Mississippi and South Carolina, however, have Jim Crow cars, disfranchisement, discrimination in places of public accommodation and amusement, segregation in education and recreation, notwithstanding their racial populations are about equal numerically. Nevertheless, New York with a population of forty-eight whites to one Negro, and Illinois with thirty-five whites to one Negro, could, more easily than Mississippi and South Carolina adopt Jim Crow cars, disfranchise Negroes, discriminate again them in public accommodation and amusement, segregate in education and recreation. That they do not do so is based upon a difference of opinion among the white populations of those respective states.

In other words, all white peoples are no more alike than all Negroes. The person who asserts such rot writes himself down as either an ignorant or prejudiced bigot, whether he be white or black.

THE CONSTITUTION ON ENFORCEMENT OF THE 14TH, 15TH AND 18TH AMENDMENTS

Our esteemed contemporary, the Atlanta Constitution, in expressing its opposition to Honorable William Gibbs McAdoo as nominee of the Democratic party in 1928, puts up a peculiar complex to the American people on law enforcement. The Constitution virtually confesses that if the enforcement of the 18th amendment to the Federal Constitution, involves the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments it stands for nullification of the three amendments. That is to say rather than to see the colored citizens enjoy an equality of political and economic rights under the Constitution, it would prefer the evil and iniquity of the liquor traffic. The Constitution would thwart the will of the great majority of the white people of the country expressed at the ballot box, in order to deprive the colored people of their constitutional rights as set out in the 14th and 15th amendments.

It would sacrifice law and order and set up a season of bigotry intolerance and lawlessness rather than to have an orderly government with all of the people participating in, and enjoying its benefits and opportunities.

Our neighbor throws out the same threat about the enforcement of the 18th amendment that the solid South inveigles against the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution. To the end, that the South will never yield its political heritage to the designs of those who would upset white supremacy.

The South recognizes the fact that the rigid enforcement of the 18th amendment would in the fitness of things, bring about the enforcement of the entire Constitution and all of its amendments; throws out the defi that it will not submit to the McAdoo program of law enforcement, so long as the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution exist as a direct challenge to the white supremacy in the South. The Constitution tells Mr. McAdoo that it will be inviting trouble, and serious trouble at that, if any attempt is ever made by the Federal Government to put into execution what he is advocating to enforce the 18th amendment.

Mr. McAddoo says the National Prohibition law can be enforced if the Government will have the guts to put behind its policy of enforcement, what it takes to enforce the law. The Constitution says in reply, that if the Government ever undertakes to carry out the McAdoo idea of enforcement, it will invite trouble, and serious trouble at that.

We are just wondering in our minds who will give the Government trouble, and if trouble arises under the leadership of the Constitution or any other aggregation of Bolsheviks, Communists or Anarchists, how long will it take the Government to suppress the insurrection—in forty-eight hours the last vestige of Communism, Bolshevism and rebellion would be wiped from whatever state or territory adjudged in rebellion against the Government at Washington. The Union is indissoluble and cannot be dissolved; and the day will come when the Constitution and all of its amendments will be fully enforced without the taking of life, or shedding of blood. Lincoln saved the Union, and there are not enough Bolsheviks and Communists among the good people of America to even threaten seriously the overthrow of the Republic; the threat of any section or agency to the contrary, notwithstanding.

It is true, as the Constituton says, Prohibition Enforcement is a farce, but it is largely so, because the Government has not put behind its policy of enforcement that which it takes to enforce the law—the full power of every branch of the Government at Washington.

The American people are not nullifiers of the law, but enforcers of the law. It may take more than one generation to enforce an unpopular law, but ultimately if the law is right and founded upon justice it will be enforced. Intolerance and bigotry have set out to defeat the 18th amendment as they did the 14th and 15th amendments, but in finality both will be enforced—the Negro will come into the full enjoyment of his political and economic rights, and the morals of the Nation will be preserved by the full and firm enforcement of the National Prohibition law and all other laws.

If white supremacy can't stand on its legs with the enforcement of the law, it ought to fail, as in the end it will do, because of its wickedness and insanity. White supremacy belies its own logic when it argues that it must have certain laws enacted to limit the activities of an inferior group in order to maintain its own boasted and vaunted superiority.

The only difference between Negroes and white folks is condition, brought about by time and opportunity. A hundred years from today, there will be no discernible difference—everybody who are fit will be voting, holding office and enjoying equal political and economic opportunities. And the man who stands in the way of human progress will be dead and forgotten. AND SO MOTE IT BE!

White Judge Suggests Negroes Use Radio Appeal for Race Justice

INDIANAPOLIS. — Delivering the keynote address at the opening mass meeting of the N. A. A. C. P., Judge Ira W. Jayne of the Wayne county cir[cuit cou]rt, Detroit, voiced his hope in [the Neg]ro's struggle for equal opportunity [i]n America.

"[I a]m not ready to believe that the [major]ity of my fellow men, that is my [wh]ite fellow men, have had their sense of justice eaten away by the canker of race prejudice," declared Judge Jayne. "I believe that in the hearts and minds of a multitude of your fellow white citizens similarly situated, alike in everything but color there is an abiding sense of justice which may be successfully aroused.

"The soil has been well prepared. They listen to your artists because of the beauty of the sound. They read your authors for the feel of their words. The time has come to submit to them the proposition of justice in the abstract. We have successfully taken our case to the courts of law. Let us now take it to the courts of public opinion. We must get our appeal into the white pulpit and the white press. Why not over the radio into the white homes? It is a task of magnitude. It does appear discouraging. I know when the fiery Henry Ward Beecher carried his message to his cowardly contemporaries his listeners sought to enforce his silence. But the masses of our fellow white men can be told that as for them, race prejudice is a weapon in the hands of the enemy. Its sole purpose is their own injury. I believe our cause is just; so just that all must listen."

NEVAL H. THOMAS SCORES PEONAGE

Calls Upon President to Suppress Evil in the United States

Boston, Mass., July 1.—Resolution calling upon President Coolidge to work for stronger federal laws against peonage and lynching and to abolish by executive order segregation of Race workers employed by the government in Washington were adopted last week at the Salem Race day meeting held in Faneuil hall. The two-day commemoration meeting in honor of the military heroes of the Race was sponsored by the National Equal Rights league and was named after Peter Salem, hero of the battle of Bunker Hill.

Points Out Evils

Prof. Neval H. Thomas, teacher of history at the Dunbar high school, Washington, D. C., leading authority as to federal segregation, declared emphatically: "Segreation is the greatest issue before the American people, this country's most widespread evil. It is war against democracy and human progress, hence against the Constitution of our country. It was invented to kill the soul and destroy the self-respect of a great people and to promote the conceit and intolerance and the political, civil and economic advantage of the dominant group.

"I am thankful for the splendid traditions of equality that fill the pages of Massachusetts' history, but I deplore the fact that with this great commonwealth in the saddle at Washington there is more segregation than at any time since the Civil war. In every department of the federal and municipal government there is pronounced discrimination in position, quotas of appointments, salaries, toilets, restrooms and restaurants.

"Recently I saw the statues of Sumner, Phillips and Garrison, and with them those of Crispus Attucks and the black regiments of Civil war fame. We have just marched from the spot where black and white blood flowed in one crimson stream in the Boston massacre. This great commonwealth must not lose her heritage. We must resist the march of the segregated school the unchristion Y's, hospitals and every other distinction that is so generously offered to us," the speaker said.

Peonage Flourishes

Mrs. M. Cravath Simpson of the Equal Rights league declared that "the president's chief interest is in economy and that congress is getting after bootleggers, while peonage is being practiced and Race citizens are strung up for pastime." Prof. Neval T. Thomas flayed the federal government for segregation of Race employees in the various governmental departments at Washington. The meeting was called to order by William Monroe Trotter. Albert Wolf presided. Rev. B. W. Swain offered the invocation. Other speakers were Rev. Chellis V. Smith of Hyde Park and W. L. Reed, who delivered the address of welcome to Professor Thomas.

Race Problems 1927
United States.

WORLD

MAR 1927

Mr. Darrow Rebuked

The principal of a Negro school at Daphne, Alabama, is credited with administering a rebuke to no less formidable a person than Clarence Darrow, atheist, critic of all sorts of religion, savior of Leopold and Loeb and self-appointed critic of "The Land of the Free."

It came about in this way, according to a dispatch from Daphne to a Washington newspaper. Darrow delivered a lecture in the Negro school at Daphne, for which he was probably paid, and in the course of his address used these words:

"I can't help you; you will have to help yourselves. But I advise always an attitude of defiance towards a white man who calls himself your friend. How has he manifested this friendship. By hanging and burning; by making you do his work, and use his back door; refusing to let you enter the best hotels and to use the best coach in the train, by making you sit in the rear of the street car. The only front place the white man has ever given you is in the battle line. There you can stop the bullets, but when you return home you can't use the sidewalks, you have to use the road. What can the colored man do to help himself?

"I see you can pray, but I don't know why. Your God must be a white man, considering the way he treats you. No doubt there will be a Jim Crow law in your heaven when you get there. You can sing: I heard you sing Sweet Land of Liberty but I don't see how you can. I don't sing it, because I know it's not true.

"But you can work and gain a place for yourself, if you can do your work better than the white. You are being recognized, and you have some friends who are not afraid to sit at the table with you. I have done so, and I eve ndrank bootleg liquor with you and in what better way can friendship be manifested?"

Darrow referred repeatedly to his pet theme, "The Origin of Species," and his talk throughout was marked by a satirical humor which might have pleased a different audience.

At the close of the lecture, according to the Daphne dispatch, "Lignon Wilson, principal of the school, asked the white people to pass out at one door and the colored people at another door, saying: 'That's not segregation; that's just common sense.' And when Clarence Darrow asked: 'Which is the front door?' Lignon Wilson answered: 'Both of them are front doors'."

"Thus, in a few words," continued the dispatch, "did the principal of the colored school rebuke the Chicago agitator and repudiate the entire harangue Darrow had delivered under guise of a lecture."

Clarence Darrow is unquestionably an able man. He knows how to twist the law, to browbeat juries and twist judges around his finger but he has acquired a certain amount of hate and intolerance which nullifies much of his ability. With all his astuteness and bull-dog courage he seems unable to realize that he and others like him do more to stir up such racial discord as there may be than all the other causes combined.

With all his native ability and all his acquired knowledge he has been knocked from his pedestal by a Negro school teacher, who seems to possess better judgment and more common sense than a car load of Darrows when it comes to a show-down.

JAN 22 1927

FOREMAN POINTS OUT NEGRO'S OPPORTUNITY

Hampton Institute, Va., January 21.—Clark Howell Foreman, formerly of Atlanta, now assistant director of the Phelps-Stokes fund, speaking before the Hampton institute student body stated that cooperation is the best test of civilization and that the furthering of the principles of cooperation is one of the south's most important problems.

"What we need to do," said Mr. Foreman, "is to clear away all obstacles in the way of individual development. But even after these are cleared away, there still will be a great deal that has to be done. For enlarging opportunity will be of no value unless negroes take advantage of it in the way of personal achievement."

Mr. Foreman elaborated his remarks by saying that respect for any people grows out of respect for individual achievement within that group, pointing to such negroes as Booker T. Washington, Major Moton, Paul Robeson and Roland Hayes to illustrate his statement.

Mr. Foreman is a Georgian and his interest in the problem of two races living together led him to intensive studies in the field of sociology. Feeling that cooperation was the crying need in the betterment of interracial conditions he went to work for the interracial commission. Actual experience has convinced him of the correctness of his viewpoint and he is now working with the Phelps-Stokes fund along similar lines.

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Dr. Grimke Warns Race Against Darrow; Dr. Tobias Defends Him

Washington, D. C., April 12.—Despite the fact that Clarence Darrow is a great lawyer, a man of brains and a tried friend of the Negro race, he is not a leader for us to follow, according to the Rev. Francis J. Grimke, pastor of 15th Street Presbyterian Church, in a pamphlet issued recently.

"Mr. Darrow has rendered valuable service to the race in the fight which it is making for full

CLARENE DARROW

ecognition of its rights under the onstitution, for which I honor im," Dr. Grimke says.

"A man who is in doubt as to od and of future life; who makes gh tof the Bible and scoffs at re-gion, can hardly be called a safe ader.

"Though he may ably defend ur poltical and civil rights, if he estroys our faith in God and in ie Bible, the good he does is more an overbalanced by the evil hich he does.

"If I must choose between my olitical and civil rights and my ith in God and the Bible, my civil and political rights will have to go."

Dr. Channing H. Tobias Defends Him

Union Theological Seminary, located in New York, and of which Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin is president, and such noted men as Harry Emerson Fosdick, Hugh Black and others are professors, had as the regular chapel speaker last week, Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary of the Colored Work Department of the Y. M. C. A. After reading the passage from the Bible which contains the statement: "Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." Mr. Tobias reminded his hearers of the fact that Negro churches were throwing open their pulpits to Clarence Darrow not because they shared his anti-Christian views, but because they were grateful for his Christian practices.

"As between the white preachers of Detroit who had spoken no strong word against a racial residential dead line whch compelled 50,000 Negroes to live in homes built to accommodate 6,000 people, and Clarence Darrow who defended Dr. Sweet without the payment of a fee," said Mr. Tobias, "Negroes believe Darrow to be more Christlike."

The speaker referred also to the service that is being rendered by Julius Rosenwald to many classes of people, particularly the 4,000 school houses he has helped to build for Negro children in the southern states and asked if Rosenwald's service was not more Christlike than the empty handed prayers of many so-called Christians.

The speaker's final reference was to the white students of Virginia who went as delegates to the recent Milwaukee Student Convention. He said that they met successfully the true Christian test before they got to Milwaukee when they decided that instead of going one way and having Negro delegates go another way, they would arrange to have the entire Virginia delegation, white and colored, share the same Pullman cars.

EVOLUTION OF THE MIND OF THE NEGRO IN THE U. S.

Lack Of Co-operation Between Negroes Born During Slavery Gradually Giving Way To Unity And Harmony Show In New Spirit Of Race

It has almost become a proverb that Negroes do not pull together. Some authorities on race have considered this to be a trait peculiar to the Negro. Once there was a carnival show going on in town. The night of the carnival they promised to give their best shows. During the night of the performance of the best shows there appeared on one of the tents a large sign saying, "Come everybody and see something you have never seen before." This to was the chief attraction of the night. In this tent the show given was two Negroes pulling on a rope together. The tendency of not fully cooperating with each other has come down to the Negro from the slavery days when experience in unity and working together for a common purpose to their advantage was hard to be had under the system of slavery. In spite of this disadvantage there was a commonality of interest between the slaves which made them live in a mental world in a bond of unity. Each slave way down in his soul yearned for freedom; each realized that their race was being oppressed by the white race. It is a somewhat similar feeling that some darker race have that they are being looked down upon by any white race that makes them feel a certain unity and closeness with all dark races. When an East Indian or Chinese student or any other darker races experience discrimination in America today they become even more sympathetic with the American Negro.

Injustices Felt

All the many experiences of injustice that the Negroes suffer have planted in the mind of every Negro a connecting link of deep sympathy for his fellow. Even more than sympathy. The Negro who does not actually experience the injustice himself goes through the fulness of it in his own mind. When a Negro is lynched every Negro mentally experiences the human outrage. When a Negro hears of another being burned alive at stake there flashes consconiously or subconsciously through his being a feeling of deep resentment or terror which any civilized human in the jungles of Africa would have if suddenly fallen upon by savages.

The Negro has become more race conscious, and a closer unity to his fellows has been aroused in him from the injustices inflicted upon him by the white man as a result of his advancement in education. In a case at law in which out and out prejudice to a Negro is involved, the whole race feels itself on trial. In reality, it is.

Several months ago a race disturbance occurred in Detroit in which a white man was killed outside of the home of a Negro who had recently moved into a white neighborhood. There were eleven Negroes in the house at the time of the outbreak. All were arrested. One admitted the shooting. He was tried and acquitted. Negroes thronged the courtroom to witness the trial, not merely out of curiosity but because each one of them felt that he was on trial. When the verdict of "not guilty" came many colored people were seen with tears running down their cheeks and handkrchiefs do their eyes as they silently wept with joy at the justice that had been handed out to their race.

Superstititon and all the emotional tendencies that have beeen attributed to the old Negro are gradually vanishing in the rapid advancement of the Negro in education.

MISSISSIPPI USTICE IS QUEER

(By the Associated Negro Press)

OSCEOLA, Miss., April 6—Mississippi, the state that boasts of Vardeman and Pat Harris, and which sought to impeach a governor who dared to uphold the law and then "bowed" in reverentian sorrow at his funeral bier produced another peculiar angle here Friday when two murderes were sentenced.

W. H. Stayton, a white man charged with killing Louis Ward, a Negro, was found guilty and sentenced to serve two years in the penitentiary and Will Burleson, a Negro, charged with killing another Negro, was sentenced by the same judge to life imprisonment, while Roosevelt Nathaniel and Don Abrey, who are Negroes were given one year each on a charge of larceny.

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Dr. Grimke doesn't like Mr. Darrow's views on religion and he takes umbrage at Mr. Darrow's attitude toward prayer. Of course the Rev. Grimke is a high class minister of the gospel and it is not expected that he would complacently view Mr. Darrow's lack of religious faith.

Mr. Darrow is a member of the race from which the Negroes have been such great sufferers. As a member of that race it seems to us that Mr. Darrow more nearly exemplifies in his life the principles expounded in the Sermon on the Mount than many of the professed white Christians. There are very few colored people nowadays, whether they be ministers or laymen, who have much faith in the white man's religion. When they view the way these same Nordics talk Jesus and crucify their colored brother no one will expect the colored people to have any different view.

During his ministry on the earth the Man from Galilee, a militant expounder of His religion, spoke plainly to those who wore the cloak of religion to carry on their nefarious purposes. On one occasion He said that "all those who cried Lord, Lord, would not enter the Kingdom of Heaven." Were he to return to earth today and look over the field of those who profess to be His followers He would scourge them with the whip as he did the money changers in the temple.

We hold to our faith in the religion of Jesus Christ. We are sorry that this same religion is not adhered to by those who profess to be its proponents. The white Christian who can hold his bible in his hand and proscribe others of Christ's followers is a poor advance agent for the Christian religion. In our opinion Clarence Darrow has more real religion in his soul than many of those of his race who, with their smug hypocrisy, do everything else but believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

Whatever beliefs Mr. Darrow has he is not a hypocrite and of him the Master would not be called on to say as He said of the Pharisces: "Oh, ye whited sepulchres full of dead men's bones!"

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KERLIN IS OUSTED AGAIN

Forced To Resign From Normal School

VIEWS TOO LIBERAL

By The Associated Negro Press

Westchester, Pa., April 13.—Dr. Robert T. Kerlin, head of the department of English and Prof. John A. Kinneman, of the social science department, of the State Normal School at West Chester, have been forced to resign from their positions, following an ugly feeling which has been brewing against these two men for some time. Both are well-educated and are men known outside the state. Dr. Kerlin, who has been connected with the normal school for five years, is a graduate of Yale University, from which he received his Ph. D. degree. Prof. Kinneman is a graduate of the State Normal School.

Prof. Kinneman states as the reason for his dismissal the fact that he had incurred the enmity of the business manager of the State Normal School by supporting William B. Wilson, democratic candidate for the United States Senate. John Hollinger, the business manager, is a political satellit of William Clark. The affair has created much interest indeed, and bids fair to cause more or less trouble before the school year closes Prof. Kinneman is defended by a large number of people.

Dr. Kerlin's Case Is Different

Dr. Kerlin's case is somewhat different, and is calling for more widespread attention, as he has a national reputation for entertaining liberal views, both as the Negro and the Negro's case is concerned. Because of his fair-mindedness he was asked to resign from the Virginia Military Institute, where he had taught for eleven years. On more than one occasion he had taken a decided stand for American citizenship rights for the Negro, and had gone down on record as being for the Negro's getting a square deal.

Miss Isabel Darlington, chairman of the committee on instruction of the Board of Trustees of the State Normal School, is credited with saying on one occasion, that she did not like Prof. Kerlin because he was too

lic, who objected to the dismissal of these two scholarly men, denial was made by Miss Darlington.

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VIEWS TOO LIBERAL

By The Associated Negro Press

Westchester, Pa., April 13.—Dr. Robert T. Kerlin, head of the department of English and Prof. John A. Kinneman, of the social science department, of the State Normal School at West Chester, have been forced to resign from their positions, following an ugly feeling which has been brewing against these two men for some time. Both are well-educated and are men known outside the state. Dr. Kerlin, who has been connected with the normal school for five years, is a graduate of Yale University, from which he received his Ph. D. degree. Prof. Kinneman is a graduate of the State Normal School.

Prof. Kinneman states as the reason for his dismissal the fact that he had incurred the enmity of the business manager of the State Normal School by supporting William B. Wilson, democratic candidate for the United States Senate. John Hollinger, the business manager, is a political satellie of William Clark. The affair has created much interest indeed, and bids fair to cause more or less trouble before the school year closes Prof. Kinneman is defended by a large number of people.

Dr. Kerlin's Case Is Different

Dr. Kerlin's case is somewhat different, and calling for more widespread attention, as he has a national reputation for entertaining liberal views, so far as the Negro and the Negro's case is concerned. Because of his fair-mindedness he was asked to resign from the Virginia Military Institute, where he had taught for eleven years. On more than one occasion he had taken a decided stand for American citizenship rights for the Negro, and had gone down on record as being for the Negro's getting a square deal.

Miss Isabel Darlington, chairman of the committee on instruction of the Board of Trustees of the State Normal School, is credited with saying on one occasion, that she did not like Prof. Kerlin because he was too friendly with Negroes. It is said that the principal of the Normal School, the public, who objected to the dismissal of these two scholarly men, denial was made by Miss Darlington. However, when the matter was brought to the attention of the pub-

Race Problem - 1927
United States.

-:- TEN YEARS AFTER

By KELLY MILLER

The Case of the Negro Since the World War

THE world thinkers are now looking backward over the past ten years to determine what, if any, benefit the World War has brought to mankind. The New York World recently contained a symposium of American and European publicists. There is no consensus of opinion. No single authority is able to point out in a convincing way the undisputed advantage, such as that which flowed from the French Revolution, the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. Of one thing all must be convinced, and that is, if the statesmen of the world could have foreseen ten years ago the conditions which they now observe, they never would have precipitated this titantic struggle.

Mr. Wilson's "fourteen points" have become the tetradecalogue of ridicule. His high-sounding and sonorous phrases have become the object of sport and jest. His League of Peace has become a piece of a league. The world has been upset, and no one can say how it will resettle. It may be that we miss the advantage of perspective. We may be too close to the events to give them their proper placement and interpretation.

When we confine our attention to the American Negro, however, we have a much easier and simpler task. The Negro as a group had no immediate concern in the World War. The quarrels between the Germans and the Russians, French and Englishmen were no concern of his. The destruction of autocracy in Germany had absolutely no meaning to the Negroes in Georgia. The Negro follows the flag wherever it leads. His not to reason why; his but to do and die. He responded to his country's call. Whether by voluntary enlistment or proscription,

DEAN KELLY MILLER

when the general roll was called he was there. He responded to the call of Woodrow Wilson four hundred thousand strong.

Whatever advantage or disadvantage the race derived from the war was incidental and not calculated. He was requisitioned for his man-power alone.

No more account of his personal gain was considered than was accorded the Hessian hirelings during the Revolutionary War.

I called on Secretary Baker, along with the first delegation, to urge a training camp for colored officers. We found him keenly sympathetic, though hedged in by the traditional prejudice of the army and the proscriptive policy of the Democratic Party.

We had high hopes that the Negro would wrest from the prejudiced army officials recognition as an officer in the Federal army, by tested fitness and acknowledged capacity to lead his own race according to the requirements of war. Thanks to Secretary Baker, the camp at Des Moines was established. There was every reason to believe that the Negro was to be given a squarer, if not a square, deal.

I visited the camp and addressed the cadets when their hopes ran highest. Negro officers were shortly to be commissioned within a prescribed rank in the army. But in the meantime Houston riots had happened. There was a sudden change in public sentiment and a sudden shift in the program of commissions to be awarded. The time of training was prolonged. The race was sorely disappointed.

Houston sounded the death knell of the Negro's hope for effectively functioning in the army above the level of a private soldier. The word, I am convinced, was passed down from on high: "So far shalt thou go and no further."

The few Negroes who received commissions as officers were so handicapped and embarrassed that effective functioning was impossible. The race came out with a lower level of esteem as a qualified officer than he entered. The effect has been far-reaching. Negro leadership in Negro affairs has been greatly discredited throughout the whole circle of racial life and activity.

The World War created a vacuum in the labor market of the North. Southern Negroes rushed in to fill the vacancy. This has shifted from one to two million people from agricultural to industrial and economic life.

Herein lies the chief indirect benefit which the race has derived from the war. The magnitude of this advantage is hard to calculate. It may be more profitable to consider some of the incidental situations which follow in the train of this Northern movement.

"Brought Concrete Advantages but Failed to Touch His Spirit"

By far the most conspicuous of these is residential segregation. In all of our cities, North or South, where the Negroes came in great numbers they soon found themselves in separate residential areas. The attempt to establish legal boundaries and the effort on the part of the race to combat them is a part of the process.

As the general outcome, the Negroes find themselves in possession of homes whose quality, convenience and appointments surpass their fondest dreams of two decades ago. In most cities the Negroes are better housed than any other minor group of the American people. In the capital of the nation they have overrun a territory of fully a square mile, with as good residential facilities as the city affords. Indeed, many of the principal streets and avenues leading to the public buildings and business sections of the city traverse the Negro section for as much as a running mile.

In New York they have the better favored residential section. In Chicago certain of the acquired streets and avenues are simply amazing in their magnificence.

There has been material improvement in the condition of the race in the South, due to the Northern migration, which in turn is due to the war. In every important community interracial committees have been organized devoted to the task of ameliorating the condition of the Negro.

The race has gained tremendous potential political power by virtue of the shift of population. In every great Northern city the Negro holds the balance of power in closely contested elections. The city of Chicago has just elected a mayor who was largely sponsored by Negro voters. The race is gaining power in city boards of aldermen, in state legislatures, and also some effective voice in guiding the action of national legislators.

We might also attribute the new Negro newspaper to the outcome of the war. Prior to that time Negro journalism was but a feeble thermometer of the sentiment and feelings of the race. Their mechanical make-up was miserable, only to be surpassed in wretchedness by their literary features and inartisticality.

Even race loving Negroes felt ashamed to be seen reading a Negro journal in the street cars or in public. This was generally characteristic of the colored press, barring several well-known exceptions. But now the exception has become the rule. Nearly every large center has a Negro paper which in mechanical make-up, literary form and artistic features ranks not unfavorably with white journalism. The Negro is beginning to pay serious attention to his own press, which after all is the most effective voice of the people.

Strange to say, the war has not made the Negro more progressive and assertive of his rights, as has been the case with all other suppressed races and classes in all parts of the world. Our militant organizations are, if anything, less radical than their ante-belium prototypes.

The N. A. A. C. P., while more efficient in method, is perhaps milder in spirit than the Afro-American League which preceded it. The Y. M. C. A. has not accentuated its militancy for racial rights. The Urban League is pursuing the wonted tenor of its way. Negro churches are certainly not more assertive, and in some ways seem more susceptible to the soothing balm of white overlordship than they were ten years ago. The radical magazines which sprung up like mushrooms just before the war have, all but one, passed out of existence. The Crisis has become militant, but not radical. The Messenger alone holds the edge of radicalism. The Negro politicians are as conservative as Taft and Coolidge.

Dr. Locke has tried to convince us that the new Negro has arrived, but when we look for him we find he is mainly grinding out erotic literary output under sponsorship of the Jew. He does not yet display either the intellectual or volitional vigor to transform racial conditions or to bring new things to pass.

The best proof of the Negro's essentially conservative nature is seen in the fact that he hardly seems aware of the current of movement that is sweeping through the world. The war has brought the race certain concrete advantages of incalculable value, but it has not touched his spirit or aroused his imagination.

THE WEEK'S EDITORIALS

(From The Western American, Oakland, Calif., Mar. 11, 1927).

Press dispatches tell of the commuting of life sentences of twenty men, former members of the famous 24th U. S. Infantry, by President Coolidge.

This brings to a climax the long and bitter fight waged for more than ten years by various organizations throughout the country to free members who they thought were being punished unjustly.

The National Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., as well as hundreds of subordinate Branches, deserve much credit for their ardent labors in the behalf of these men.

II.

(From The Philadelphia Tribune, Philadelphia, Pa., Mar. 19, 1927)

A GREAT VICTORY

The Supreme Court of the United States struck a blow for freedom and shattered the castled walls of disfranchisement, in the State of Texas, when i declared the Texas Primary law, that prohibited Negroes from voting in the Democratic Primary Elections, unconstitutional. It is one of those exceptionally rare discussions where the highest tribunal has interpreted the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments favorable to those in whose interest they were originally enacted. It is a great victory for common decency and fair play. It shows what can be done if colored people would only combine their efforts under capable and efficient leadership. It is another one of those herculean achievements of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

According to newspaper report the white people of Texas are preparing another law to take the place of the one just defeated. They hope to gain by subtle methods what they could not accomplish openly. The South is determined to defeat the intent and purposes of the two Amendments that were writen into the Constitution wih he blood of his nation. By, means fair or foul, it is their intention to disfranchise and discriminate against colored people. It is the ever burning question in the heart of almost every Southern white man. The citizens of the South feed upon the Negro question as upon the bread of life. It transcends everything else. It is their meat and drink. When they are young their parents train them with infinite pains as to how they should treat Negroes and when they are old they can not depart from it.

Unless the Negroes of Texas take advantage of the ruling of the Supreme Court by voting at every election the victory will be an empty shadow. Undoubtedly the N. A. A. C. P. will follow up its achievement by trailing the enemy into every State in the South. The Association has probably ascertained the most effective means for overthrowing injustice. The dark clouds are being gradually dispelled. The outlook is a little clearer. The job is more delnite. The case of the Negro must be taken into the courts of this country. He who suffers the wrong must bring the action. The foreword of the Annual Report of the N. A. A. C. P. clearly states the case:

"The present increasing attention to law and the Negro's status in law marks a new development of the Association's work. Legal victories, while they can be and are used for propaganda purposes to educate the public, are no longer mere sentiment or agitation. They represent advances as concrete as any that can possibly be made in this work. Their effect is delnitely measurable in the leld of social relations."

III.

(From The Washington Eagle, Washington, D. C., Mar. 18, 1927)

APPRECIATION FOR CLARENCE DARROW

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of Washington of which Neval H. Thomas is the President, and Archibald S. Pinkett is the Secretary, is deserving the unstinted praise of the people of Washington for bringing to this city Clarence Darrow who spoke so elonquently on last Monday night. That more than 8,000 people would attend a lecture in Washington, where oratory is not as rare as it is in some other parts of the country, speaks volumes for the appreciation had for Mr. Darrow. The people of the community owe a debt of obligation to the N. A. A. C. P. for having given them the opportunity to hear this militant defender of the rights of a prescribed race.

(Continued somewhere)

FARM BILL VETO SATISFIES NEGRO FARMERS

WASHINGTON,———

The Presidential veto of the McNary-Haugen agricultural relief bill, recently passed by Congress has occasioned no feeling of alarm or regret among the nearly one million Negro farmers who are contributing to the agricultural wealth of the Nation and in three fourths of all of the counties.

"Before additional relief legislation is made available," recently remarked an influential middle-west colored farmer, "we should like to see the proper administration of legislation that is already functioning for the relief of the farmer. We would like to see a more liberal extension among colored farmers of the benfits of the Federal Farm Loan Act, which is poerated under the supervision of the U. S. Treasury Department."

Many colored farmers would like to refinance at lower rates of interest the mortgages now held by local money sharks whose influence with local farm loan associations not infrequently successfully bars colored farmers from membership and from the benfits to be derived from the use of this low interest money which can be borrowed for a long term of years. "If the Government will see that the provisions of the Federal Farm Loan Act are impartially administered among all racial groups of farmers, we can, through the orderly marketing of crops, through cooperative marketing associations, which should be open to ALL farmers, and through the intermediate credit banks system, which permits loans on certain agricultural products and live stock, on warehouse receipts, remedy a condition that is driving the colored farmers to the wall."

The McNary-Haugen legislation meant absolutely nothing to Negro farmers, who are beginning the realize that with the farming as with manufacturing, in order to maintain fair price levels markets must not be glutted, a system of distribution must be worked out, and that production must not greatly exceed the capacity of the markets of the world to absorb.

DARROW'S TALKS BRING THREATS; HE QUITS SOUTH

Alabamans Resent His Pro-Negro Speeches.

Mobile, Ala., March 8.—[Special.]—Clarence Darrow was on his way to Chicago tonight, while Mobile seethed with threats of mob violence provoked by speeches in which the attorney advocated social justice for Negroes.

Mr. Darrow cut short his rest at a Mobile bay resort on advice from county authorities that sentiment against him was reaching almost near mob violence.

Darrow left with his wife at noon yesterday, telling friends he would stop in Cattanooga, Tenn., for four days, before proceeding to Chicago.

Klan Becomes Active.

Threats in Ku Klux Klan manifestoes, thrown about the streets of the city—quoting Darrow as making inflammatory speeches at Negro schools—stirred officials to recall guards to protect the attorney when he lectured Sunday night.

Private detectives and plain clothes men escorted Darrow to his vacation residence, and stood guard while the Darrows prepared for a hurried departure.

Attacks Negro Lynchings.

Darrow first drew the anger of the district a fortnight ago when he spoke at the Negro industrial school at Daphen, Ala., on "Crime, Its Causes, and Treatment," in which he attacked Negro lynchings.

The Foley Onlooker, a pro-klan weekly, accused Darrow of inciting the Negroes to riot.

Sentiment became stronger when Darrow reapted his address at the Negro organic school in Fairhope.

Klan Quotes Darrow.

Klan circulars quoting Darrow as advising the Negroes to "resist your white masters," were distributed in Mobile.

Darrow was quoted as saying: "I see you pray, but to what good? What can the colored man do to help himself? You God must be 'white' considering the way he treats you. No doubt there will be a 'Jim Crow' law in your heaven.

"I heard you sing, 'Sweet Land of Liberty,' but I don't see how you could. I don't sing it because I know it's not true. But you can work and gain a place for yourselves. You are being recognized and have some friends not afraid to sit at the table with you. I have done so, and I've drunk bootleg liquor with you, and in what better way can friendship be manifested."

Denies Advocating Equality.

Mr. Darrow denied he had mentioned social equality to the Negroes, and, on the contrary, called attention to the fact that in Chicago, Springfield, the home of Lincoln, and St. Louis Negroes met with the same treatment that they do in the south.

"I did speak about lynchings of colored men and I did say that it happened both in the north and in the south and that it was a disgrace to both sections," said Darrow. "I said that it had been rapidly diminishing in the south and that all intelligent people in the north or in the south deplore these things and are anxious to get rid of them."

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"Why I Stay In Texas And Fight"

Pittsburg Courier
Pittsburg Pa
9/24/27

BY E. F. RICHARDSON

Houston Editor Criticises Leaders Who Live in Safety Zone and Direct Affairs at Long Range.

HOUSTON, Tex., Sept. 22.—The query is often propounded to the author of this article by Negro residents of other sections of the country, particularly those of the North and East, as to why this writer prefers to remain in Texas (and the South) and endanger his life in the defense of justice, right and a square and fair deal for his race in particular and humanity in general, when he could remove to other sections of the republic and be assured of more protection and a larger degree of liberty in his editorial utterances and observations.

In response to this interrogation and manifest interest on the part of so many of my friends and well-wishers in other parts of the country I wish to assert that I have a "burning zeal" for my race. Their trials are my trials; their sufferings my sufferings; their heartaches my heartaches; their successes and triumphs my successes anod triumphs, and whatever affects them for weal or for woe, affects me similarly. The attitude of Moses, who elected to endure the hardships and sufferings with his own race during Egyptian bondage rather than enjoy the luxury, security, ease and comfort of Pharoah's palace, has played no small part in inspiring and actuating me in my determination to remain in Dixie and fight wrong and unrighteousness wherever it exists, and to that end it is my aim to "fight it out along these lines, if it takes all summer."

I was born, reared and educated in Texas, and thus I am an integral part (small though it may be) of the Lone Star State commonwealth. I consider myself a member of the Texas household, and, as a member of such family, I deem it my sacred, inherent, God-given and constitutional right to preach an uncompromising gospel for the ultimate triumph of democracy and Christianity, and to contend with might and main for the final reign of the doctrine of the "fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man;" for the advent of the day when man's humanity to man will make countless thousands rejoice and be exceedingly glad.

This writer (readers will pardon the person reference, yet the article is largely personal in its aspect) was born at Marshall, a small city in East Texas, and educated at Bishop College, an institution for the higher education of Negro youth, founded and supported by the American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York City, located in the "Athens of Texas" (Marshall, also home of Wiley College).

It was while a student in the department of printing and journalism at Bishop College that the writer became imbued with a desire to devote his life to the cause of racial and social uplift through the instrumentality of the written and printed word, and to some day edit a newspaper through whose columns he could attack and expose the evils and ills, the injustices and inequalities heaped with impunity upon his race in Texas and the South.

The South is yet and will remain for many years to come, the chief place of abode for the majority of our people, and, since this is an undeniable fact, most assuredly these people, denied and refused so many of their inalienable and constitutional rights because of their color and previous condition of servitude, should receive some substanotial and constructive assistance from those who are able to render certain types of help and succor.

If I were to answer this question point blank, I would reply by simply stating that I remain in Texas (and the South) and fight because my people need me, and because I believe that I can perform some kind of service (whether they appreciate my efforts or properly evaluate the contributions I am striving to make in their behalf or not) which should play an important part in changing Nordic sentiment, a la Dixie, concerning the Negro race, and thereby promote and advance our racial cause.

Furthermore, **never in the history of martial conflicts has any notable military victory been achieved by the army which flees from the line of danger; by soldiers who try to snipe the enemy many miles removed from the field of battle and carnage.** No baseball pitcher ever won a diamond classic by failing to get on the hillock and hurl the spheroid at opposing batsmen. To win the battle soldiers must stay in there and fight and to win a ball game the pitcher must stay in there and pitch!

The soldier who is unwilling to face shot and shell and even death itself in the cause he represents is unworthy to wear the uniform of his er, coward or even traitor. Likecountry, and is classified as a slackwise, no pitcher ever won a ball game by refusing to mount the box and hurl his shoots, benders, curves and twisters in an effort to fool the batters and bring victory to his team. A "yellow" fellow is of very little service to any cause, whether in military, athletic, political, commercial or civic life.

Very few cases of illness are cured by "long-distance" doctors—where the ailing patioents live in one section of the country, and the doctor, living in another section and unable to take the patient's pulse and scientifically and properly diagnose the case, endeavors to prescribe medicine for said patient. When a person becomes seriously ill, the doctor must be seen in person, either by the patient being carried to the physician, or the physician coming to see the patient.

The Negro race in the South is sick—not unto death, however; and those who would essay to affect a cure and place the patient (racially speaking) on the road to complete recovery, must be in a position to

Texas

understand, appreciate and examine the condition of the patient and then remain on the scene and write the prescription for the necessary medicine to bring about a marked improvement in the patient's condition. Doctors from "afar," who endeavor to prescribe medicine for this ailing patient are not to be the victims of base ingratitude on the part of the Southern patient of color; but it is our opinion (knowing the South and Southerners as I do) that the "resident" physician is better situated (if he will do his holden duty without fear or favor) to render the type of service best calculated to restore the health of this racial patient.

In other words, the status of the Negro in Texas and the South must be improved principally by and through the efforts—sanely and properly directed—of Negroes with courage, vision and intelligence; Negroes who accept no place as "their place," unless that place is where they can best serve their race and the social family; Negroes who are not afraid or too cowardly to "stay in there and pitch the old horsehide," and to thus "carry on" right in the heart of Dixieland, rather than from some securely sheltered and safely protected sector far removed from the scene of daily —yes, hourly—conflict and strife.

In this brief article the writer has not attempted to throw any bouquets at himself, or indulge in self-laudation; but merely to give, as best he possibly can, his reasons for remaining in Texas and fighting the wrongs and evils of our day and generation: "For right is right, since God is God,
And right the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty;

DO YOU know O. O. McIntyre? You should know him and read him and learn what sort of insidious propaganda some of your white writers use in their subtle ways to give white readers the wrong impression of you. O. O. McIntyre is one of the Hearst feature writers who, under the stock head, "New York Day by Day," gets off some pretty unbalanced stuff every now and then about you and your activities in the United States. Read what he says about you in Chicago in a recent issue of the Herald and Examiner of Chicago. He doesn't flatter you, nor does he pretend to flatter you. He is just a cog in the great American press machinery to keep the great American public misinformed concerning you, your hopes and aspirations.

"Negroes in Chicago have even a finer residential area than Harlem," he begins. "A street of old homes with a mall running down its center has been taken over by them. The Colored population is composed largely of prosperous Pullman porters and their families."

And so you see it here at its worst. Prosperous Pullman porters indeed! Anyone with half an eye can see that the homes to which our good friend Mr. McIntyre referred, are not maintained by Pullman porters. How, you would like to know, can a man earning $72 yer month and what tips Mr. McIntyre and his traveling companions choose to give him, maintain the fine residences seen along South parkway?

That last statement in Mr. McIntyre's dissertation has a two-fold purpose: To impress upon all who read it that Pullman porters are a wealthy lot and are satisfied, and that even at this late day, they constitute the backbone of the Race. And since there are only 12,000 Pullman porters in the entire United States, this last statement falls flat of its own weight. The other statement is just as misleading.

In the homes Mr. McIntyre saw along our parkway live bankers, doctors, lawyers, business men and their families. They also shelter former Pullman porters who have saved what little they could and have entered other fields for their own advancement. Only in rare instances are those who live on either side of this "mall" actually engaged in jerking down berths and shining shoes. All in all, this street represents the same class that Mr. McIntyre found along Sheridan Rd. and the Gold Coast of the North side. The main difference being that these came by what they have through a much harder process than that experienced by those who occupy North shore mansions!

By all means, know O. O. McIntyre.

lot of the Negro race." This pessimistic wail indicates race suicide with a vengeance. With this brand of philosophy the race would soon cease to breed from the top, and may be from the bottom, too.

It is said that the fashionable among the white race practice birth control in order to give the parents wider latitude for pleasure or to give the fewer children better opportunity of education and culture. But I believe that the Negro alone acknowledges that he does not desire children by reason of the fierce fight which they must face. This is essential cowardice, which, I believe, is limited to the Negro alone. If a good Presbyterian should stop to think that he might possibly be the parent of a child predestined to eternal damnation, the race of that denomination might become extinct. Why should anyone bring children into the world—all of whom are bound to suffer the agonies of death? The first law of God and nature is to multiply, replenish the earth and subdue it. It is only the coward and the craven who shrink from this God-imposed task. Those who say and do these things declare by their deeds that they lack faith; faith in themselves and in their possibilities. Indeed, the human race would be better off if it were never reinforced from such imbecility.

What the Negro race needs is courage and hope which can look beyond the present untoward condition of things and visualize the possibilities of humanity. Imagine the forebears of Abraham Lincoln indulging in such fatuous folly. Suppose that the parents of Shakespeare had reasoned thus. What right have we to foredetermine the possibilities of a human soul?

I once listened to a play called "Rachel," produced by a good friend of mine, whose motive was to proclaim the doctrine of race suicide because of the gloomy prospect. This is the counsel of death. The Negro race possesses natural physical stamina that will enable it to stand the stress and strain of the most cruel and exacting regime that an iniquitous civilization will or can impose upon it. But it cannot withstand the craven cowardice of those who would end all future generations for fear of bad dreams.

The Negro is now crowding into the cities. He is becoming intoxicated with the elixir of the pleasures and gaities of urban life. He is learning the secret and method of race suicide. A large number of children is a component factor of the American abomination to the cliff dwellers of city tenements. Those left in the country are longing to follow in the train of their kindred and friends. We may not now be able to predict just what the end will be. But if sound counsel can be made to prevail, the Negro will maintain his own as a

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Furthermore, **never in the history of martial conflicts has any notable military victory been achieved by the army which flees from the line of danger; by soldiers who try to snipe the enemy many miles removed from the field of battle and carnage.** No baseball pitcher ever won a diamond classic by failing to get on the hillock and hurl the spheroid at opposing batsmen. To win the battle soldiers must stay in there and fight and to win a ball game the pitcher must stay in there and pitch!

The soldier who is unwilling to face shot and shell and even death itself in the cause he represents is unworthy to wear the uniform of his er, coward or even traitor. Likecountry, and is classified as a slackwise, no pitcher ever won a ball game by refusing to mount the box and hurl his shoots, benders, curves and twisters in an effort to fool the batters and bring victory to his team. A "yellow" fellow is of very little service to any cause, whether in military, athletic, political, commercial or civic life.

Very few cases of illness are cured by "long-distance" doctors—where the ailing patioents live in one section of the country, and the doctor, living in another section and unable to take the patient's pulse and scientifically and properly diagnose the case, endeavors to prescribe medicine for said patient. When a person becomes seriously ill, the doctor must be seen in person, either by the patient being carried to the physician, or the physician coming to see the patient.

The Negro race in the South is sick—not unto death, however; and those who would essay to affect a cure and place the patient (racially speaking) on the road to complete recovery, must be in a position to

Texas

understand, appreciate and examine the condition of the patient and then remain on the scene and write the prescription for the necessary medicine to bring about a marked improvement in the patient's condition. Doctors from "afar," who endeavor to prescribe medicine for this ailing patient are not to be the victims of base ingratitude on the part of the Southern patient of color; but it is our opinion (knowing the South and Southerners as I do) that the "resident" physician is better situated (if he will do his holden duty without fear or favor) to render the type of service best calculated to restore the health of this racial patient.

In other words, the status of the Negro in Texas and the South must be improved principally by and through the efforts—sanely and properly directed—of Negroes with courage, vision and intelligence; Negroes who accept no place as "their place," unless that place is where they can best serve their race and the social family; Negroes who are not afraid or too cowardly to "stay in there and pitch the old horsehide," and to thus "carry on" right in the heart of Dixieland, rather than from some securely sheltered and safely protected sector far removed from the scene of daily —yes, hourly—conflict and strife.

In this brief article the writer has not attempted to throw any bouquets at himself, or indulge in self-laudation; but merely to give, as best he possibly can, his reasons for remaining in Texas and fighting the wrongs and evils of our day and generation: "For right is right, since God is God,

And right the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty:

DO YOU know O. O. McIntyre? You should know him and read him and learn what sort of insidious propaganda some of your white writers use in their subtle ways to give white readers the wrong impression of you. O. O. McIntyre is one of the Hearst feature writers who, under the stock head, "New York Day by Day," gets off some pretty unbalanced stuff every now and then about you and your activities in the United States. Read what he says about you in Chicago in a recent issue of the Herald and Examiner of Chicago. He doesn't flatter you, nor does he pretend to flatter you. He is just a cog in the great American press machinery to keep the great American public misinformed concerning you, your hopes and aspirations.

Chicago 9/17/27

"Negroes in Chicago have taken a finer residential area than Harlem," he begins. "A street of old homes with a mall running down its center has been taken over by them. The Colored population is composed largely of prosperous Pullman porters and their families."

And so you see it here at its worst. Prosperous Pullman porters indeed! Anyone with half an eye can see that the homes to which our good friend Mr. McIntyre referred, are not maintained by Pullman porters. How, you would like to know, can a man earning $72 yer month and what tips Mr. McIntyre and his traveling companions choose to give him, maintain the fine residences seen along South parkway?

That last statement in Mr. McIntyre's dissertation has a two-fold purpose: To impress upon all who read it that Pullman porters are a wealthy lot and are satisfied, and that even at this late day, they constitute the backbone of the Race. And since there are only 12,000 Pullman porters in the entire United States, this last statement falls flat of its own weight. The other statement is just as misleading.

In the homes Mr. McIntyre saw along our parkway live bankers, doctors, lawyers, business men and their families. They also shelter former Pullman porters who have saved what little they could and have entered other fields for their own advancement. Only in rare instances are those who live on either side of this "mall" actually engaged in jerking down berths and shining shoes. All in all, this street represents the same class that Mr. McIntyre found along Sheridan Rd. and the Gold Coast of the North side. The main difference being that these came by what they have through a much harder process than that experienced by those who occupy North shore mansions!

By all means, know O. O. McIntyre.

lot of the Negro race." This pessimistic wail indicates race suicide with a vengeance. With this brand of philosophy the race would soon cease to breed from the top, and may be from the bottom, too.

It is said that the fashionable among the white race practice birth control in order to give the parents wider latitude for pleasure or to give the fewer children better opportunity of education and culture. But I believe that the Negro alone acknowledges that he does not desire children by reason of the fierce fight which they must face. This is essential cowardice, which, I believe, is limited to the Negro alone. If a good Presbyterian should stop to think that he might possibly be the parent of a child predestined to eternal damnation, the race of that denomination might become extinct. Why should anyone bring children into the world—all of whom are bound to suffer the agonies of death? The first law of God and nature is to multiply, replenish the earth and subdue it. It is only the coward and the craven who shrink from this God-imposed task. Those who say and do these things declare by their deeds that they lack faith; faith in themselves and in their possibilities. Indeed, the human race would be better off if it were never reinforced from such imbecility.

What the Negro race needs is courage and hope which can look beyond the present untoward condition of things and visualize the possibilities of humanity. Imagine the forebears of Abraham Lincoln indulging in such fatuous folly. Suppose that the parents of Shakespeare had reasoned thus. What right have we to foredetermine the possibilities of a human soul?

I once listened to a play called "Rachel," produced by a good friend of mine, whose motive was to proclaim the doctrine of race suicide because of the gloomy prospect. This is the counsel of death. The Negro race possesses natural physical stamina that will enable it to stand the stress and strain of the most cruel and exacting regime that an iniquitous civilization will or can impose upon it. But it cannot withstand the craven cowardice of those who would end all future generations for fear of bad dreams.

The Negro is now crowding into the cities. He is becoming intoxicated with the elixir of the pleasures and gaities of urban life. He is learning the secret and method of race suicide. A large number of children is an component factor of the American abomination to the cliff dwellers of city tenements. Those left in the country are longing to follow in the train of their kindred and friends. We may not now be able to predict just what the end will be. But if sound counsel can be made to prevail, the Negro will maintain his own as a

"The Four Horsemen of Southern Backwardness"

The Four Horsemen of southern backwardness have been the newspapers, the lawyers, the bankers and the preachers. Respectively, they represent intellectual famine, political death, economical starvation and spiritual narrowness.

I take my own craft first because it has been singularly impotent in its leadership in the south. Ownership of many of the largest and most influential newspapers in the south has been lodged for years in Bourbon and reactionary hands. Policies long since trodden under foot by the civil war, fetishes long since outworn by the people of the south and threadbare customs have been continued and rehashed by many southern newspapers for years. There is the vague feeling that a people kept in ignorance of the pulsing tide of new life on the outside will be more content to live and work in the south. There has been a feeling that new doctrines, new methods and new ideas would "hurt business." Southern newspapers have not been plain-spoken enough. Fear of public sentiment, fear of the counting room have ruled too long. Walter Hines Page used to say that public opinion was feared too much in the south but when a man of courage approached it vanished like a wraith. Nothing in years has caused me such gratification as to find recently that The Birmingham Age-Heraldl ast month at the height of its crusade against flogging in Alabama, supposedly an unpopular campaign, increased its advertising lineage 34 per cent. What is there to fear when a newspaper follows its conscience?

* * *

The political stagnation of the south furnishes a clear case against the lawyers. They largely control the politics of their communities, despite the iolated instances where the yoke of the bar has been thrown off.

The work of a lawyer is governed largely by precedents. No other profession, except research work which has to do with delving into the dusty path, lives quite so much in the yesterdays. The impulse of new thought and new ideas rarely penetrates the mind of the lawyer. He is the born Bourbon.

He takes this conservatism into politics and it is reflected in the political life of a thousand southern towns and hamlets. Generally, too, he is the retained attorney for some local interest which at times may have matters in conflict with the public good. Human nature being what it is, one sees what is bound to happen. Frequently the lawyer goes to his state legislature with these same interests close to his heart. Most state legislatures generally end in a snarl and a fight when the interests of the clients of the lawyer-members begin to conflict. The diagnosis is unescapable to anyone familiar with the workings of such bodies.

* * *

The case against the bankers is even more clearly defined. In many cases his leadership along economic lines has been sadly lacking. "Plant cotton this year," says the banker to the farmer on whose farm and crop he has a mortgage and you may be sure that cotton will be planted. Year after year the over-production of cotton might be laid largely at the doors of the bankers This is in spite of the fact that it is almost an economic crime to plant only cotton in most sections of the south unless in the Mississippi delta and a few other sections which are generously endowed by nature for the growing of the best staple. Yet farmers who have wished to plant food crops, or at least enough food for their families and their live stock, have been rebuffed. Cotton is the money crop and many of the bankers are not going to take trouble to change that condition.

Happily, there is a distinct trend for the better among both the newspapers and the bankers. The lawyers, who are largely free agents and responsible only to themselves, have shown little change for the better.

* * *

In approaching the situation of the preachers I do so with diffidence and with the knowledge that I am "on holy ground"—at least so considered in the conservative and religious south. I hall take off my sandals and tread softly.

Of recent years one hears it said oftener than ever before that the "south is priest-ridden." I do not object in the least to any creed or manner of worship under the sun but I do object when some of the ministers extend their bigotry and intolerance into the social currents of the section. What do the controversial things of the Bible matter? What difference does it make when Jesus Christ is the center of the Christian religion? That is the important thing. One might destroy the entire Old Testament with its mooted story of creation and do no violence whatever to the Christian religion. It is founded on a newer and happier conception.

Southern ministers for years, the old-time fundamentalists have tried to force a literal Bible on the south. The result is bound to be stagnation and loss of interest. A religion that won't stand the most searching analysis deserves to fall in the interest of truth. The pitiable thing is that here is a faith quite as sublime and much more reasonable ready to rise from the ashes of fundamentalism, a faith to which the minds of the moderns may whole-heartedly subscribe. As things stand now, they drift, of course, because the leadership is blind and futile. Bourbonism is no more strongly entrenched anywhere than in the pulpits of the south.

* * *

I have said nothing in this Sunday morning strafe of the leadership of the teachers of the south. One might criticise their work in some particulars but there is no class for which I have more wholesome respect. The plain truth is that we have paid the teachers of the south so little that I doubt whether we have the right to criticize them. They have delivered far more in service than their pay checks called for!

* * *

It is difficult when one examines the illiteracy tables to pump up much interest in the movements in the south in art and literature. Illiteracy is burning the house down and we cannot prescribe whether to put the fire out with plain water or perfumed water. It makes no difference whether the fire is blown out by a stout wind from the south or a sweetened wind from the east. The development of the universities, however, is of vital importance. They must furnish the leadership of the south, although the prime need is A, B, C's, rather than B. A.'s and M. A.'s. Then gradually under their leadership and with the continued development of the public schools, the whole thing will solve itself.

This diagnosis will not please the Bourbons nor the sensitive souls with a southern inferiority complex who shout at every opportunity that the south is being maligned. But the crux of the matter is that we need to learn more.—T. H. Alexander in The Atlanta Constitution.

Is the Negro a Living or a Dying Race?

——By KELLY MILLER——

LOUIS L. DOUBLIN, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, contributes an interesting article to the September number of the American Mercury upon the vital problems of the Negro race. He is, perhaps, the hgihest authority upon that subect, as he has the handling of two million cases of Negro policies in his company. His analysis is thorough and his findings based upon supporting facts. Those who have followed his outgivings on the subject from time to time are well aware of his sympathetic and optimistic attitude.

Mr. Dublin permits himself to indulge in prophecy as to the maximum strength of the Negro element, placing the limit at fifteen million. But he is cautious enough to say that all such prophecy is hazardous and without scientific value. One man's guess is about as good as another's. There are so many uncertain factors that there is no safeguard for a sane judgment.

The figures of the Census Office are subject to such irregularities that they often mislead the hasty philosopher into untenable conclusions. Thus, Mr. Doublin tells that thirty years ago there was much gloomy prediction concerning the early extinction of the African on account of his inherent degenerative tendencies. These are all discredited by more recent showings.

The census of 1920 is obviously incorrect for reasons which I have found out elsewhere. It is easy to predict that this will be shown abundantly by the forthcoming census of 1930. This leads me to say that every effort should be stressed to see that this census is correct so far as the Negro factor is concerned.

The Negro in the United States is practically a subject race and is liable to the vicissitudes of all minorities under like conditions. The issues of life bear hard upon him and tend to grind him to powder unless he is strongly fortified by physical stamina. Negroes are the hardest worked, the poorest paid and the most ill-circumstanced of all of the complex elements of our population. If there be a streak of weakness it will be emphasized by harsh treatment and cruel usage. The stress and strain of our mechanical civilization is hard and severe. None but the fittest can hope to survive. The Indian could not stand it. He must either withdraw from the circle of its competition or succumb. But the Negro, so far, has stood the test. The harsh exactions of a slave regime did not impair his physical vigor. Where either weaker varieties pine and die, he lives and multiplies and laughs. He has probably passed the most exacting experience he will be called on to meet with his physical vigor intact. The transition from slavery to freedom; the sudden shifting of the basis of existence from the support of the master to his own endeavor and direction, was perhaps as great a strain as any race has ever been called upon to meet. And yet, four million slaves in 1860 had grown into ten million free men in 1920. This tells the story of the Negro's physical stamina as nothing else can do.

If there is any danger of the ultimate extinction of the Negro race in this country, it will grow out of psychic rather than physical reasons. The spirit of pessimism spells the doom of any people. Up to the present, the Negro race is breeding from the bottom, but is dying out from the top. Where the parents produced six to ten children, the descendants are producing two or one or none. Some time ago I made a study of the eugenics of the Negro race, published in the Scientific Monthly. I took as my basis the Negro members of the faculty of Howard University. I ascertained the number of children of the families from which they were derived. The average was over six children to the family. But the number of children which these educated sons and daughters had produced was less than two. I also took into account the unmarried members of the faculty and, judging from their ages, it did not seem likely that they were destined to improve their average. It so happened that the issue of the magazine in which my contribution was published contained a study of the fecundity of scientific men, with something like corresponding results, with this striking exception, the white men, for the most part, were married, while a large proportion of the Negroes of like age were single.

According to my general observation, this condition is general among the advanced section of the race. In the first place, a large number remain single from a sense of prudence or of cowardice. In the second place, many married couples are childless. And in the third place, a large number have only one or two children. Here, in the city of Washington, these three groups are dominant. Within the last ten years or so the school regulations have allowed teachers to continue in service after marriage. But the children are few and far between. Birth control is playing havoc with the fecundity of the Negro of the more favored class. How far down this too prudential practice is destined to descend is hard to predict. But it is clear that it is already of sufficiently widespread operation to impair seriously the productivity of the race.

A highly educated man of some fifty years called to see me the other day. He is a graduate of an Eastern college and has been attached to the faculty of an important institution for twety-five years. He is married and is highly esteemed in the social life of his community. In response to my query as to how he was getitng on, he returned a most satisfactory and enthusiastic answer. But when I asked him how many children called him father, his countenance grew serious as he responded, "None, thank God. I would feel most miserable to bring children into the world to met with the

DEAN KELLY MILLER.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Star

MAR 15 1927

[COLO]RED PROGRESS IS SEEN BY DARROW

Crowd Waits 3 Hours at Overflow Meeting to Listen to Lawyer.

The upward path of the colored race [i]n this country is through economic [a]nd educational progress, Clarence [D]arrow, noted Chicago lawyer, said [la]st night in addressing two meetings [h]eld under the auspices of the Na[ti]onal Association for the Advance[m]ent of Colored People.

The first meeting was at the [M]etropolitan African M. E. Church. [T]he overflow meeting, made neces[sa]ry for the hundreds turned away [fr]om the first, was at the John Wes[le]y Church, Fourteenth and Cor[co]ran streets.

The assemblies were in the nature [of] anniversary meetings. All stand[in]g room was filled in both churches [an]d at the overflow meeting the [cr]owd waited patiently three hours [fo]r Mr. Darrow to appear.

Mr. Darrow denied that there is [an]y fundamental racial inferiority in [th]e various branches of the human [fa]mily, holding that environment and [no]t heredity is responsible for the [dif]ferent economic and cultural stages.

No Differences in Races.

"God didn't make whites and blacks [as] such," Mr. Darrow said. "In the [cou]rse of 100 or 1,000 generations men [sp]read out. Some went south, where [th]e heat was too strong for the white [me]n, and so they died off and only [th]e dark men survived. Some went [no]rth, where the dark men could not [sta]nd the cold, and so the Nordics [sur]vived there. But analyze them, [an]d all chemists will tell you there is [no] difference.

"The whitest man in America, [tra]ce him back far enough, and you['l]l find he retains the tail of a mon[ke]y and the gills of a fish. The primi[tiv]e man has as much natural intel[lig]ence as anybody. Environment is [al]l he needs.

Sees Growing Opportunities.

"You have better education than [yo]u had 25 years ago, and are in bet[te]r financial condition. Money is pow[er]; education is power. Your oppor[tu]nities are growing slowly, but [su]rely. You have to ask yourselves [w]hether you are not glad even for [sl]avery. If your colored ancestors had [no]t been captured and enslaved in [A]frica you would be there now, lying [o]n the bank of some river playing [w]ith crocodiles while your wife would [b]e feeding you on bananas.

"You had no monopoly in having [b]een slaves. My own ancestors were [s]laves. That was a little further back [t]han when yours were slaves, but that [m]akes no difference. It takes nature [a] long time to work her changes. I was born in this country. I could have gotten away if I had wanted to, but I spoke the language of America and liked her people here, so I stayed. Some of your ancestors came here against their choice—captured in Africa and carried in slave ships, on which half died on the voyage. And so for 300 years you were slaves, toiling without pay, with no chance and no organization except the church.

"All your chances are in the future; I don't know how far in the future.

"You went through the same history as my ancestors did. You are now getting a better chance to live. Nature works slowly, and so you must do the same. You are producing musicians equal to any in the world. You are having great success on the stage. You are producing novelists, lawyers and doctors. You are winning. The struggle will be long, but it will work out itself."

John Russell Speaker.

Previous to the arrival of Mr. Darrow, the overflow meeting was addressed by John Russell, a New York court reporter, who claims to have been one of the two original founders of the association. A similar meeting at the Typographical Union Temple was addressed by A. S. Pickett, secretary.

William Pickens, field secretary of the association addressed another gathering of about 50 people in the Playhouse, 1814 N street last night on "Sex and the Race Question."

SEES RACIAL LINES FADING IN NEW YORK

Harlem Now Gets Its Share of Attention

A rather interesting sidelight on life in New York, and especially in Harlem, is given us by Dorothy Dayton in a copyrighted article printed recently in the Canton, O., Daily News. Miss Dayton, with the customary superciliousness all white writers employ when condescending to discuss Race progress in this country, discusses pretty frankly the present trend in New York, which she chooses to label a "fad." The article follows:

4-2-27

Chicago Defender

New York more than any other city in the world, is swept by transitory fads. Each season it is dominated by a new "influence" which the intellectually smart must keep abreast of. A year or so ago it was Chinese and then Russian; this year it happens to be Negro.

GO IN FOR REAL SOCIAL COURTESIES

The latest thing in the New York "intellectual" group is to entertain and be entertained by Harlem's intellectual group. And among the sophisticated Broadwayites and folk from Park Ave.—always ready to fall into line—attending the Negro cabarets and night clubs in Harlem has become the smart and sophisticated thing to do after the theater.

Harlem, with its 200,000 Negro population—a black city larger than old Rome, the Paris of the artists and intellectuals of the Race—has fifteen "high-class" cabarets and night clubs. Many of them are just as "exclusive" as those of mid-town New York; their settings as rich and lavish; the laughter and dancing and entertainment much louder and more unrestrained.

New York society, jaded by the white lights of Broadway, crying for "madder music and stronger wine," finds it in Harlem, side by side with Harlem's own aristocracy, made up of the wealthy "society people" of Strivers' row, who not so long ago were waiters and servants and bus boys; its intellectuals and its "blue bloods," which means those fortunate Harlemites who have been bleached by time and chance to a golden brown or a mellow saffron.

"WHITE FOLKS" TAKE ACTIVE PARTS

Nor do the white folk go merely as curious spectators. They take a nimble hoof to the Charleston and Black Bottom, some of them even taking lessons from their Colored brethren, whose superiority in all the latest jazz fads none can challenge. It is not at all uncommon to see white and Colored at the same table.

These, of course, are usually little groups of intellectuals or celebrities of both races, who seem to take special pride in being known and recognized by the other.

Harlem, with its flourishing shops, its expensive custom-built cars along Strivers' row—that group of handsome apartment houses designed by Stanford White in what once was the picturesque suburb of old New York, the home of Alexander Hamilton, the DePuysters, the Roosevelts and the Rhinelanders—is by no means a squalid slum district. The Negroes who live there, many of them, are millionaires, and Negro-owned real estate now totals $60,000,000.

The women on Strivers' row are as carefully coiffed and manicured, as immaculately and smartly gowned in original Paris models as the women on Park Ave. And they entertain, play bridge, golf, go to the races, and do much the same thing that the wealthy Long Island set does.

N. Y. AMERICAN

MAR 9 1927

DARROW GETS THREAT OF TAR AND FEATHERS

Klan in Mobile Aroused When Lawyer Gives Pro-Negro Talk; He Leaves for Home

MOBILE, March 8.—Threatened with "tar and feathers" because of his pro-negro speeches, Clarence Dorrow, famous attorney, was on his way back to Chicago tonight, leaving behind an enraged population.

Darrow's three-month vacation on the Gulf Coast ended abruptly when a series of addresses he made on the racial question inflamed Mobile County.

The celebrated champion of evolution left here today, accompanied by his wife, for Chattanooga, enroute to Chicago.

K. K. K. GETS IN ACTION.

Ku Klux Klan leaders started an agitation to "ride the agnostic out of town on a rail."

Sentiment against Darrow became strong when he delivered an address at the negro organic school in Fairhope. Klan circulars, quoting Darrow as advising negroes to "resist your white masters," were distributed in Mobile.

In his speeches at the negro schools, Darrow was quoted as saying:

"I heard you sing 'Sweet Land of Liberty,' but I don't see how you could. I don't sing it because I know it isn't true.

HURRIED FROM HALL.

"You are being recognized and have some friends not afraid to sit at the table with you. I have done so, and I've drunk bootleg whiskey with you."

When Darrow appeared to lecture Sunday night in a Mobile theatre before a crowd of more than 600, officers were detailed to guard the attorney against threatening mob violence.

Darrow was heckled when he championed "social justice for the negro," and cries of indignation arose from the audience. On advice of friends, Darrow left the theatre by a rear door and hurriedly retired to Fairhope.

SHAW TEACHER OF THEOLOGY IS "FIRED"

Pres. Peacock Suspends Instructor And Bars Him From The Campus.

JIM CROW FACULTY "DORMS" CRITICIZED

Race Inequalities Scored By Young Instructor Who "Invited Dismissal.

RALEIGH, N.C. (Special) —Louis K. McMillan, instructor in the department of Old Testament Literature at Shaw University, was suspended Friday.

Action was taken by President J. L. Peacock upon advice of J. M. Broughton, white, legal advisor for conduct unbecoming a member of the faculty. Mr. McMillan was given a check for April's salary, $150, and served notice that he was to "vacate the premises at once."

Afro American

Letter To Trustees

4-2-27

Suspension of the young instructor followed his letter addressed to the Trustees Board of Shaw University and the American Baptist Home Missionary Society which supports the school.

Baltimore Md

In the letter he declared four members of the faculty unfit for their places and criticized jim crow arrangements under which white and colored members of the faculty live and work.

President's Virtues Few

In the letter McMillan declared that the virtues of President Peacock are painfully few and mechanic.

"He has a masters degree from Harvard, he has a Kappa key, he has a mellow voice. He knows the Bi le and believes in it, from cover to cover, he can cry.

"The vices of the president are numberless and fundamental. He is ignorant and out of sympathy

with the minds, needs and feelings of youth; he is a weakling, he is afraid of southern whites, lest he lose prestige; he is afraid of the Negro Baptists, lest he be criticized."

Dean Of Theological Department

Dr. Pegues, dean of the Theological Department, says McMillan, is likewise unsuited for his office because he has never had training in a modern theological department and for the past forty years has preached in rural churches, living in an environment of ignorance without returning to refresh his mind with new methods.

His methods are described as teaching students verses of the Bible one by one, then sending them out equipped to preach.

Business Manager

The business manager, says McMillan's letter is one of the most ignorant persons in the employment of the school. McMillan describes him as a detective.

Dean of Women

The Shaw dean of women, McMillan says, is a very good woman, but hardly a high school graduate, besides she is stupid.

Jim Crow Faculty

Criticizing jim crow arrangements under which white and colored faculty live, McMillan's letter says that white teachers all live in a separate building, facing the front of the campus. In addition they have their own private dining room.

Colored members of the faculty live about the students buldings in rooms that are poorly furnished, having to clean their own rooms. They eat in the student's dining room.

"Even in Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee there are schools in which the ugly practice of Shaw is a - sent.

Theological Department

Despite the fact that the theological department requires students to have a high school education before they are admitted, McMillan declares that only five of the twenty theologs enrolled can meet this requirement.

The university, he says, is not "preparing preachers, but is actually encouraging ignorance in the ministry."

Ala Jayette, Ala
Lee
MAR 2 1927

Darrow Seeking Racial Hatred in Alabama

The following article is reported to be part of an address by Clarence Darrow, noterious criminal lawyer of Chicago, and who otherwise gained notoriety in the famous monkey trial at Dayton, Tenn., delivered before the negro industrial school at Daphne, Ala., a short time ago. The unintelligent element among the negroes will get much comfort from the words of the famous infidel, but those who are better informed on the problems of the races will regret such utterances, and especially that they come from a white man so stupidly ignorant of race conditions in Alabama:

"I can't help you, you will have to help yourselves, but I advise always an attitude of defiance toward the white man who calls himself 'your friend.' How has he manifested this friendship? By hanging and burning you; by making you do his work, and use his back door; refusing to let you enter the best hotels and to use the best coach on the train, and by making you sit in the rear of the street car. The only front place the white man has ever given you is in the battle line. There you can stop the bullets, but when you return home you can't use the sidewalks, you have to use the road. What can the colored man do to help himself? I see you pray, but I don't know why. Your God must be a 'Jim Crow' conjuring the way he treats you. No doubt there will be a 'Jim Crow' law in your heaven when you get there. You can sing—I heard you sing—'Sweet Land of Liberty,' but I don't see how you can. I don't sing it because I know it's not true. But you can work and gain a place for yourself if you can do your work better than the white man. You are being recognized and you have some friends who are not afraid to sit at the table with you. I have done so, and even drank bootleg liquor with you, and in what better way can friendship be manifested?"

PETITION THE PRESIDENT

THE right of petition is the right of every American citizen who thinks his rights have been abridged, and his privileges denied. These petitions will continue until right is enthroned and equality of opportunity is assured. The guarantee of human and citizenship rights is more important than the suppression of an appetite, or the enactment and enforcement of sumptuary laws. This was doubtless the view of those petitioners of President Coolidge on the occasion of the Lincoln-Douglass Anniversary. The petitioners wanted the Attorney General to investigate disfranchisement in the South; they wanted the President to send a special message to Congress asking the immediate passage of the Dyer Anti-lynching bill; they plead for the wiping out of racial segregation in government departments, and the issuance of free pardons to the Calvarymen who were convicted years ago of shooting up Brownsville, Texas. The adept in generalities gew-gaws and genuflections smiled never a smile, but bowed his head and whispered: "I will consider it."

Star of Zion
2-24-27
Charlotte NC

THE MISTAKES OF KELLY MILLER

Persons who have known Professor Kelly Miller, and have a fair knowledge of things he has been writing and saying during the last quarter of a century, or more, will not be surprised at his acceptance and advocacy of the principle of racial segregation.

Shortly after the Wilmington, North Carolina, riots of 1898, he announced his policy of 'political self-effacement' wherein he advocated the renunciation by the Negro of the ballot and other political rights.

The indignation with which the race received this announcement of policy was so universal and emphatic that Professor Miller made a complete and unconditional recantation thereof, and was granted absolution by the Rev Francis J. Grimke and the Hon Archibald H. Grimke, his brother, and their act was ratified by the race, in consequence of which Professor Miller was restored to "good and regular standing" as a leader of the race.

Dallas Texas
3-5-27
Washington D.C.

While he has shown from time to time tendencies to relapse to the old "self-effacement" position, and has staggered and stumbled and wobbled, and aroused suspicion and mistrust as to his qualifications for leadership, he has done nothing quite so abnormal and unnatural as the writing of the article on segregation which appeared in this month's magazine of "Current History."

Such writings will find a ready market in certain literary circles especially in quarters where the doctrine of "white supremacy" is worshipped as a fetist. No doubt Hiram W. Evans, the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, has read the article with satisfaction and approval.

It is conceded that Professor Miller possesses a style of writing that, on account of its bizarre and spectacular qualities, arrests the attention of persons interested more in form than in substance. Look away from his peculiarities and idiosyncracies of expression and regard his substance, and he will be found to be reckless and inaccurate in statement of facts lacking in fullness and completeness of information of the subject of which he presumes to treat, and hasty and inconsiderate in the formulation of conclusions. In short, barring a certain facility of diction, his out-givings are lacking in the elements of true scholarship.

His attempt to explain the effect of court decisions in the article under consideration led him into a field which he was unfitted to survey because his training and understanding had not been directed into that area of knowledge. His statement that the Negro is unlike the Indian and the Japanese and the Chinese in the matter of the voluntary selection of a place of habitation is absolutely incorrect. In the mass, the Negro is gregarious in the same way as the races named, as any observer can see. The rich Chinese and Japanese and Indians do not live in Chinese and Japanese quarters, nor on Indian reservations. Jews of the economic status of Rosenwald, Goldman, Kahn and Baruch do not live in crowded tenements and particular racial areas. For a verification of this assertion it is only necessary to visit Chicago, Cleveland and New York.

It is not likely that the present generation of Negroes will view with less disfavor Professor Miller's championship of segregation than his own generation viewed his doctrine of "self-effacement."

Race Problem-1927
United States.

DARROW

Clarence Darrow, defender of the underdog, champion of human liberty, celebrated his seventieth birthday in Chicago on Monday evening. His friends banqueted, toasted and paid tribute to him in noble fashion. Many of the black people of Chicago and from other large cities attended this affair and paid their respects to Mr. Darrow and it is well that they did because he himself admits that defending the black people has become a passion with him and today he stands almost in solitude like some giant oak whose companions have fallen under the ravage of time, today he stands as a grim, gaunt apostle of justice and right, as an individual who leaves the imprint of his forceful character on society in such a manner that it will fade but slowly.

Clarence Darrow is one of those stolid individuals who dares to stand alone, who is unafraid of the howling mob, who defies convention and even dares to challenge the prevailing customs and practices of the day. He typifies and characterizes the most noble qualities that humanity produces and as his life turns into the yellow leaf we his friends and perhaps his heaviest liabilities should bea in mind the fact that he is one of the few American white men who believes and preaches that "a man's a man for a' that." If the bard of Avon were here he no doubt would tell us that in Clarence Darrow we have a friend and he would add "and the friend thou hast bind to thy soul with hoops of steel."

A Society to Advance the Reputation of White Men

By WM. PICKENS.

A white woman tells us that she wants to start such a society, and as the reason why she wants to do so, she tells us the following:

She and another white woman, a friend of hers, went out for a bit of exercise in a small rowboat at New York. She had rowed many times out into the Sound as far or farther than she went this time, and experienced no difficulty. But this time, when she started to row back to port, there was such a strong outward movement of the tide that, rowing with all her waning strength, she could make no headway back toward land, but was slowly drifting out further and further to sea.

Ignored.

As sunset was coming on, she began to get afraid. Her friend could not row. "I began to wave and call for help to some of the motor boats and fine yachts that passed near us," she said, "but they gave no help and seemed to ignore us contemptuously. We were getting desperate. Finally, I tied a white garment to one of the oars and waved it as high as I could, shouting for help. A power-driven loaded barge that was further from us than any of the yachts of the wealthy, finally seemed to sense our predicament and stopped.

Rescued By "Negroes."

"Two men got off the barge into a little dory and rowed out to us. They were two colored men.

"I threw them the chain from our boat and they began to row back toward the barge. But with all their might they were unable to make any headway against the water.

"Finally, as there were two seats of oarlocks in our boat and only one in theirs, one of the men suggested that they climb into our boat, so that both of them could do the rowing in one boat. But even this strenuous work seemed to be getting us nowhere.

White Gentlemen Pass.

"Getting frightened again, and seeing some grand white men passing near in a power boat, I got up and began to call to them for help. Then one of the colored men who was struggling to save us, waved his hand cooly and said something which, when I thought of the tragic truth of it, cut me to the quick. He said, with a mixture of bitterness and calm contempt: 'Aw, sit down, Miss, and save your breath. No use calling those guys: when they see two white women "with two niggers," they'll simply say: "they ought to drown".'

"That the white world could have impressed upon a brave and generous colored man of that type such an opinion of the savageness of white men, hurt my feelings."

Despises Old Ideal.

Nevertheless, this woman knew that this black man spoke truly, and she sat quietly and waited for an anxious hour until they fought their way to the barge and saved the woman. And the more she reflected on that "opinion" expressed so coldly by that black man, the more she felt the need of "improving the reputation of white men."

She was humiliated to think that when two white women were seen with two colored men, even in such a predicament, white people would not put an honorable, instead of a dishonorable, construction on the situation; and she was still more humiliated to think that, even if they did put a dishonorable construction on it, white men could be so savage as to refuse to rescue the lives of four fellow humans—whatever their opinion or attitude on any social or racial question.

EAGLE
Pittsfield Mass.
APR 19 1927

Robert Quillen's View of Life

QUALITY, RACE PREJUDICE

Do you think that statesmen of the better kind, cultured, polished and broad of vision, have a race prejudice to suppress when they deal with other nations? You are mistaken. Race prejudice is found much lower down.

In the gray moss region of South Carolina, where the live oaks stretch their great limbs across the highway and the mocking bird sings all the year through, you may find many traces of the Old South.

Here are houses built forty years before a gun was fired at Bunker Hill—houses built of hewn timber pinned together, with cypress lath cut to fit the length of a room and with ceiling boards fourteen and sixteen inches wide held in place by iron nails made by hand.

In these houses, preserving the fine manners, the limitless hospitality and the priceless furniture of another century are the descendants of men who kept slaves.

Now the rich flat fields, that are not bought but only inherited, are tilled by Negroes who work on shares and are free.

In numerous villages of this district these free men set aside the first day of the year to celebrate their emancipation.

Their buggies, their cars and their mules are decorated with bunting and ribbons and they parade down Main street behind groups of marching lodge men, and after the parade they listen to speeches, feast and play games.

The celebration costs money, and the Negroes are poor. Wherefore they visit their friends, the white people, who are descended from the "quality" and ask for contributions that are gladly given.

Where, then, is this race prejudice so scathingly denounced by people who know little about it? It is in the heart of the white man still described by his black neighbor as "poor buckra."

The "trash" may be rich and educated now, but in a long-settled community they still are despised by Negroes whose ancestors were slaves of the "quality."

When races clash, it is dross that clashes—not the finer metal.

All the world over, gentlemen treat gentlemen as gentlemen, whatever their race may be.

NEW YORK
SUN and GLOBE

APR 19 1927

TRIBUTES PAID DARROW AT 70

Chicago Notables Eulogize Him at Banquet.

DEFENDER OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Replies He Has Fought Bigotry, Bunk and Intolerance.

CHICAGO, April 19 (A. P.).—Clarence Darrow started the seventy-first year of this life to-day with eulogies such as are rarely heard, except over one who has gone, ringing in his ears.

Fifteen hundred men and women including notables from all America paid tribute to the grizzled lawyer, writer and philosopher, in a testimonial banquet last night on the occasion of his seventieth anniversary. They heard him described as Chicago's most distinguished citizen, an advocate of human rights, an optimistic cynic in literature, friend of the negro, defender of science and humanitarian.

"The gods have made only one Clarence Darrow," said Prof. Thomas V. Smith of the University of Chicago, philosophy department, "and frequent must be the regrets in celestial headquarters that only this one was made."

Donald Richberg, Chicago attorney, said Darrow, defense attorney in the Loeb-Leopold case and in the Scopes evolution trial at Dayton, Tenn., was not a good lawyer.

"He is not a good lawyer," Richberg

said. "A good lawyer lives in a world of clear-cut black and white. Darrow lives in a world of gray. He is irreverent toward the established thing, coming as he does before the bar snapping his irreverent suspender."

"Darrow's religion," said Shirley J. Case, professor of early Christian history at the University of Chicago, "has consisted in a love for his fellow men, rather than in the love of any abstract God."

Walter White, negro writer and publicist, said: "We honor to a man who has attacked, ridiculed and exposed every idea held by this smug, bourgeois civilization of ours. He has shown that the agnostics and free thinkers are friends of the negro, rather than the fundamentalists whose religion stops at the color line."

Darrow told how it feels at 70 "to await the approach of death."

"If you take the whole of eternity as a denominator," he said, "and 70 or a million years, either one, for an enumerator, your figure will be unchanged. So, what have I to lose at 70 that I wouldn't have at a million years of age?"

"All my life I have fought for liberty—for the right of every one to live his own life in his own way.

"Never have I thought of forcing my convictions on others. But, they say I am not constructive. Of course I am not. I've confined my life to destruction—destruction of bunk and intolerance and bigotry."

DABNEY TELLS A GOOD ONE

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Chicago, Ill., April 14—Wendell Phillips Dabney, author of "Cincinnati's Colored Citizens", an engrossing compedium of the achievements of Negroes in that Ohio town, which is now in its second edition, must also be credited as a champion maker of snappy comebacks, ccording to a story he related here this week.

One af Dabney's white friends in Cincinnati recently inquired of him why he had included in his book stories of "Buck-town," the old red-light district of the city, written by Lafcadio Hearn when h was a reporter for a Cincinnati daily. The white man did not think the excerpts were necessary.

"Oh, yes", Dabney is reported to have replied. "You know we have often read of white men seeking colored women, but this story of Hearn's was the first and only one I ever read from a white publication of white and colored men cooperating in their pursuit of white women. I just thought that was news."

Edwards Flays Racial Hatred

Jersey City—Flaying sectionalism and inter-racial hatereds as enemies of true Americanism, Senator Edward I. Edwards of New Jersey, today had declared the time had arrived for " absolute freedom of thought and equality before the law."

"If our state and national governments would insist upon this American priciple for all citizens there would be no place in our daily lives for sheeted mobs, sectional uprising or a prejudiced press," Edwards declared.

He spoke before the Stuben Society in tribate to the memory of Baron Steuben, revolutionary war hero.

"Racial hatreds have no more right to find lodgement in this land of the free than has bolshevism or anarchy," said Senator Edwars. "All are equally subversive of every principle of liberty and independence for which Washington and Steuben sterved and suffered at Valley Forge.

"Sectionalism dwarfs social, economic and religious progress. Interracial hatreds are a reversion to barbarism and the slavish mob rule of prehistoric times. America wants none of it if she does not wish to forfeit everything won with the blood of our revolutionary heroes.

"No discrimination whatever should be tolerated, and as long as I am in public life, every ounce of my influence will be directed toward securing a square deal for every one. In this way and in this way only can democracy and self-rule survive."

—Flint American.

Senator Edward I. Edwards, in these immortal utterances, proves himself to be a true American—he represents the reincarnation of Lincoln, Lovejoy and Garrison. Speaking the mind of God, his words are eternal truths. Whether white American will ever accept this gospel, time must tell, but repent with bitterness and confess to whether soon or late , America must the truth of this doctrine.—(Ted)

Call DuBois "Radical"

CINCINNATI, O., Apr. 21.—(A. N. P.)—Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished editor of the Crisis, appeared here last week in two lectures before the largest Jewish synagogues in the city and created a sensation by his scholarly frankness. The Cincinnati Enquirer printed two editorials on his address and charged him with being a socialist and radical. W. P. Dabney introduced him at the meetings.

THE PASSING OF SENATOR HEFLIN

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 31—According to political prophecies, Senator Hefflin, Alabama Democrat, will at a very early date that there is a vast difference between standing on Main Street in the village of Lafayette, Ala., lustily singing to disfranchised, exploited and "Jim Crowed" colored citizens, "Bye, Bye, Blackbird," and standing in the Senate of the United States bitterly denouncing the Catholic Church.

There is no worthwhile "thrill" resulting from the speech to his helpless colored constituents; but for his intolerant oratorical effort in the Senate in which he attempted to present the Roman Catholic Church in an unfavorable attitude upon the question of this country's relations with Mexico, the Senator will doubtless receive a miscellaneous assortment of "thrills" that will injure his political activity in the councils of his party and probably cause his retirement from the national political game. As a distinct party liabilty he will be useless to Democracy as a campaign orator in the doubtful Northern States, and as a Chautauqua lecturer, anywhere North of the Chattachoochee River he will be exceedingly unpopular.

Although it is generally believed that the Heflin assault upon the Knights of Columbus was prompted by his opposition to the presidential ambitions of Governor Al Smith of New York, who is a Catholic, his uncalled for and very bitter speech in the Senate not only had the effect of solidifying the large Catholic Democratic vote, but also served as an excuse for the astute Senator Reed of Missouri to throw his hat into the ring a few weeks prior to the scheduled time.

It caused Governor Ritchie of Maryland hurriedly to broadcast a statement to the affect that Governor Smith is the "outstanding Democrat of the country," and drew the pronounced censure of several leaders of Democracy Down in rural Alabama inspired and captious criticism of Catholics, Negroes and Jews may be a pleasant and profitable diversion; but in the Senate of the United States it is an ungracious, unstatesmanlike performance.

Letters to the Editor

Please be brief. We reserve the right to cut letters more than 300 words long.

DR. MOTON COMMENDS THE ADVERTISER

Editor The Advertiser:

I wish to express my appreciation and thanks to The Advertiser for its kindness not only to this institution, but for its apparent editorial attitude and policy towards the negro race. Its manifest good will and its equally definite purpose of promoting a better and more sympathetic understanding between the two races are most encouraging.

I notice, too, that you are taking pains to publish information concerning the progress of the negro that serves to enlighten many people who would be otherwise ignorant of the advance that is being made by members of my own race right here in our own state as well as in the entire South.

All these efforts serve most effectively to make life in our part of the country increasingly attractive to those who for one reason or another might be tempted to go to other parts of the country to find the opportunities there that might just as well be had here in Alabama, where there are abundant resources and democracy and Christianity enough, if only courageously and wisely exercised, to make for contentment and happiness for every one of its inhabitants, black and white.

As my distinguished predecessor, Dr. Booker T. Washington, used to say, and as you and I so well know, the prosperity and well being of the negro need not in any particular detract from the well being and prosperity of a single white person in our state; as a matter of fact, every advance of the negro whether in industry, in education or in morals, must make the state of Alabama a safer and a better place for her citizens to live in, whether white or black. It is, therefore, most gratifying and encouraging to see The Advertiser putting less stress on the discreditable aspects of negro life and emphasizing more and more the commendable aspects of life in general.

I have been in other parts of the world for the last few months because of my health, but I am glad to return with my health and vigor fully restored, and to find that Alabama and the South are being given increasing recognition not only for their marvelous economic and industrial development, but as notably for the growing sentiment for sympathy, co-operation and equal justice between black and white, that tends to prevail in spite of occasional back washes.

R. R. MOTON.

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., April 19, 192.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

REPORT NEGRO SCHOOL HEAD FIRED FOR RADICAL VIEWS; NEW YORK HOSPITALS BAR COLORED NURSES

By MARY ADAMS.

Forrester B. Washington has been appointed head of the Atlanta School for Social Work in place of Franklin Frazier. Frazier threatens to tell exactly why he was let go, if a statement as to his inefficiency is not retracted. This statement was issued by Rhoda Kaufman and W. W Alexander for the Board.

Dr. Alexander is connected with the Inter-racial Committee of Atlanta The school is supported by the Laura Spellman Memorial, the Russell Sage Foundation and the Atlanta Community Chest. It is the same type of school as The School of Social Work run by the C. O. S. here.

Publicity sent all over the country by the new head says there are any number of positions such as welfare research and care workers waiting for graduates. Rumor has it that Frazier was dismissed for radical views on race questions.

* * *

Hoover Hands Out Sops.

Dr. J. S. Clark of Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., Dr. L. M. McCay of Rust College, Jackson, Miss., and H. C. Ray have been appointed advisors on reconstruction to the Red Cross units in their respective states. These appointments were made after Secretary Hoover had conferred with the Colored Advisory Commission on Mississippi Valley Flood, of which Col. R. R. Moton was head.

J. L. Feier, executive in charge of Red Cross writes a three-page letter to Walter White of N. A. A. C. P. of New York in which he says, "As an agency of help and mercy the Red cross would not of course wish to stand for unfair practices of the type you suggest toward colored refugees." Mr. White was not satisfied with this letter. Perhaps he had heard of the camp where the army cots were only distributed to the whites. Or maybe he read of the man who was shot dead trying to escape from a farm.

* * *

"Divide and Rule."

W. H. Le Grange in a lengthy dispatch to the African world states the position of the colored people of South Africa. We colored people, he says, are opposing the Native Movement. We stand on a platform of

Labor Leader 4-5-27

families occupying it. There were no fire escapes. Across the street was another three-story one-family building remodeled to include a store, a garage and five flats, also with no fire escapes.

No Chance of Escape.

"In case of fire these poor people would have no chance at all," said Harold Reigelman, spokesman for the committee that made the investigation. "With stairways dark, narrow and winding, they would be trapped and burned to death before they knew what was happening."

It was stated that the landlords succeeded in crowding so many families in one building by ignoring the provision of the building code that requires them to file plans when the buildings are remodeled.

Wide Area Covered in Tour.

The inspection tour, which started from the Tenement House Commissioner's office in the Municipal Building, also took in Jackson Heights, Sunnyside, the development of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company on Forty-eighth street, Queens; buildings on Camelia street. The delegates, who were arrested at Port-au-Prince, were just about to embark for America.

They were able to send a message to the Dominican delegation, which was read at the convention. These men will keep company in jail with seven editors whom Borno sent there lately.

* * *

Forced to Sell Land.

A former K. K. K. cyclops, named Worthington is found on investigation to hold the deed to the land of Arthur Hitt, a colored man of Birmingham, Ala.

Worthington protests that he paid a fair price for the land. The price paid was $600. Arthur Hitt, the Negro owner, was forced to sell this land which is worth $9,000. He was taken from his home one night by masked men, tied to a tree and flogged until he promised to sell. He was threatened with further floggings, should he disclose the occurrence. Nevertheless he appeared before a committee and told his story which resulted in an investigation.

* * *

Hospitals Bar Negro Nurses.

George Harris, editor of the New York News, and a former Aldermar points out in his paper that Negro patients as well as Jews are discriminated against in the city hospitals. None of the city nurse training schools admit colored women, says Mr. Harris. There is, however, a Jim Crow school for colored nurses in the Harlem Hospital. He makes the further point that there are no Negro internes in either Bellevue or Fordham hospitals.

N. Y. WORLD

JUN 6 1927

PREJUDICE WORST SIN, FOSDICK SAYS

Has Made History an Orgy of Carnage, Park Avenue Pastor Asserts

A RETURN TO PRIMITIVE

At Its Lowest When Shown in Religious Matters

"The sin of prejudice is the worst sin in the world," said Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, pastor of the Perk Avenue Baptist Church, in his sermon yesterday. "It is a sin whose consequences on its victims are not so obvious as lusts of the flesh and yet whose devastations of the human race are written large in every war, in every outbreak of racial hatred, in a million oppressions and ostracisms.

"Its record of heartbreaks surpasses all the other sins of men. Its results in bloodshed have made history an orgy of carnage and make civilization to-day a brief interval between catastrophes.

"Many of us have no concern with the temptation to drunkenness and adultery but we all have temptation to prejudice. People who say that they hate the Japanese or the Italians or the Negroes or Roman Catholics or Jews, may walk in respectable society, but for all that they are lepers. They are breeding places for the world's most deadly moral pestilence.

Return to Primitive

"Our racial, religious and national prejudices represent a belated attitude. They are leftovers from the conditions of life which surrounded primitive man when every stranger was an enemy. That is the origin of prejudice, and when to-day you hear people who hate Jews, hate Catholics, hate Protestants, hate other races, you are witnessing a return to the primitive mind.

"Prejudice reaches its worst when it evinces its power in religion. Many people identify prejudice with conviction. They think that if you are not hard and bitter against those who differ from you in religion you have no convictions. That is a deadly mistake. Do you remember the Roman Catholic chaplain during the war who went out under fire to minister to a dying boy in No Man's Land? When the boy saw him he said, 'Padre, I don't belong to your church.' 'No,' said the padre, 'but you do belong to my God.' That's one of the brightest things ever said. It involves no surrender of conviction. So let all men of religion speak!

Prejudice Starves the Soul

"Prejudice is one of the most starving things that a man can carry around with him in his soul. Travelers, for example, go abroad covered all over with the armor of prejudice. They can not appreciate any strange thing. Whatever is different from Main Street is wrong. They come back, having really seen nothing.

"The same thing is true about social sets at home. The old four hundred in New York fooled a good many people for a long time with the impression that they were to be envied. But a segregated set like that inevitably rots away."

Stop Money Gifts to Our Schools—Kelly Miller

Washington, D. C., Jan. 7.—Age threw down the gauntlet and youth accepted the challenge at the public meeting last Monday evening of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity in the Andrew Rankin Memorial chapel of Howard university when Dean Kelly Miller, in delivering the principal address raised several controversial points.

Issue was joined with Dean Miller by F. Eugene Corby, a New York university law student, who was acting as the master of ceremonies. He took exceptions to the contention of Dean Miller that no matter what the Race may acquire economically, the white man will always be in the dominating position.

Sees Bright Future

Mr. Corby declared that what the white man has done other peoples may do. He said that there are international forces at play today which Dean Miller had failed to take into consideration, and that these forces are challenging the superiority of the white races. He predicted that the Race will play a big part in the future of the world.

The grand polemarch of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity, Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, Ill., who officially responded to the address of Dean Miller, sought to reconcile opposing views.

"I want to assure Dean Miller," Mr. Dickerson declared, "that the young college man of today is not altogether the college man of pranks and foolishness. He is giving his attention to the serious problems of leadership. The college fraternities are trying to develop a new leadership that will take up these estates that you men of the first generation of college-bred men leave us."

Dean Miller in his address had declared that "the first generation of college men has proved to the doubting world that the Race is fully capable of receiving and assimilating all forms of culture. The question the world is asking the present generation is not whether they are capable of taking in the higher education, but whether they are capable of making the proper application of that education to the social uplift of their knd."

In criticism of the present generation, Dean Miller said that "we are

now substituting the flapper for the Madonna, Valentino for Charles W. Eliot, the sheik for Sir Galahad and the jazz and 'blues' for classic culture."

"The white race," he said, "has furnished leaders for us. No man or one group can ever furnish leadership to people of another group unless he is willing to become naturalized into the group he seeks to lead."

Dean Miller expressed the belief that it would be well if all philanthropy should be withdrawn, leaving the Race to support and maintain its own institutions.

He proposed a joint meeting of all fraternities four years hence in an effort to harness these forces to some "concrete, dynamic task." He declared that the getting of wealth would not solve the problem. Dean Miller urged reliance upon religious force.

"Sound Asleep"

The young Race college man, said Dean Miller, is the most backward and the most inefficient in all the world. "The young American Negro is practically asleep."

The laurel wreath, emblematic of the highest achievement in some line of endeavor by members of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity, was presented to A. A. Alexander, a civil engineer of Des Moines, Iowa, and T. Gillis Nutter, a lawyer of Charleston, W. Va. The speech of presentation was made by Rev. R. L. Bradley of Detroit, Mich.

A welcoming address was delivered by James E. Scott, polemarch of the local alumni chapter, which is entertaining the 16th annual grand chapter meeting of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity. Invocation was offered by Maj. Oscar J. W. Scott.

At noon Monday delegates and members of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity visited the White house and were presented to the president. He posed with them for a photograph.

The 16th annual session opened Sunday with a sermon by Maj. Oscar J. W. Scott at the Metropolitan A. M. E. church. In the afternoon delegates were taken on a sight-seeing tour. Sunday evening there was a reception at the Mu-So-Lit club, 1327 R St N W

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

Are We A Marked People?

By T. THOMAS FORTUNE

Are the Negro people in the United States a marked people? This question looks innocent enough, but when we consider the Jews, only 13,000,000 of them in all the world, and the peculiar relations which they sustain to the rest of mankind, and have sustained since Abram was called out of Ur of the Chaldes by the Lord and given the Land of Canaan for a possession we are constrained to admit, when we consider the Jews that they are a peculiar people who, in the Christian era, without a native land and a government of their own, have held together, despised and persecuted everywhere, they have striven to make a home among strangers in a strange land, and making themselves felt in the lowest places, thriving as it were on persecution. In every department of human thought and effort the Jew has made himself felt and respected. Why? we are told that he is a chosen people, but professing Christians cannot be made to understand that it is so.

And because of the miracle of the Jew I am moved to asked, Are the Negro people in the United States a marked people?

Christian People Are Divided

Christian people have no well-defined beliefs, nor organizations, nor government in common. They are divided in their fundamental beliefs and are governed in their diversified organizations by separate and distinct systems. They follow Jesus when Paul, the Chief Apostle to the Gentiles, told them to follow him. They claim Abraham for father when the plain reading of the word is "father Ham of Ra, the sun god of Egypt." But can you make a white Christion, especially among the Southern fundamentalists, who made such a wonderful display of themselves at Dayton, where Willian Jennings Bryan, their chief advocate, died the death, believe any such interpretation? And they persecute the sons of Ham even unto death while claiming Abraham to be their spiritual father. It is very confusing.

Negro Is Also Victim of Persecution

Everywhere the Negro is persecuted and denied a man's chance as the Jews in Christendom have been for quite twenty centuries, and everywhere the Negro has multiplied and built homes and churches and schools and business enterprises of his own, small but promising, with the elements of growth present in the need for such, an irresistible supplying of the things demanded as a matter of course. While the red man has died out at the approach of the white man the Negro has grown in numbers and become a part of the flesh and blood and the thought and effort of the people of the Republic. He has successfully assimilated the white man's virtues as well as his vices and practices both as the white man does in the way that seems good to him. He refuses to die out and he is resisting aggressively the efforts of the white man to make a place for him instead of being allowed as others are to make his own place. His being brought here by force "to serve them," his surviving through the long years of slavery, and his increase and prosperity during the fifty years of partial freedom and opportunity all seems miraculous to me, and should give those wise ones of the race who are discussing the question, "Is the church a help or hindrance to the race?" food for thought. It is a miracle that they have been snatched from the Jungle Life and enabled to get enough education to propound and to discuss such a question at all.

Harlem of New York An Example

Much is being written about New York and its 200,000 Negro population, but the miracle of it is entirely overlooked. Harlem, extending from Central Park to the Harlem river, was built by white people for white people. They are sandwiched between the business and the aristocratic downtown districts of the whites and the marvellous Jewish Bronx development beyond the Harlem River. The Jews built their development, digging it out of solid granite, creating billions of value, with boulevards and structures of incomparable beauty, but the Negro just moved into Harlem from the downtown districts and everywhere else, and took possession of the beautiful residences and apartment houses built for white people, the latter moving out as the former moved in, and they are still moving, the one in and the other out. The Negro had little money and bought little property and built none, but he moved in and occupied what others had built and paid for themselves, and he is making himself very much at home and beginning to get his bearings and to prosper, in spite of the high rents and the high prices for food and clothing. Palatial homes and churches and places of amusement are his which others made for themselves. It certainly looks like a miracle to me. And from all of which I gather that it is a reasonable question: "Are the Negro people in the United States a marked people?

CLARENCE DARROW

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Darrow is not typically American in that he regards Negroes as human beings. He would like to see the color question disappear and be only an historic instance of man's folly and "man's inhumanity to man." "I wish," he says, "I might live long enough to speak to an audience of Colored people on some other subect than color—but I fear I never shall." At present the color question is one of unescapable and grievous importance. Darrow is too bold and honest a man to ignore this question, to fail in plain speaking about it, before an audience of Negroes. The attitude of variously colored "white" men he, as an "ashen gray" man, describes with fine sarcasm.

"White men accuse Negroes of being shiftless and lazy and when they put in a hard day's work they boast of 'working like a n——.'

"Negroes are dirty—but they are not too dirty to wash clothes for white people to wear; Negro women are untidy—but they may cook the meals that white ladies eat.

"The white man pictures heaven as a place where white angels snore in bed till noon; while Colored angel get up when the alarm clock rings to do the celestial chores.

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"'The white christians and the black christians both are destined to go to the same heaven—wherever that is. That is something I can't understand. If the white christian does not associate with the black christian here how can you expect he will associate with him up there? The best they can do for the black christian is to build a 'jim-crow' department in heaven."

It is funny;and it strikes me that any christian who ponders on the possible arrangements that may be made in heaven must wobble in his faith or be upheld in it by a total absence of humor. It is true, however, that Christians do not think very definitely what the political economy, the social customs, the racial standars and the general ethics of heaven may be. Ideas about heaven are as vague as the word "heaven" itself, as vague as the identical word "Nowhere." It is certain that the already sadly separated Christians add greatly to the dissension among a plan of heaven, actually drawn tian folds. There would be partisanship and prejudice over heavenly issues as over human issues on earth.

now substituting the flapper for the Madonna, Valentino for Charles W. Elliot, the sheik for Sir Galahad and the jazz and 'blues' for classic culture."

"The white race," he said, "has furnished leaders for us. No man of one group can ever furnish leadership to people of another group unless he is willing to become naturalized into the group he seeks to lead.'

Dean Miller expressed the belief that it would be well if all philanthropy should be withdrawn, leaving the Race to support and maintain its own institutions.

He proposed a joint meeting of all fraternities four years hence in an effort to harness these forces to some "concrete, dynamic task." He declared that the getting of wealth would not solve the problem. [Dean?] Miller urged reliance upon religious force.

"Sound Asleep"

The young Race college man, said Dean Miller, is the most backward and the most inefficient in all the world. "The young American Negro is practically asleep."

The laurel wreath, emblematic of the highest achievement in some line of endeavor by members of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity, was presented to A. A. Alexander, a civil engineer of Des Moines, Iowa, and T. Gillis Nutter, a lawyer of Charleston, W. Va. The speech of presentation was made by Rev. R. L. Bradley of Detroit, Mich.

A welcoming address was delivered by James E. Scott, polemarch of the local alumni chapter, which is entertaining the 16th annual grand chapter meeting of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity. Invocation was offered by Maj. Oscar J. W. Scott.

At noon Monday delegates and members of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity visited the White house and were presented to the president. He posed with them for a photograph.

The 16th annual session opened Sunday with a sermon by Maj. Oscar J. W. Scott at the Metropolitan A. M. E. church. In the afternoon delegates were taken on a sight-seeing tour. Sunday evening there was a reception at the Mu-So-Lit club, 1327 R St N W

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

Are We A Marked People?

—By T. THOMAS FORTUNE—

Are the Negro people in the United States a marked people? This question looks innocent enough, but when we consider the Jews, only 13,000,000 of them in all the world, and the peculiar relations which they sustain to the rest of mankind, and have sustained since Abram was called out of Ur of the Chaldees by the Lord and given the Land of Canaan for a possession, we are constrained to admit, when we consider the Jews that they are a peculiar people who, in the Christian area without a native land and a government of their own, have held together, despised and persecuted everywhere, they have striven to make a home among strangers in a strange land, and making themselves felt in the lowest places, thriving as it were on persecution. In every department of human thought and effort the Jew has made himself felt and respected. Why? we are told that he is a chosen people, but professing Christians cannot be made to understand that it is so.

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Race Problem - 1927

United States.

INTO THE SECOND GENERATION.

(By DEAN KELLY MILLER, Howard University.)

My recent release on the second generation of college bred Negroes has caused widespread comment. The destiny of the race is in their hands. Those of the older generation must decrease; they must increase. We can only occupy till they come. We must shortly hand over to them the great racial estates bequeathed by our more illiterate forebears. It is of highest racial concern that they appreciate the high responsibility that devolves upon them. I have said that they are afflicted with the eleemosynary complex. They must free themselves from the apron strings of philanthropy. A generation and a half is long enough to rely upon outside help.

The great political estate of formal equality has been vouchsafed as a bequest, and not achieved as a conquest. The passing generation has not been able to maintain it. We relied upon the republican party to uphold us in our guaranteed rights. The party has failed us utterly. There is no human likelihood that the race will regain its pristine political prestige through the benevolence of the republican party. The generation now functioning has all but given up the ghost. The estate is about to be lost. Will the new generation now preparing for the stage of action possess the courage, the acumen and wise diplomacy to restore this rapidly vanishing political power? Or will it yield the struggle for want of courage and energy? Under the federal constitution, the Negro has every right of any other American citizen. Even the revised constitutions, on their face, are without racial discrimination. It will boot nothing to denounce the Southern oligarchy for its high-handed ruthlessness in frustrating the constitutional purpose. The plain fact remains that the Negro is politically indifferent. Senator Blease stated the other day on the floor of the senate that the Negroes in South Carolina do not vote because they have no political interest. This is practically true of the Negroes in Harlem. Notwithstanding the numerous modes of persuasion, so well known to the politician, not more than one legal voter in five in Harlem can be persuaded to qualify for that exalted function. Can this new Negro arouse the masses to the vital importance of functioning in the formation and control of the government under which it lives and by which it will be controlled? This is the primary test of its capacity to cope with the situation by which it is confronted. For government is the controlling agency in society. Those who do not participate in formulating and directing the government will always be at the mercy of those who do.

The fathers have built up and handed down a considerable property estate, mainly in the ownership of farm and city homes. Of the two the farm home is by far of greater importance. The farm home is of the nature of productive capital; the city home is but dead, inert, unproduct-wealth. The only real, worth-while capital which the race has yet accumulated consists of the quarter of a million farms, out of which more than a million Negroes direct their own activities and earn an independent living. Otherwise they are but hired hands receiving the pittance and doing the biddance of the white lord and master. There is grave danger that under the prevalent tendency of the newer generation, the race is losing its grip on this great agricultural estate, in its mad rush after the glare and glammer of city life. What is gained in the city by no means offsets the loss sustained in the country. Several months ago I contributed an article to the Baltimore Manufacturers Record, entitled, "The Farm—the Negro's Best Chance." If we take a comprehensive view of this wild rush cityward, we shall gain less racial comfort and satisfaction than we derive from first glance. We look in vain for the assuring indications that the race will reach the stage of economic and industrial self-sufficiency. It looks more likely that its permanent abiding place will be in the shade. The farm furnishes a place in the sun.

It is up to the incoming generation to command the industrial and economic life of the race as well as its political fortune. Will the graduates of Hampton and Tuskegee as well as the output of the industrial departments of our colleges and universities furnish wise industrial and economic leadership?

Our fathers built up a vast religious estate, comprising thirty thousand churches and four million members. This is the most marvelous achievement recorded to the credit of the race. This vast religious estate was built up by comparatively illiterate men. But here it stands a monument to their zeal and consecration. Be it said to the utter condemnation of the second generation that they are abandoning this great religious estate. The great religious denominations form the only type of organization which Negro genius has built up and which holds vast numbers of the race to permanent adherence and persistent procedure. The race has never developed a political organization that has the binding force of a rope of sand or a coil of smoke. The industrial organizations function but feebly in the economic equation of racial life. Benevolent and fraternal organizations whose main concern is with the sick and the dead thrive more flourishingly. But after all that has been said that can be said, and all has been done that can be done, the outstanding fact remains that the Negro church is the one conspicuous concrete achievement on this continent. There are no Negro institutions in New York, or Washington or Baltimore that stand out through the generations except the churches. There are several Negro churches in Harlem which cost a half million dollars. One searches the city in vain for any competitive individual or social properties. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., benefactions of philanthropy, are the nearest approach.

Thirty thousand pulpits must be filled during the next generation. The leading places in all of these denominations must be recruited. The college bred Negro of this generation is neglecting his superlative opportunity for serving his day and generation. Last June thirteen hundred Negroes were graduated from colleges and universities. I seriously doubt whether half a hundred of them sought the high places of moral and spiritual guidance of the masses.

I am not uttering a word of despair. Somehow or other, God always finds a way to look after his own. I have gone up and down this country from this, from the Eastern to the Western as well as from the Northern to the Southern waters. I have spoken in Negro churches, and attended ministers' meetings, in all parts of the land. I have been gratified beyond expectations to find that the greater pulpits are filled by men of native intelligence, innate leadership and resourcefulness acquired in the main from the performance of their ministerial duties rather than from formal schooling. They that do shall know, is a social as well as a sacred law. But this does not excuse the college Negro of the rising generation. For the most part they are seeking the sheltered and prepared places. The education of the race is mainly under control of the white race. They make the positions and set the pay. The Negro teacher needs mainly to fit into the program. This is a very necessary and essential function. No discredit can be attached to those educated women and men who render this important racial service. But they are sheltered and shaded. They can do only what the white over-load authorizes them to do and say what he permits them to say. They cannot lead and direct the general life of the race. This must devolve upon men in independent positions who derive their support and authority from the people whom they serve. The minister speaks with the power and voice of the multitude whom he leads in righteousness. The voice of the Negro is expressed through the pulpit and the press; the two conspicuous organs of public opinion growing out of and resting upon the people for whom they speak.

I suggest in our Greek letter fraternities and sororities, too, in their local and grand assemblies to give serious consideration to the claims of the ministry upon educated men.

I wish also to caution the new college generation that it is devoting too great a fraction of its energies to gayety and frivolity. I have noticed the Negro's doctors' convention, and from observation could not make certain whether it was a serious scientific gathering or an automobile show. The women in their merry frocks gather from all parts of the land enraptured with the social festivities which all but drown the serious purpose of the gathering. Our fraternities and sororities are heading in the same direction. I believe in play, in its proper place and proportion. All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy and Jenny a stupid girl. But excessive frivolity in the midst of the grave responsibilities impending upon the rising generation might indicate a lack of serious comprehension of their duty to their race at this critical hour.

No, I am not a pessimist, nor a calamity howler. I would not discourage the young by belittling their achievements and attainments. But I deem it a solemn duty which the elder brother owes the younger to warn them against the danger of self-complaisant satisfaction.

Robinson Tells Mencken Attack Is Unfounded

St. Marks Pastor Answers New York "World" Critic With Points on Race Under Preacher Leadership

In the Sunday morning sermon, the Rev. John W. Robinson of St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal church, St. Nicholas avenue and 137th st., opened fire on H. L. Mencken, feature writer of the New York "World", who, in a recent article declared that the colored preacher was a failure as a race leader.

Mencken wrote "The colored pastor has led the race since the Civil War and he has made a dreadful botch of it. His influence today, though it is fast declining, is still for the bad. Those negroes who follow him remain ignorant and ridiculous—nothing comes out save moans."

Reverend Robinson replies:

"Where is the evidence to show that the negro preacher has made a dreadful botch of his leadership? Has not the race made a most praiseworthy and commendable progress in these few years of freedom? They have reduced their illiteracy to 26.5 per cent. Their sons and daughters graduate in our most exacting colleges, receiving not only its degrees, but winning medals and scholarships.

"They are buying beautiful homes in the choicest sections of the best communities. Their farms are tilled and their crops marketed. Their mechanics and artisans are industrious and frugal. Their poets and musicians and composers begin to rank with the best. Their churches, even those they build, are among the best in the community and reveal a comprehension of a modern program."

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MONEY VALUES AS A GUARANTY OF RACIAL STRENGTH

MAN makes and uses money, which is so much blood of his life coined into a medium of exchange. There is no reason why he should worship the money which he makes, or use it to oppress the weaker in the determination to increase his money values. Money is the servant of man who creates and stamps it as his own, and which cannot make man nor stamp him at all. It is for him to use it as a servant, as a part of his flesh and blood, and not allow it to use and abuse him, as if it were the creator and master. All this is well understood, but individuals and nations allow themselves to become the victims and servants of the money values they create and use to corrupt themselves and destroy others who may not be in a position to protect themselves and their interests. But no individual, no nation, can get very far without creating much wealth and using it wisely in the creation of more wealth.

President-General Marcus Garvey sees very clearly on this as on most questions that affect the best interests of the Negro people. In his front page article in the last issue of The Negro World, among other things, he said:

"It is the industrial and commercial progress of America that causes Europe and the rest of the world to think appreciatively of the Anglo-American race. It is not because one hundred and ten million people live in the United States that the world is attracted to the republic with so much reverence and respect, reverence and respect not shown to India with its three hundred millions, or to China with its four hundred millions. Progress of and among any people will advance them in the respect and appreciation of the rest of their fellows. It is such progress that the Negro must attach to himself if he is to rise above the prejudice of the world.

"The reliance of our race upon the progress and achievements of others for a consideration in sympathy, justice and rights is like a dependence upon a broken stick, resting upon which will eventually throw you to the ground.

"The Universal Negro Improvement Association teaches to our race self-help and self-reliance, not only in one essential, but in all those things that contribute to human happiness and well-being. The disposition of the many to depend upon the other races for a kindly and sympathetic consideration of their needs, without making the effort to do for themselves, has been the race's standing disgrace by which we have been judged and through which we have created the strongest prejudice against ourselves."

These three paragraphs teach as much as a whole book could on money values as a guaranty of racial strength. They are a direct appeal to the Negro everywhere to develop and conserve his social, civil and economic values for himself and not for others. To do this he must be a producer as well as a consumer of things; he must be a buyer as well as a seller of things; he must be a saver as well as a spender of his money values. The Jew is all of this everywhere; the white races are very much of it everywhere. We must do as they do, or we shall fail. We must produce in common the things that are necessary and we must buy and sell among ourselves the things we produce and consume. It is all too one-sided now, where we are concerned, everywhere. Start the little business now and patronize it and stick to it until it becomes the big business. Begin with selling shoestrings, if necessary, but begin. Don't put off until tomorrow that which should be done today. All along the line we want more and more to rely upon ourselves and to do for ourselves, without dependence upon others, the things necessary to be done. We shall never get anywhere unless we learn more generally to buy and sell as well as produce and consume things. And it never is what we make that counts, but what we save.

Save the pennies and the dollars will save us in any time of trouble.

Negroes Have No Rights Which Other People Are Bound To Respect Down In Louisiana.

To the Editor:

When our people call themselves COLORED, they are exercising a legal right guaranteed to us by a French treaty. Those so-called Negro leaders, who, with the aid of our white enemies, are trying to fasten upon us the name of Negro, are really endeavoring to nullify the laws of nations, are usurping the functions of the State Supreme Court, and are attempting to make a scrap of paper of a French treaty, which has been the source of our legal rights for over a hundred years.

In the first place, Negroes have no right to be born in New Orleans. When a child is born of colored parents in our city, he is always classified as COLORED on the records of the City Board of Health.

Negroes have no right to free public education in New Orleans. All the free public schools for the education of our children are COLORED public schools. In fact, the Constitution of Louisiana makes it mandatory upon all public school officials to maintain free public schools for COLORED children.

Negroes have no right to ride on a street car in New Orleans. A partition with a sign on that partition is found on all street cars, stating that the rear portion of the car is reserved "For COLORED Patrons Only".

Negroes have no right to marry in New Orleans. Both the groom and the bride must be COLORED in order to procure a license with an authorization for a legal contract between two persons of our race.

Negroes cannot be arrested in New Orleans. When Willie Jones so-called Negro member of a so-called Negro improvement association, is arrested, all of his Negro aspirations are unceremoniously cut short by the Official Police Records, where Willie Jones, COLORED, will be found with a full description of the complaint made against him.

Negroes cannot vote in New Orleans. A voter must register before he can exercise the right of franchise and only COLORED people are permitted to register in New Orleans.

Negroes cannot even die in New Orleans. When the City Board of Health makes a record of the final passing of one of the so-called Negro leaders, it is recorded in most appropriate language that a COLORED man has departed from our midst.

Consequently, when such newspapers as the Times-Picayune and the Louisiana Weekly, the State Department of Education and other people call us Negroes, regardless of the fact that the State Supreme Court has, on more than one occasion, decided that COLORED and not Negro is the proper legal nomenclature of the non-white population of Louisiana, please remember that they are dragging us down to a level even below the dog, for even the worthless dog has the inalienable right to die known as a dog within the limits of the City of New Orleans.

John F. Guillaume,
New Orleans, La.

OKLAHOMA CITY
OKLA.
ISSUE OF
MAY 6 1927

Opportunity For Negroes

SEGREGATION of negroes is difficult, but it is the best policy for fostering amicable relations between the races, while racial prejudice remains the widespread reality that it is in America. Therefore the recommendation of the city planning commission for the development of the district east of Walnut and south of Seventh street for negro population, represents a phase of city planning that should not be neglected.

Our proportion of negro population is not large, but the actual numbers of the colored race will increase as the city grows. In all fairness, they should be given better advantages than they have; something a little nearer equality of opportunity with the whites, and a chance to develop their community and to dwell in wholesome surroundings. A part of the problem is theirs as individuals, but the city should not shirk its share, which includes schools, parks, sanitation and other contributions of a municipality to the comfort and safety of urban life. A dominant race, for its own sake as well as in justice, should encourage rather than oppress a less fortunate people.

The Negro World does not knowingly accept questionable or fraudulent advertising. Readers of the Negro World are earnestly requested to invite our attention to any failure on the part of an advertiser to adhere to any representation contained in a Negro World advertisement.

MONEY VALUES AS A GUARANTY OF RACIAL STRENGTH

MAN makes and uses money, which is so much blood of his life coined into a medium of exchange. There is no reason why he should worship the money which he makes, or use it to oppress the weaker in the determination to increase his money values. Money is the servant of man who creates and stamps it as his own, and which cannot make man nor stamp him at all. It is for him to use it as a servant, as a part of his flesh and blood, and not allow it to use and abuse him, as if it were the creator and master. All this is well understood, but individuals and nations allow themselves to become the victims and servants of the money values they create and use to corrupt themselves and destroy others who may not be in a position to protect themselves and their interests. But no individual, no nation, can get very far without creating much wealth and using it wisely in the creation of more wealth.

President-General Marcus Garvey sees very clearly on this as on most questions that affect the best interests of the Negro people. In his front page article in the last issue of The Negro World, among other things, he said:

"It is the industrial and commercial progress of America that causes Europe and the rest of the world to think appreciatively of the Anglo-American race. It is not because one hundred and ten million people live in the United States that the world is attracted to the republic with so much reverence and respect, reverence and respect not shown to India with its three hundred millions, or to China with its four hundred millions. Progress of and among any people will advance them in the respect and appreciation of the rest of their fellows. It is such progress that the Negro must attach to himself if he is to rise above the prejudice of the world.

"The reliance of our race upon the progress and achievements of others for a consideration in sympathy, justice and rights is like a dependence upon a broken stick, resting upon which will eventually throw you to the ground.

"The Universal Negro Improvement Association teaches to our race self-help and self-reliance, not only in one essential, but in all those things that contribute to human happiness and well-being. The disposition of the many to depend upon the other races for a kindly and sympathetic consideration of their needs, without making the effort to do for themselves, has been the race's standing disgrace by which we have been judged and through which we have created the strongest prejudice against ourselves."

These three paragraphs teach as much as a whole book could on money values as a guaranty of racial strength. They are a direct appeal to the Negro everywhere to develop and conserve his social, civil and economic values for himself and not for others. To do this he must be a producer as well as a consumer of things; he must be a buyer as well as a seller of things; he must be a saver as well as a spender of his money values. The Jew is all of this everywhere; the white races are very much of it everywhere. We must do as they do, or we shall fail. We must produce in common the things that are necessary and we must buy and sell among ourselves the things we produce and consume. It is all too one-sided now, where we are concerned, everywhere. Start the little business now and patronize it and stick to it until it becomes the big business. Begin with selling shoestrings, if necessary, but begin. Don't put off until tomorrow that which should be done today. All along the line we want more and more to rely upon ourselves and to do for ourselves, without dependence upon others, the things necessary to be done. We shall never get anywhere unless we learn more generally to buy and sell as well as produce and consume things. And it never is what we make that counts, but what we save.

Save the pennies and the dollars will save us in any time of trouble.

Negroes Have No Rights Which Other People Are Bound To Respect Down In Louisiana.

To the Editor:

When our people call themselves COLORED, they are exercising a legal right guaranteed to us by a French treaty. Those so-called Negro leaders, who, with the aid of our white enemies, are trying to fasten upon us the name of Negro, are really endeavoring to nullify the laws of Louisiana are usurping the functions of the State Supreme Court, and are attempting to make a scrap of paper of a French treaty, which has been the source of our legal rights for over a hundred years.

In the first place, Negroes have no right to be born in New Orleans. When a child is born of colored parents in our city, he is always classified as COLORED on the records of the City Board of Health.

Negroes have no right to free public education in New Orleans. All the free public schools for the education of our children are COLORED public schools. In fact, the Constitution of Louisiana makes it mandatory upon all public school officials to maintain free public schools for COLORED children.

Negroes have no right to ride on a street car in New Orleans. A partition with a sign on that partition is found on all street cars, stating that the rear portion of the car is reserved "For COLORED Patrons Only".

Negroes have no right to marry in New Orleans. Both the groom and the bride must be COLORED in order to procure a license with an authorization for a legal contract between two persons of our race.

Negroes cannot be arrested in New Orleans. When Willie Jones so-called Negro member of a so-called Negro improvement association, is arrested, all of his Negro aspirations are unceremoniously cut short by the Official Police Records, where Willie Jones, COLORED, will be found with a full description of the complaint made against him.

Negroes cannot vote in New Orleans. A voter must register before he can exercise the right of franchise and only COLORED people are permitted to register in New Orleans.

Negroes cannot even die in New Orleans. When the City Board of Health makes a record of the final passing of one of the so-called Negro leaders, it is recorded in most appropriate language that a COLORED man has departed from our midst.

Consequently, when such newspapers as the Times-Picayune and the Louisiana Weekly, the State Department of Education and other people call us Negroes, regardless of the fact that the State Supreme Court has, on more than one occasion, decided that COLORED and not Negro is the proper legal nomenclature of the non-white population of Louisiana, please remember that they are dragging us down to a level even below the dog, for even the worthless dog has the inalienable right to die known as a dog within the limits of the City of New Orleans.

John F. Guillaume,
New Orleans, La.

OKLAHOMA CITY
OKLA.

ISSUE OF

pportunity For Negroes

SEGREGATION of negroes is difficult, but it is the best policy for fostering amicable relations between the races, while racial prejudice remains the widespread reality that it is in America. Therefore the recommendation of the city planning commission for the development of the district east of Walnut and south of Seventh street for negro population, represents a phase of city planning that should not be neglected.

Our proportion of negro population is not large, but the actual numbers of the colored race will increase as the city grows. In all fairness, they should be given better advantages than they have; something a little nearer equality of opportunity with the whites, and a chance to develop their community and to dwell in wholesome surroundings. A part of the problem is theirs as individuals, but the city should not shirk its share, which includes schools, parks, sanitation and other contributions of a municipality to the comfort and safety of urban life. A dominant race, for its own sake as well as in justice, should encourage rather than oppress a less fortunate people.

Race Problem - 1927
United States

NO OCCASION FOR ALARM

The New York newspaper correspondent who appeared to have been without a subject for his contributions and elected to revive the Negro Communist scare, telling that the institution of Bolshevism was growing among the American Negroes, did the members of the race a gross injustice. Such articles have little effect on the minds of the more enlightened class of both races in our country, but where they fall into the hands of that element which is easily excited and naturally inclined to be hostile toward the Negro the effect of tossing a lighted match into a powder keg might be accomplished.

There is a question as to whether these writers are sincere in their belief that there is some sort of movement fostered by the American Negro and Soviet Russia. It is very likely that it is merely a desire on the part of the correspondents to attract more readers, and arouse interest in their writings. Anyway, the Negro should not be made the goat in the matter, and some method should be adopted that would protect the race's interests from such groundless charges.

"GOOD FOR A NEGRO"

ACCORDING to H. L. Mencken the artistic accomplishments of the Negro have been very modest. Unlike most people who are at all kindly disposed, he has desisted from setting up a special criteria by which to determine Negro work. He has taken away the "good for a Negro" crutch on which we have leaned. He judges the Negro by the same standards that whites are measured and his conclusions are not flattering. For the most part they are true but nothing to become excited over. Because we haven't "arrived," does not mean that we can't or won't.

The Negro has had a terrific fight to adapt himself to the civilization into which he was thrust. Every minute had to be devoted to learning to live as those around him lived, in order that he might survive. He has had to cultivate a taste for food that he never before had seen, wear clothes of which he had never dreamed, make a home where he thought impossible. To these problems were added the adjustment to a new social order and a bewildering battle with strange physical elements. Very little that he brought with him fitted into his new environment. And consequently he grew to feel that what he possessed was of no value and cast it aside.

He became engrossed with the struggle to change from what he was to what he thought would be pleasing in the sight of the powerful, or would make more sure his precarious position. He has fought for political rights, educational advancement, industrial opportunities, economic independence and social recognition. He has spent himself assimilating. Little was left for creative work and less for preserving that which was racially his own. It is only recently that Negroes have developed sufficiently to realize that what is distinctively their own is of more importance than the most faithful imitation, that from within themselves and colored by their own black would come eventually their highest artistic achievements.

Mr. Mencken does us a great good by calling to our attention how far from what he considers the top we still are. True, we have not produced the greatest geniuses. But that is not yet lamentable. We need not be discouraged. We have progressed. But nothing is more demoralizing and deadly than unwarranted praise and patronage. By removing the special "colored" standard he has stimulated the Negro to greater work and has counteracted the inertia that was sure to result from "too many pats on the head."

NEW YORK MINISTER ASSAILS MENCKEN

The Rev. John W. Robinson Resents "Dastard Fling at Colored Pastor"

HE CALLS FOR EVIDENCE

Says Writer "Could Not Hide His Cloven Foot"

NEW YORK CITY, July 28.—H. L. Mencken was taken severely to task last Sunday morning in St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, No. 559 St. Nicholas avenue, by the Rev. John W. Robinson, pastor, for his attack on the Negro preacher in his weekly column, "Hiring a Hall," in The World, Sunday, July 17.

"The colored pastor," Mr. Mencken wrote in his article, "has led the race since the Civil War and he has made a dreadful botch of it. His influence today, though it is fast declining, is still for the bad. Those Negroes who follow him remain ignorant and ridiculous — nothing comes out save moans."

Taking as his text, "I will smite the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered abroad" (Matthew 26-31), the Rev. Mr. Robinson said:

"Where is the evidence to show that the Negro preacher has made a dreadful botch of his leadership? Has not the race made a most praiseworthy and commendable progress in these few years of freedom? They have reduced their illiteracy to 25.5 per cent. Their sons and daughters graduate in our most exacting colleges, receiving not only its degrees, but winning medals and scholarships.

"They are buying beautiful homes in the choicest sections of the best communities. Their farms are tilled and their crops marketed. Their mechanics and artisans are industrious and frugal. Their poets musicians and composers begin to rank with the best. Their churches even those they build are among the best in the community and reveal a comprehension of a modern program.

"The Negro Church reveals a larger percentage of its race enrolled in church membership than the rest of the Protestant community. Olivet Baptist Church, Chicago, the Rev. L. K. Williams, pastor, has the largest membership of any Protestant church in America. Tindley Temple Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. Charles A. Tindley, pastor, has the largest membership enrollment of any Methodist Episcopal church in America. Recently the auditorium of this church was used for men's meetings because it has the largest seating of any Methodist Church in Philadelphia.

"I wonder if Mr. Mencken is not peeved over the presence of Negroes in New York's social circles. It is passing strange that he should use the realm of Negro in business, in which field we have not yet accomplished much as productive of a leadership that shall eclipse the influence of the colored pastor. When that day shall come such men will be out knocking the Negro business man's leadership. With no word of praise for Negro poets or composers Mr. Mencken takes a dastard fling at the colored pastor. He could not hide his cloven foot."

H. L. MENCKEN AND THE NEGRO

In a syndicated article which appeared in a number of the great dailies of recent dates, H. L. Mencken, the distinguished literary critic, author and editor of the American Mercury, is of the opinion that "the Negro has a chance to show the world what really is in him."

Mr. Mencken is by trade a critic, but he has shown a decidedly friendly attitude toward the Negro. He has not, however, allowed his friendliness to affect his judgments. What he has to say is, therefore, worthy of patient and thoughtful consideration—and his opinion of the Negro ministry, may demand prayerful consideration.

It is Mr. Mencken's opinion that the attention now being lavished upon Negroes in New York is not "a transient fad." In this he is at variance with many educated Negroes. He also says that the "colored brethren . . . . add a great deal" to the charm of the circles to which they have been admitted; that they are in the main "dignified, well-mannered, and amusing fellows," and that "their wives, in many cases, are very good looking." That phrase, "in many cases," spoils an otherwise good sentence.

It seems to Mr. Mencken that the Negro's accomplishments have been modest. Except in the matter of the accumulation of wealth, this statement would be true as to all Americans, especially that group calling itself "native." As to the "spirituals" and "jazz," Mr. Mencken is not at all sure that they are of strictly Negro origin. The Negro poets, he thinks, are scarcely deserving of the attention they are receiving and he is of the same opinion as to Negro writers of prose.

We are not going to fall out with him for this, nor for saying that "no other Negro has ever written anything even half so good" as James Weldon Johnson's "Go Down Death."

This calls to mind the dictum of the Latin critic Martial, who said: "De gustibus non est disputandum"; which being translated into the vernacular of our group means: "Don't argue with a man who has a taste for hog head, pig feet and chitterlings."

The subjoined paragraph will probably cause as much controversy as any:

> Now the Negroes begin to pile up wealth, and their business barons become their principal leaders. It is, I think, a sign of genuine progress if only because it reduces the colored pastor to a minor place. He has led the race since the Civil War and he has made a dreadful botch of it. His influence today, though it is fast declining, is still for the bad. Those Negroes who follow him remain ignorant and ridiculous: Nothing comes out of them save moans.

There is just a modicum of truth in what Mr. Mencken says here. For the most part, the Negro pastor has been the most forward-looking force within the limits of the race. The Negro today is beset by two classes of pastors that constitute a constant menace to progress: the hopelessly ignorant pastor from whom as Mr. Mencken says, "nothing comes out save moans"; and the pastor who is the serf of some party manager and demagogue, a mere "worker," hanging around political headquarters, receiving money, distributing money, making stump speeches and doing the dirty errands of a political party and corrupt machine. From these classes of pastors, "Good Lord deliver us."

"THE COLORED BROTHER"

Under this queer appellation H. S. Mencken, noted critic, describes the past, present and future of the American Negro. Much of his comment is undeniably true, while other parts of it paint only a shadowy picture of the whole truth.

Mencken's theory of "Booker T. Babbitts" is a timely and justifiable one. The Negro race is sorely in need of a sound economic foundation. Only wealth and capital can be an adequate background for the development of the higher arts and sciences. As long as the problems of the necessities of life must confront the Negro, his time and energy can not be spent in the luxurious pursuits of classical perfection. There must be something solid at the bottom. Flourishing businesses and a plurality of a prosperous middle class must provide for a genuinely artistic group.

The Negro has, in the main, overlooked this fact in his struggle for abstract, artistic distinction. The honest pursuit of concrete, material wealth is neither criminal nor irreligious. It is an essential part of the "new Negro's program, since he realizes that his offspring can advance only in proportion to the opportunity provided by his fathers and forefathers. The spreading of energy into a "top" and a "bottom," omitting a "middle" is a futile gesture of lost motion, and any structure erected on such a filmy basis will eventually perish. Instead of a multiplicity of artists there is a crying need for artisans, farmers and artificers. Masters mechanics, contractors, builders, tillers of soil and machinists are as essential to the progress of the Negro race as doctors, lawyers, poets and musicians. At present we have a race of doctors, poets and musicians on one hand and educated paupers on the other. It is no wonder that the work of the Negro literate is inferior when they are not yet a hundred years from physical slavery and intellectual bondage. Generations of culture and background are necessary for the production of brilliant literary minds. Yet even the average highly educated Negro thinks that a few years of education fits him for a brilliant career as a poet or writer. In fact, immediately upon graduation, he begins a "rhyme-scheme" which he assumes is the earmark of genius. He is baited with flattery, notoriety and patronage and straightway falls victim to the artistic mediocrity, which now beclouds the Negro's progress.

The distinctions of poets and authors are purely ornamental to the Negro race. This sort of attainment is usually individual. A few black captains of industry will mean the advancement of the entire Negro race, by furnishing employment to thousands of Negro youths, thus tending to make the race economically independent. Our young talent must feed the middle class and take pride in its success. A comparison of the Negro's shortcomings with the materialistic and economic program of the venerable Booker T. Washington, impels sound thought to accept his views.

That the Negro must conform to a single American standard of efficiency and attainment is a truth which needs but restatement. It is the only proper course to follow. If the Negro is an American he must not only ask for recognition as such, he must conduct himself according to American standards. With a black America and a white America existant, a battle for supremacy is inevitable. Both elements must conform to the same standards of comparison. We agree with Mencken, that the Negro should be exposed to the same criteria of judgment. Sound, thorough preparation will enable him to stand the test.

We agree that business leadership should be substituted for the leadership of preachers. This is extremely urgent, since the percentage of ignorance in the Negro pulpit is alarming.

In the main, Mencken's article is sufficiently truthful to deserve attention and close racial introspection. It will serve to warn the Negro of the evils and pitfalls that lurk in the path of his promising career.

The criticism heaped upon the Negro should be administered in the light of the opportunities accorded him. This it seems that Mencken failed to do. Waiving the question of fairness, it is not entirely correct to measure Negro progress without considering this important factor. While the Negro should prepare himself for a single standard of comparison, it is not solely due to his own neglect that he has done so in the past. If the gateways of opportunity are opened to the "Colored Brother," such bitter criticisms as Mr. Mencken's will be wholly and not partially untrue.

MAY 25 192

A Study of the Race Question.

The person who deals sympathetically and intelligently with a subject even a very trying subject, is pretty certain to gain wide attention and a careful hearing. This is illustrated by the reception accorded a recent book "The Negro in American Life," by Jerome Dowd, professor of sociology at the University of Oklahoma. Professor Dowd, being a native of the South and having spent many years in this section in various capacities, had in the preparation of his study the advantage of a first-hand contact with the conditions about which he wrote. Yet his view contains none of that bias on the so-called race problem in America which often is attributed, although sometimes wrongly, to the typical southerner.

In a rather extensive review, the London Times accepts Professor Dowd's study as a distinct and helpful contributton to a clearer view of a question that long has been of national importance in this country and now and then has assumed international proportions. This attention, together with the fact the book has been republished in England, gives evidence of its value and of the sincerity and ability of the writer. "This book," says the Times, "will leave upon its readers a very definite impression of the great advance that has been made by the American negro since his emancipation."

A better understanding of the progress of the race often would be helpful in this country in the working out of satisfactory racial relations. Yet Professor Dowd, like other careful students of this question, is under no illusions with regard to this matter of progress. It easily may be misinterpreted and taken as an answer to all the troublesome questions that have grown out of residence in one country, largely in a single section, of two very distinct races. For, in fact, progress of the negro in the owning of property, in business, trade occupations, education and other respects, if considered alone, may give rise to as many difficulties as it tends to allay in relations of the races. The progress, however, can be turned to excellent account, but largely on the condition of inter-racial co-operation based both on mutual good will and understanding.

An account of the advance in recent years of this type of co-operation is perhaps the most hopeful aspect of the question as viewed in Professor Dowd's book. The writer is wise in offering no ready-made solution of the problem, and in pointing out that no solution has been put forward from any source. Disappearance of some of the difficulties that now exist would require a radical change in human nature which, particularly in racial matters, is extremely slow in coming. Intelligent co-operation for mutual advantage, however, is something more practicable and more to be expected.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NULLIFICATION

Washington, July 2.—Addressing the students of a small Tennessee college at commencement exercises, William Gibbs McAdoo, unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic presidential nonimation in 1924, and at present the "dry hope" of a delirious and despairing Democracy, conveniently forgot traditions of his party blindly ignored the brazen nullification of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution by his Southern captains, lieutenants, and spear-bearers, and made a frantic appeal for the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment, which was adopted fully fifty years after the ratification of the fourteenth, which gives us citizenship. and the fifteenth which clearly states that "The right of a citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

To this very distinguished and typical son of Georgia, under whose administration as Secretary of the United States Treasury segregation of colored government employees was first established as a Democratic administrative policy, the exercise of citizenship rights by several million native born Americans is a highly impracticable idea.

But, "Prohibition is a practical issue of the most vital kind," he declared in his Tennessee address, where he emotionally asked, "Shall the Constitution be nullified or shall it be enforced?"

The asking of this very embarassing question in the South, where nullifying the Constitution is the chief pastime of Democratic adults, and where budding manhood is religiously instructed in the highly developed art of violating the law, has focussed the attention of the public upon the incomprehensible and inconsistent attitude assumed by Mr. McAdoo toward transgressions which are not wholly different in their degree of unfairness.

Protesting against the nullification of a Constitutional amendment in one section of the Country while condoning the nullification of other constitutional amendments in another part of the United States is a venturesome performance that is difficult to understand, and, to say the least, a rather dangerous liberality for one who has an overwhelming ambition to be President of the United States.

Race Problem—1927
United States.

NEW YORK
MIRROR

JUN 4 1927

Land War Flares Up in Canarsie Colored Colony

EXCITEMENT A-PLENTY filled the colored colony at E. 98th St. and Skidmore Lane, Canarsie, when five Kings County deputy sheriffs came to dispossess six families from these shacks. The B. M.-T. claims ownership to the strip of land, for which residents produced old deeds. The illness of two women caused the threatened eviction to be put off for today

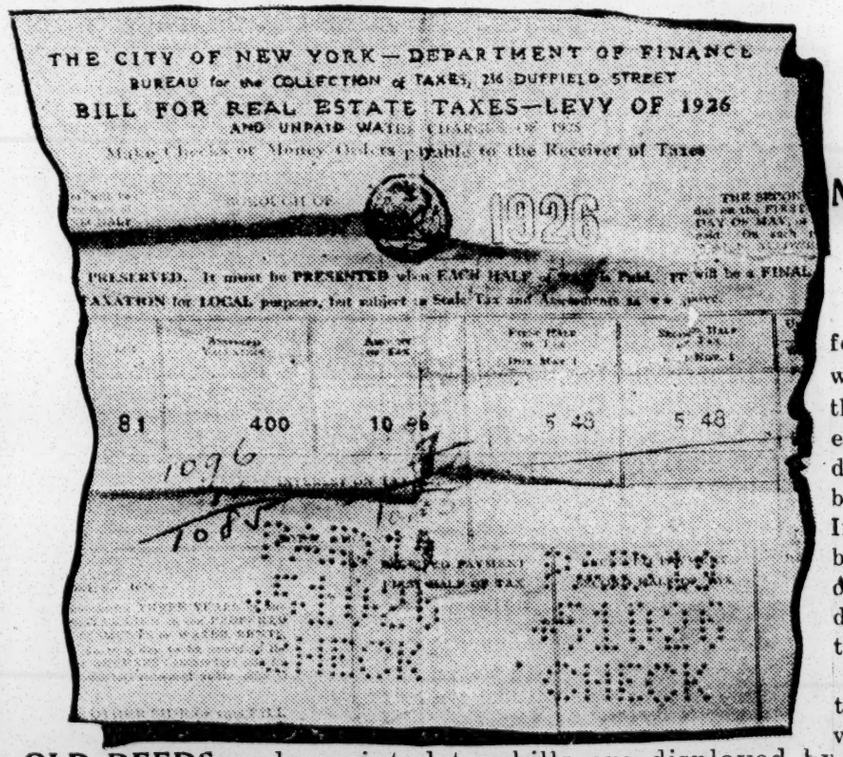
B.-M. T. to Oust Colored Families

Railway Claims Land Occupied by Shacks in Canarsie.

A land war between the B.-M. T. and six colored families flared up yesterday when five Kings County deputy sheriffs came to dispossess the families from their shacks. The illness of Isabelle Wattley and another woman saved the 30 odd persons from being put out of their homes.

The B.-M. T. claims ownership of the narrow strip of land at E. 98th St. and Skidmore Lane, Canarsie. But the occupants of the shacks displayed deeds, some of them dating back to 1873. Among them are John H. Ferguson, 80, a Civil War veteran, and Mrs. Nellie Williams.

The sheriffs threatened to return at 9 o'clock this morning to execute the court edict calling for the ousting of the colored folks there.


THE CITY OF NEW YORK—DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE
BUREAU for the COLLECTION of TAXES, 216 DUFFIELD STREET
BILL FOR REAL ESTATE TAXES—LEVY OF 1926
AND UNPAID WATER CHARGES OF 1925
Make Checks or Money Orders payable to the Receiver of Taxes
1926
PRESERVED. It must be PRESENTED when EACH HALF ... Paid. If will be a FINAL
TAXATION for LOCAL purposes, but subject to Sale Tax and Assessment as ... above.
81 400 10 96 5 48 5 48
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100

OLD DEEDS and receipted tax bills are displayed by the six colored families at E. 98th St. and Skidmore

Lane, Canarsie, as proof of ownership of the strip of land claimed by the B.-M. T., which has obtained dispossess orders. Above is a facsimile of the receipted 1926 tax bill of John H. Ferguson. (Mirror Photo)

A VETERAN of the Civil War, John H. Ferguson (above), 80, No. 1188 E. 98th St., Brooklyn, is one of the residents in the colored Canarsie colony in the strip of land claimed by the B.-M. T.

NEGROES ARE PREYS TO FORFIGN CROOKS

On Jefferson street where very few butchers give honest weight and where meat is tainted and always the cheapest and sometimes unfit to eat, the white man gets skinned daily. He seems to know this but being a yokel he goes back for more. If the white man is a citizen; a man born and raised in the city or is one of usual intellectual countrymen he does not go back to get robbed and to buy poisoned meats.

But the poor Negro who goes to the stores that rob him is the worse victim and for him we have compassion. The foreigners there give him short weight always; in fact we doubt whether their scales have ever given anything else. Just what we are paying the scale and measure department for is a mystery to all taxpayers. The Negro feels that he does not want to complain because of his racial condition. He knows he will be insulted and treated like a dog. He either does not go back there to buy or believing than he gets more for his money ey even though shortweighted he returns to buy the rotten meats and to pay full price for two thirds of the food he gets.

Politicians are ever proclaiming their interest in the Negro; we have not yet seen anything they have done for them, but now as a demonstration of their promises value let us see them clean up these foreign thieves and crooks and protect the Negroes. Remember, the Negro is a rightful American citizen these foreigners are not. Their naturalization papers doesn't mean anything to them except a chance to fleece the American citizen and then insult him when he complains about being robbed.

We hope Louisville Americans aid in the protection of their own people.

—The New Era (white)

DENVER
COLO.

ISSUE OF

JUN 22 1927

OREGON EXPERT SAYS NEGRO RACE WILL BE MERGED IN AMERICA

Predicting the ultimate disappearance of the Negro race in the United States by citing figures which show an increase in the number of mulattoes from 150,000 in 1870 to more than 2 million in 1910, A. H. Shannon of Washington, Ore., who is in the city for a series of lectures, will address the Kiwanis club and the Denver trades assembly today.

Mr. Shannon is a member of the Anthropological Society of America and has been a student of the racial question for years. He is the author of a book, "The Racial Integrity of the American Negro," and of several pamphlets. He will remain in the city for several months during which time he plans to address various clubs and organizations.

The Blast of Mencken

Not only harsh and unkind, but untrue was the caustic criticism of H. L. Mencken of the progress in the fine arts and leadership of the present day colored American. He begins with the false premise that colored New York has attained social entre and equality which they long have sought. The colored New York that seeks it has come upon familiar terms with the long-haired men and the short-haired women of Greenwich Village, but there the social intercourse that is at all respectable has stopped. Mr. Mencken confuses this social intercourse with civic equality. No individual worthy of the name, white or black, seeks social intercourse with those who do not seek such intercourse with him. But the same disabilities, the same discouragements, the same discriminations, only in a slightly lesser degree which have thwarted the colored New Yorker's progress for generations, still react against him to-day. The opportunity to stand as high as he can build in the commercial, industrial and political life of Gotham is denied him now, as always before. He has not, therefore, been able to secure the wealth, leisure, contact and co-operation from his white fellow-citizen that would free him to compete on equal terms with his Caucasian rivals. The race must yet, even in New York, be judged as said Frederick Douglas: "By the depth from which they have come rather than the heigths to which they have attained." That the present generation of writers and artists have rendered notable achievements, handicapped as nine-tenths of them have been by inferior education and early environment, certainly makes their productions, judged fairly and considerately, stand four-square with their fellows. Equally blasphemous is the blast of Mencken against preacher leadership of colored New York. A survey of the leading colored parishes of the Metropolis will reveal that colored preachers have been not only worthy and honest, but intelligent spiritual leaders of their people. They have not been commercial leaders, neither have they been political leaders. They have rendered yoemen service in urging their people forward in these directions and in restraining them from going in the wrong moral directions. That has been their function properly, and right well have they accomplished their mission. They possess an equal intellectual and spiritual endowment with the rank and file of the white clergymen of the Metropolis. In the same way, Mencken begs the question in the matter of colored musicians. Their poverty have kept them from commercializing and capitolizing their original music. The self-advertised Broadway white producers and writers have stolen the credit through the public press for their prolific and prodigious work. In short, Mencken as a white man, ignorantly and unworthily paints the picture of the progress of black New York. He is right when he says colored business men are rapidly taking their rightful place within the race and in the city. He is coleric and cowardly, however, when he castigates the colored writers and artists and preachers of the plodding and progressive colored people of New York City.

MENCKEN AND OUR CLERGY

Henry L. Mencken, demon critic and the Peck's Bad Boy of American literature, stirred up a pretty storm when he recently charged that the Negro ministers had made "a dreadful botch" of their leadership and that nothing comes out of them "save moans". Some of our representative Negro ministers have rushed into the fray wielding cudgels for their brethren of the cloth. Many of them are quite intellectually capable of doing so, and their replies, so far, have proved exceedingly interesting and entertaining, if not always very convincing. Some have pointed to the large number of fine churches erected in various sections of the country, the large home ownership, the decreasing illiteracy, the large number of college graduates, the industry and frugality of our mechanics and artisans, and the cultural renaissance of our group, as evidences of the success of the leadership of the clergy. While the quality of leadership of the Negro clergy has probably not been inferior to that of the clergy of other groups, despite the fact that, according to R. R. Wright, Jr., the vast majority of them are men of little schooling, there is such a thing as claiming too much. We can hardly believe that the ministrations of the clergy are solely responsible for all of our progress since Emancipation. Certainly there must have been and must be other important factors. Moreover, this tendency to claim credit for all progress of the group is exceedingly dangerous. The successes of our group have certainly not been as numerous as the failures, and if the clergy are to take the credit for all of our progress they must also assume responsibility for our retrogression. Such wholesale claims are apt to place the clergy in the position of a certain organization that one year loudly boasted of the great effectiveness of its campaign to reduce the number of lynchings, and the next year the number of lynchings jumped one hundred per cent.

There is no **one** cause for anything. Every effect is the culmination of a long series of causes. Even the omniscient Mr. Mencken is in error in crediting the clergy with responsibility for our present status, good or bad. Many times the clergy can do no more and no better than they do because they are dealing with very ignorant people who function better emotionally than intellectually. There are many ministers of great intellectual capacity, high resolve and social vision who cannot do what they want to do because they are too far in advance of their congregations. In the last analysis, every group has the kind of clergymen it deserves.

For whatever backwardness, dullness of vision and economic ineptitude we display, the fault lies more with our social heritage, industrial segregation, pitifully inadequate schooling and political disfranchisement, than with the Negro clergy or any other class within our group. The spectacle of our shortcomings wounds us quite as much as it does Mr. Mencken, so in order to expedite our departure from our present status, we suggest that Mr. Mencken join us more wholeheartedly in our general attack on the Hindenburg line of segregation and color discrimination. When this major line of defense of Nordic supremacy is broken through, it will be plenty time enough to "mop up" the minor trenches threatening the advancement of our group.

Michigan Judge Declares "Civil Rights Law" Unconstitutional

(By The Associated Negro Press).

Grand Rapids, Mich., March 22.—The decision rendered by Superior Court Judge Leonard Verdier, that theaters, hotels, and restaurants are private enterprises and not public, and that the Civil Rights Law which guarantees all citizens the right to equal accommodations and privileges is unconstitutional, has aroused the ire of the entire state of Michigan.

The decision was rendered in the case of Dr. E. M. Bolden against the eith Theater, for refusing to sell him seats on the main floor, Dr. Bolden entered suit against the theater under the provision of the Civil Rights Law but lost the case.

Realizing that the decision will affect the rights of Colored citizens throughout the state, the State branch of the N. A. A. C. P. has launched a campaign to secure funds to carry the fight to the highest court and from present indications the desired sum will be easily raised.

The Blast of Mencken

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Race Problem - 1927
United States.

Darrow Forced To Flee Mobile

Clarence Darrow, eminent Chicago attorney, who a few weeks ago paid tribute at the memorial of Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute. Mr. Darrow was threatened with mob violence at Mobile, Alabama, because he advised students of color against the hypocrisy of the Nordics.

RACE BARRIERS SLOWLY CRUMBLING

Despite the rather alarming increase in lynchings—twenty-nine for 1926 or thirteen more than for 1925—there are comforting assurances that better relations exist between the white man and his black brother. An interested observer's hurried glance at what has been accomplished and what is now on the way would indicate that the increase in lynching is only a temporary relapse, for there are ample evidences not only of sympathetic understanding, but of actual cooperation between the two races. The chief scene of these is, of course, in the South; and it may surprise those accustomed to view the racial problem at long distance and to regard it as local to Dixie to learn that the most serious racial clashes have occurred in the North and West. The problem is not based on geography.

Pacific Defender

The encouraging trends in race relations are pictured for us by Robert B. Eleazer, educational director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta, in an article in Opportunity. In the South, he tells us, the most encouraging development, probably, has been the increasing integration of the interests of negroes with the official and volunteer social welfare agencies of communities and States. The State Welfare Boards of both North Carolina and Georgia have established distinct departments of negro welfare, in the one case headed by an outstanding colored social worker, and in the other employing colored assistants. In Alabama, Louisiana and Tennessee the State welfare and interracial organizations met last year in joint sessions, while in the other States close and cooperative relations are maintained between the two groups. Of equal importance, perhaps, has been the inclusion of negro welfare agencies in community chest budgets in a large number of cities, and we read:

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"Colored welfare agencies—the Urban League, the Y. W. C. A., orphanages, day nurseries, hospitals, etc.—are generously provided for in chest budgets, and the colored people of the community are organized and led by members of their own group in the systematic support of these chests. This year, for the first time, New Orleans, Greensboro and Savannah took this revolutionary step, while in other cities where the connection was established in previous years the arrangement has become permanent and unquestioned, and works automatically. This means that at last negroes are recognized as an essential part of the community, both as liabilities and as assets, and entitled to the same public consideration as any other group. From the standpoint of immediate results and also as a promise of permanence this development is of the utmost importance."

Los Angeles Calif.

Education is, of course, fundamental, and the writer tells us that progress in this field has been notable and encouraging:

"Atlanta, for example, having just expended $1,250,000 on new negro schools, has promised to the colored people fair participation in a new school bond issue of $5,000,000, that has just been voted. In Louisville provision has been made for two new junior high schools, one graded school, and the enlargement of several others, while preparations are under way to open a department for negroes in the University of Louisville. Raleigh, North Carolina, is expending several hundred thousand dollars of a recent bond issue in adding to and improving its schools for negroes. Memphis has just completed a new high school at a cost of $350,000, established a new junior high, and made extensive additions to others. Scores of negro school enterprises have been promoted elsewhere in Tennessee, and approximately $300,000 has been raised for them by private subscription and public appropriation.

"Hundreds of Rosenwald schools were built throughout the South during the past year, and in every State efforts are being made to improve colored school equipment, raise the standard of teachers, and lengthen the term. We still have a long way to go in this regard, but all the trend is forward and the movement accelerates with every year. Among intelligent people there is no longer any prejudice against negro education, but on the contrary universal acceptance of its necessity and desirability."

On the unfavorable side are one or two attempts at discriminatory legislation, and the increase in lynching, which the writer believes is not great enough or general enough to indicate a permanent trend. He tells us further:

"Perhaps on the whole the most disquieting interracial trend of the year has manifested itself in the North and Middle West. In many industrial centers the incoming tides of negro migration have developed serious situations, which still await solution. Bombings and mob attacks on negro property in Chicago, Detroit, and oher centers; the emergence of the separate school question in Cleveland and Dayton; efforts to restrict negro residential areas in city after city; street clashes in New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Beverly, New Jersey—these are unhappy manifestations of a spirit that the North did not realize it possessed. Perhaps they are the result of temporary maladjustment and will speedily pass as conditions become more settled. On the other hand, as migration continues, as it will, the conflict may become more general and acute.

The press, too, is taking a large part in improving racial relations. "Flaming front-page stories of negro crime, largely responsible in the past for more than one race riot, are now tabooed by every respectable paper in the South. Such stories are either 'played down' to inconspicuous proportions or are left out altogether." This change in news policy, we are told, is the direct result of "an awakened conscience." Now, says the writer, "stories of achievement in education, business, literature and art; stories of heroism and human interest, of interracial cooperation and welfare work; every-day news events, athletics, etc.—stories which promote race pride and ambition on the one hand and interracial understanding and appreciation on the other—these are of constant occurrence in hundreds of papers."

Another significant development has been the growth of interracial interest and conscience among college groups. And then there is "the growing interest on the part of great religious bodies, many of which are working out and passing down to their organized millions of men and women programs of interracial study and activity. . . . After all, the religious appeal alone is powerful enough to win in this warfare against misunderstanding, prejudice and injustice."

Race Problem - 1927

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Certainly the possibilities are serious encugh to arouse deep concern on the part of both groups, and to stir their leaders to claim joint consideration of the situation and to cooperative effort to meet it. Conflicting court decisions on the troubled question of segregation seems to confirm the general opinion that court decisions are more likely to follow than to control public sentiment. In the last analysis, therefore, this issue, like other questions of human relations, will probably have to be fought out in the arena of public opinion and the battle won by the appeal to intelligence and conscience."—Literary Digest for Feb. 12, 1927.

OTHER PAPERS SAY

MORE "NEGRO EQUALITY"

[The Yellow Jacket]

Just as we were reading in the daily newspapers that Doc White, co-worker with Dean Soper and Doc Weatherford in the "Interracial Relations Group Movement' had been duly honored with a medal and a $500 check for "doing the most to promote racial good will" down in the dear old Southland, along comes an elaborate article from New York, telling us all about the "aims of Harlem." For the sake of any reader who may be gasping to learn, we'll say that Harlem is Negro headquarters for the world, with the largest Negro population to be found in any one spot on the globe. Says this analytical writer:

"The Negro is more awake, more competent, more resolved upon full equality than ever before in his history. And Harlem is the focal point of it all. When you consider that the great ambition of the Colored race is for self-development AND SOCIAL EQUALITY, and then remember that there is a silent undermovement among them for a gradual amalgamation, the black metropolis of Harlem begins to loom up as a serious question. So many people fail to realize what is bottled up in the souls of these people. There is more of this amalgamation movement than most people suppose. Walter F. White, a Colored novelist, who is assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says that there is a well known surgeon in New York who is a Negro, but no one suspects it; there is another who is a journalist, a third who has achieved fame as a singer, and a number are on the stage. They are believed to be white by all with whom they associate. They have 'passed.' ONE-THIRD OF THE NEGROES OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE TRACES OF WHITE BLOOD. They are beginning to deny that black is the color of inferiority. The idea that Booker T. Washington preached, that they should give up their insistence on political and social equality, these Negroes regard as doctrine of a traitor to their Race. The Negro boasts of his ancient history, and will tell you that Cleopatra was black, King Tut-Ankh-Amen a Negro, and that Hannibal, a Negro, led his battalions victorious against Rome. The Negro leaders in Harlem are teaching all this and urging them to demand their social rights."

What these Negroes' leaders are NOT teaching them, however, is that whatever may have been their history in the past, their inferiority is NOT due to their color, but to their incapacity to rule. There is not a nation in recorded history over which at any time any Negro held rule, but that it has gone down solely because of the incapacity, the sensual rapacity, the vulgar brutality and the general stupidity of its rulers. Cleopatra may or may not have been a Negro; but she acted like some of history's Colored queens. She married and murdered at her own sweet whim; she forced her own brother to become her husband, then had him slaughtered to keep the kingdom for herself; she played the wanton with any visiting dignitary who stayed over for the night, and certainly she was no "Virgin" or "Saintly Nun." As for King Tut, if half is to be believed from what the excavators have digged out of his grave, he not only was an inordinate hog in life, but tried to carry most of the plunder with him to his grave.

Mencken Discovers Progress in the South

The South, more than any other section of the country perhaps, repeatedly has been the subject of jest and ridicule by H. L. Mencken, who, whatever else may be said of him, always is interesting and stimulating. Such severe criticism as that of Mr. Mencken, although it may be extreme or unjust, may serve a genuinely constructive purpose. It is very likely to prod its victims into action, to make them conscious as never before of their weakness and backwardness. But Mr. Mencken's change of front toward the South, as evidenced in his contribution to The Star Sunday, is of particular significance because of that observing writer's previous attitude toward the section.

Mr. Mencken now, after a recent visit to the section, is quite convinced not only of its material advance but of its esthetic and intellectual progress. Had Mr. Mencken looked for these hopeful elements in the South he could have found them years ago. That region, indeed, is backward in many respects, and it has had its share of undesirable advertising before the nation on that account. Backwardness anywhere, whatever its manifestations, ought to be condemned.

But Mr. Mencken now discovers there are leaders in the South who are as outspoken and as progressive against the forces of ignorance and intolerance about them as could be any observer from the outside. These leaders have been at work for years; they steadily are gaining ground, and in time, with the aid of the enterprising and increasingly intelligent youth of that region, they will be able virtually to transform the section into one of the most progressive in the whole country.

The material advance of the South is a well known and accepted fact. There no longer is an element of novelty in reminders of that type of progress. But one has only to read such a recent volume as "The Advancing South," by Dr. Edwin Mims, of Vanderbilt university, to become aware of progress along intellectual and other lines. For the Norrises in religion, the Cole Bleases in politics and the people who would restrict education, prominent as they are in the South, are not fairly typical of that section. Their influence is counterbalanced by that of such men as Mr. Mencken names—Julian Harris of Georgia, Poteat of North Carolina, Wright of South Carolina and Hall of Alabama—and a long list of others who might be mentioned, including Dean Wilmer of the University of the South, President McVey of the University of Kentucky, President Chase of the University of North Carolina, and President Mullins of the Southern Baptist Theological seminary.

The position of Dr. William L. Poteat, president of Wake Forest college, Baptist college in North Carolina, is particularly interesting. The backward elements of Dr. Poteat's denomination and of his state repeatedly have assailed him because of his support of modern scientific doctrine. He has been threatened with dismissal, but, with the support of alumni of Wake Forest, has stood his ground for more than twenty years and defied the opposition. Dr. Poteat has no difficulty in reconciling modern science and religion, and says so. There are other leaders of the Poteat type in religion, education and other fields in the South. It is these who are appealing to the youth of that section. Their influence in various types of progress will count heavily with the passing of time.—Kansas City Times.

SEX, CRUX OF AMERICAN RACE WAR, DISCUSSED AT DINNER

William Pickens, Back From Abroad, Says Pseudo = Scientists Are Responsible for White Superiority Propaganda

"Sex, the Crux of American Race - Relations Problems," was the subject of William Pickens' address to the Sunrise Club at its ninth dinner of the season Monday evening, at the Cafe Boulevard on Forty-first street. He has also just returned from a trip abroad, which included visits to most of the important countries of the Old World.

Mr. Pickens pointed out that by means of wealth, power, and a longer span of educational opportunities, the white man has pointed the way of mass thought and action through wholesale presentation of superiority propaganda of so-called psuedo-scientists; he has used this argument to exploit the economic and moral resources of the Negro; and he has employed it as a justification of and a rallying cry for mob lynchers.

In his argument the speaker advanced the propositions:

"1. That this sex cry is always associated with economic greed and is loudest wherever the oppression and the robbery are severest.

"2. That racial antagonism is not 'instinctive,' as shown by children and unspoiled races, and as is amusingly proven by the relations of the dominant race to servants of the dominated race in America.

"3. That there are no biological barriers between human 'races,' and that pseudo-science could be used in one direction as well as in another, and could prove anything.

"4. That while sex, or 'racial integrity,' is the greatest publicity material of the leaders of American lynching, as a rallying cry for the mobs, it is, in fact, one of the smallest causes, even among the alleged causes, of this barbarous repression."

Elaborating on these four propositions, Mr. Pickens presented facts and reasoning to prove his statements, digressing occasionally from his paper to provoke laughter by witticisms and anecdotes such as Will Rogers, the cowboy diplomat, might not easily improve upon.

When he had completed his speech, the other members of the Sunrise Club were allowed seven-minute talks to debate any point the opening speaker had mentioned. Among those to challenge or champion Mr. Pickens were Moses Oppenheimer, Dr. Horace H. Cohen, Augustus G. Dill, managing editor of the Crisis, and Hubert H. Harrison, nationally known lecturer and authority.

But in his rebuttal Dean Pickens vigorously answered every challenge, and jeeringly proved himself the "American Aesop." Some of his witticisms caused the diners to give him prolonged applause.

In referring to the inconsistency of American discrimination, he said that white people do not object to having colored servants in their kitchens and bedrooms, and they never fear that amalgamation will result. On the other hand, they strongly protest to having Negroes sit in the same church or theatre with them.

"But amalgamation does occur in churches and theatres," he returned.

"The white man on a Pullman dining car," he said in another instance, "is more concerned about a colored man sitting in a far corner of the room eating a bowl of soup that he is about the Negro waiter behind him with a thumb in his bowl."

Race Problem-1927

United States.

Follow Henry Ford's Example Blease And Bullard Should

To the Editor:

To acknowledge that you are wrong, after you find out that you are wrong, is one of the bravest, and rarest of human achievements.

Henry Ford has just acknowledged that the articles published for years in his Dearborn Independent, attacking and slandering the Jewish people, were wrong. And he tells us what we know already, that altho the articles have his name as author, he did not know what was in them, until now, — when a libel suit brought by a Jew induces him to read the articles and see what all the ado is about. In other words, Henry Ford did not only not write these articles, but did not even read them.

This emphasizes anew the folly, in this crooked world, for big busy men ever to allow others to speak for them on important issues or to sign their names to important documents. Certainly an attack upon a whole people is an important item of business. — We knew that Henry Ford never wrote those articles; for altho he has the intelligence to write them, he never had the education or the information to write them. He now proves his intelligence by reading them, understanding them, and rejecting them.

This rejection and apology is nothing but creditable to Henry Ford. It was an error ever to permit himself to be so imposed upon. But he does all that can be done, now, to remedy the fault. It is a credit to his personal character; it shows him to be at heart a fair and true man. Yes, and it is also a credit to his business acumen; he knows that a big-little people like the Jews, mighty in finance, will not be, in the end, lied upon and libeled with impunity.

Ford's action is also to be credited to the Jews:

1. To their character: they are one of the smallest elements of crime in the nation. That is why Ford can so confidently recall the slanders which he had unwittingly permitted to be broadcasted against them. It is a case where well-established character holds like a wall of defense.

2. It is a credit to their organization and racial **esprit de corps.** The Jews stand together perhaps better than any other race of people. The nerve of racial honor seems to run through every Jew in America, and when it is touched, they all feel.

Lastly, Ford's own words justify the suit which Sapiro, the Jew, had been prosecuting against him for libel. — Ford so far had the advantage in that suit, so that it is all the big-bigger thing for him to make these acknowledgments. We trust that the suit will be dropped in the same spirit.

Now, if Blease, and Coffeyville, and General Bullard will just turn in and correct a few lies, make a few acknowledgments and print an apology to the American Negro, the "Recording Angel" can go on a summer vacation.

TRIPLE RACE PROBLEM

A novel feature of the refugee camps established in the flooded areas of the lower Mississippi valley is that in some places there are three separate camps, for white Americans, colored Americans and Mexicans.

Thus the race problem grows more complicated. Instead of a two-fold problem, it is now three-fold.

There are fewer negroes but more Mexicans. As negroes have moved north, Mexicans have poured in and taken their places in the southwest and middle south.

There are said to be from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 Mexicans, of mingled Spanish and Indian blood—the latter predominating—now living in the United States. The line of demarcation between them and the native whites is not so clean-cut as between whites and blacks, but it is pretty definite in most communities. It brings new social problems that cannot be ignored.

MENCKEN AND THE NEGRO

Distinguished Publicist Sees Genuine Progress of the Negro in the Fact That Pastors Are Relegated to Minor Place in Leadership—"Nothing Comes Out of Negroes, Led by Pastors, but Moans"

H. L. Mencken is the stormy petrel of American journalism. He is a man apart, and being so, he is roundly rated and hated by thousands. But what he has to say commands the attention of millions. Only one other man in his time compares with him—Heywood Broun. But both are iconoclasts. And it is amazing that from neither, in spite of the millions of words that each pens per year, has come any comprehensive statement about the Negro Question.

It is, therefore, with great pleasure that The Negro World herewith reproduces an article written by Mencken about the Negro. It is our sincere hope that this is just a beginning and that in the near future both he and Heywood Broun will consign to print some of the things they must feel anent the most perplexing question of the age. Most especially would we welcome a candid statement regarding the man, Marcus Garvey, and his activities in behalf of Negroes.

For the present we would concentrate attention upon this paragraph of Mencken's, the last paragraph of an article from his pen published in The New York World on Sunday, July 17:

"Now the Negroes begin to pile up wealth, and their business barons become their principal leaders. It is, I think, a sign of genuine progress if only because it reduces the colored pastor to a minor place. He has led the race since the Civil War and he has made a dreadful botch of it. His influence today, though it is still declining, is still for the bad. Those Negroes who follow him remain ignorant and ridiculous: Nothing comes out of them save moans."

Negro Has a Chance to Show World What Really Is in Him

By H. L. MENCKEN

Most of the educated Negroes of my acquaintance seem to be convinced that the social attentions now being lavished upon their race in New York represent only a transient fad, and that in a short time the colored lion will be out in the cold again. I doubt it. The plain fact is that New York—or, at all events, Manhattan—has got to be so cosmopolitan a town that all its old social distinctions and prejudices are in decay and can never be revived. There is no longer any formal society there in the usual American sense. Anyone who is presentable may go anywhere. Some of the current Afroamerican pets are highly presentable; others are surely not. The latter, no doubt, will soon return to the Harlem whence they came, but the former will survive.

The New York of today, indeed, is far too worldly wise to accord much authority to caste artificialities. It long ago admitted and embraced the Jews, and so far as I have been able to observe, it suffers from no regrets in all circles, high or low, the Jews who get in are among the most amusing people to be encountered. They lack altogether the dull conventionality of the so-called Anglo-Saxon. They do not take life too seriously, and now that the old bars against them are down, they have ceased even to take themselves seriously.

Take Us or Leave Us

The colored brethren, now that they go everywhere, add a great deal to its charm. They turn out, in the main, to be dignified, well-mannered and amusing fellows, and not at all overimpressed by their new triumphs. Their wives, in many cases, are very good looking. Male and female, they seem to say, "Take us or leave us," at the same time favoring one another with wise winks behind the door. My belief is that New York, having taken them in, will be very loath to lose them. True enough, those admitted constitute only a small minority of their race. But that fact is of no significance. It will be time enough to invite Pullman porters, colored preachers and witch doctors to dinner when white Turkish bath rubbers, orthodox rabbis and chiropractors are invited.

The acceptance of the educated Negro socially removes his last ground for complaint against his fate in the Republic, and leaves him exposed to the same criteria of judgment that apply to everyone else. It will be interesting to see what he makes of himself.

So far, it seems to me, his accomplishments have been very modest. Even in those fields wherein his opportunities for years past have been precisely equal to the white man's he has done little of solid value. I point, for example, to the field of music. It may be, as they say, that the Negroes invented ragtime, and jazz after it, but certainly it would be absurd to say that they have surpassed or even equaled the whites in writing the new music. The best jazz of today is not composed by black men, but by Jews—and I mean best in every sense. Why did the Negro composers wait for George Gershwin to do his "Rhapsody in Blue"? Why, indeed, did they wait for Paul Whiteman to make jazz a serious matter?

The spiritual is another musical form that the Negroes are supposed to have invented. Passing over its obvious origin in the Methodist camp meeting hymn, let us admit that theory. But where is the Negro composer who is writing spirituals today—I mean good ones? If he exists he is not heard of. Certainly there is plenty of opportunity here—and it has been permitted to go to waste.

The Negro poets, by the same token, have done very little to justify the excessive hospitality with which they have been received. Put all their work together and it is not worth much more than any one of a dozen of the epitaphs in "The Spoon River Anthology." A Negro poet, James Weldon Johnson, has lately published a book of Negro sermons in a sort of free verse, and one of them, "Go Down, Death!" is a genuinely eloquent and moving poem. But no other Negro

has ever written anything even half so good.

The Same Applies to Prose

In prose there is the same tale to tell. No Negro novelist has ever written a novel even remotely comparable to such things as "Babbitt" and "Jurgen." No Negro writing short stories rises above the level of the white hacks. There is here no prejudice to overcome, and, so far as I know, there never has been.

Even the Negro publicists make a sorry showing considering their opportunities. It is seldom, indeed, that one of them turns out an article or a book of any genuine value. Even on the subject of their race's wrongs they do not write as well, taking one with another, as the white scriveners who tackle the same subject. All the really first-rate books written by American Negroes since the Civil War could be ranged on a shelf a foot long.

Thus it is apparent that the Negro still has a heavy grade ahead of him and will gain little from going over his latest hurdle, save a chance to show what is really in him. I am not altogether sure that his prospects in the fine arts are as good as his more optimistic partisans seem to think. He has shown that he can do respectable work, but he has certainly not shown that he can do genuinely distinguished work.

It may be that he has ventured into the arts too soon—that they can flourish only in a house more solid and stable than the one he is just moving into. It may be that his greatest successes during the next generation or two will be made not in the arts, but in business. There he seems to be making very rapid progress, and it is no longer factitious and transitory.

Now the Negroes [illegible] to pile up wealth, and their business barons become their principal leaders. It is, I think, a sign of genuine progress if only because it reduces the colored pastor to a minor place. He has led the race since the Civil War and he has made a dreadful botch of it. His influence today, though it is fast declining, is still for the bad. Those Negroes who follow him remain ignorant and ridiculous. Nothing comes out of them save moans.

MILLER'S TEXAS MESSAGE IS ONE OF PESSIMISM

Correspondent Declares Mathematician's Talk Is Not Logical

By RUSSELL CONWELL BARBOUR

GALVESTON, TEX., AUG. 3.—"If the New Negro is to have a place in the Sun he must seize the philosophy of the old time Negro," declared Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University, speaking to a large crowd at the Reedy Chapel A. M. E. Church, Monday night on the subject, "The New Negro and the Old." While the address revealed a learning positively prodigious; a style that flowed with a sonorous majesty that crashed with a vitriolic and destroying power, a lavish richness in figurative language, a beauty of Aeolian harps, of sapphire seas—yet out of the many times I have heard the venerable Dean in public address, this effort was the most illogical and ill-timed of his long years of public activity.

He was speaking to the ill-fated sons of Texas; citizens of a state whose chief products are cacti and generalcussedness, cow-boys and post-bellum colonels; a state where the colored citizens are political orphans.

In a great big state that answers arguments with "ropes and revolvers," Dean Miller pleaded with the Texas colored citizens to let the Caucasian have this world while he clung to Jesus as did the old time man who stands out in history as a perfect pattern of docility and meekness. "The Negro has undermined his moral and spiritual vitality by cultivating an insatiable love for the material at the expense of the higher virtues," he said. "We have made too much ado about our material progress," spoke the eminent Dean to the citizens of a state who find it a difficult task to steer a small grocery store or butcher shop clear of bankruptcy and at the same time question the supernal wisdom of the white Southerner.

The gloomy Dean was greatly disappointing to the restless and eager crowd of intelligentsia with this surge of pessimism. Colored people in Texas are in need of an economic doctrine and program at this hour. He has the finest churches in all of the world of black folks; he has been shouting and singing and praying for the last fifty years. The scholarly Dean knows that the Texas citizen is living in peonage; that he is kicked about and browbeaten by the men for whom he is forced to work for his daily bread. If there is a living man anywhere in the world needing a message of economic, social and political optimism—surely, it is the Texas colored man.

"There Is No Appeal"

The prejudices of honesty are entitled to consideration and the judgment of genius to respect bordering on reverence; but in this age of almost universal inquiry we cannot accept any man, however wise, as infollible pope in the realm of intellect and declare that from his ipse dixit there shall be no appeal. That would be intellectual slavery, the most degrading species of bondage. I ame sure Dean Miller will grant us the privilege to dissent from his preachments. Dean Miller will grant this as it is his greatest glory that he has been an apostle of liberty—liberty of the hand and liberty of the brain. He has fostered independence of thought and the search for new truth; hence he cannot complain when the fierce light which he has taught the youth of America to turn full and fair upon cults and creeds, should be employed to discern the false logic of the great scholar himself.

The address was sufficient evidence that the mathematician is not always the logician for in a recent release from Baltimore, several weeks ago, the venerable Dean had this to say: "If the Negro would enter into the rivalry of the world as at presently organized and operated, he must do so in terms of the dominant interest. It is just here he is fartherest behind. The economic interest is the dominant interest in the world today. It engages the chief interest of the government of today"

Forgets Society

We know only too well that the political-economic school that would at once change the existing order of things with as much sang-froid as a miller substitutes steam for water power, forgets that society is not a machine and that it cannot be made to order like a newspaper editorial.

The Negro Peril

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: More than a tenth part of the American population are Negro people, but not even a twentieth part, perhaps not one-fiftieth, of American Communists are Negroes. A New York newspaper has just "discovered" the names and addresses of a few of these colored Communists with a resultant alarm and cry of "Help! murder! Congress must do something about it!"; yet a much smaller proportion of Negroes than of whites have heeded the call of Communism, in spite of the relatively much more unfavorable situation of the Negro population.

In order to make this Russian menace sound still more alarming, one newspaper, speaking of Negro students that have gone to be educated in the Eastern University at Moscow, says: "From 50 to 100 of these instruments of propaganda have been shipped out of the United States." In fact only five American Negro students could, after a long campaign, be induced to take advantage of the Soviet Government's world-wide offer for people to come and study under free scholarships in their university at Moscow—but more than 1,200 other students of other colors accepted: white, yellow, eastern and western—American white people, English white people, German white people, French white people, and many people from Asia. Only one Negro from Africa accepted. One of the five American Negro students died, so that the remaining "peril" is: one African, four live American Negroes and one dead one!

I suspect that the reason why so much noise is made whenever anybody is reported to be trying to "arouse" American Negroes, is that most American whites feel, deep down in their souls, that the Negroes ought to be aroused. We fear those whom we oppress: we are afraid that they may do what we think they ought to do. Not a single newspaper (with the exception, strange to relate, of one newspaper of Richmond Virginia, which commented on the radical leanings of the Negro Labor Congress two years ago) has emphasized this point: that the way, and the only way, to prevent Moscow or somebody else from ultimately arousing the American Negro is to treat the Negro with more justice. A people treated as Negroes are treated in America, is certainly (as is stated by a Cincinnati paper, but in a different spirit) "the weakest place in the American armor." If the American Negro proves, ultimately, to be more open to "foreign" intrigue than are other elements of the population, it will be the failure of America rather than of the Negro.

More can be done in one year by defending the Negro against being burned alive in Mississippi and Missouri and from jim-crowism and insult in Cincinnati than could ever be done in a generation of "acts of Congress" and activities of the Department of Justice.

New York, July 10 WILLIAM PICKENS

Race Problem-1927
United States.

Trotter And His Gang Call On Coolidge

Tell President of Racial Wrongs, But "Slient" One Makes No Promises

Race Unites In Presentation Of Petitions To Federal Government And White House Audience For Houston Martyrs

Washington, D. C., Feb. 28, 1927—Monday, February Fourteenth, 1927. Douglass Day marked a brand new epoch in the history of the Colored race in America. For on that day prominent representatives of five racial organizations and five religious denominations visited the White House, the U. S. Senate and the U. S. House of Representatives and presented petitions regarding segregation, lynching, peonage, disfranchisement, and the Houston soldier prisoners. These delegations went out under the auspices of the National Lincoln-Douglass Conference, which was perfected by Thomas H. R. Clarke, and Jas. L. Neill of Washington, D. C., and William Monroe Trotter, officers of National Equal Rights League.

Officers Elected

The National Lincoln-Douglass Conference of Colored Americans meeting in Washington, D. C., February 12, 13, and 14th elected T. H. R. Clarke, (3rd Vice Pres. of National Equal Rights League) president, Rev. W. H. Jearnagin, Pres. National Race Congress) 1st Vice Pres., Mrs. Julia West Hamilton (Pres. of Washington Division of National Association of Colored Women's Clubs) 2nd Vice Pres., Neval Thomas (Pres. Washington Branch of N. A. A. C. P., 3rd Vice Pres. James L. Neill, (Recording Secretary of Equal Rights League), Recording Secretary, Mr. A. S. Pinkett, (Secretary Washington Branch of N. A. A. C. P.) Corresponding Secretary, Miss Nellie M. Quander (Legislative Chairman of Greek Letter Sorority) Ass't. Recording Secretary, Rev. E. B. Taylor (Member of National Race Congress) Treasurer and Maurice W. Spencer (Treasurer Equal Right League) Chairman of of Program and Press.

Lincoln Night

Saturday evening, February 12th, the Lincoln Service was held in the 12th St. Branch of the Y. M. C. A., Mr. T. H. R. Clarke, presiding. Rev. Dr. J. Milton Waldron delivered a thoughtful address upon "Some Vital Aspects of the Race Question." Three delegation committees to draft petitions were appointed, one to the president, to House and Senate.

At Homestead

Feb. 13th, Sunday afternoon, the delegation visited the Douglass Homestead at Cedar Hill, Anacostia, where a session was conducted by the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Mrs. Julia West Hamilton, presiding. Rev. Alice Winton, Vice Pres. of the Philadelphia Branch of the Equal Rights League offered prayer. Reminiscences on Frederick Douglass were given by Mrs. Mary Church Terrell. Honorary Pres. of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and Thomas H. R. Clarke, Pres. of the Lincoln-Douglas Conference, both persona friends of Louglass. Mr. William Monroe Trotter of the Equal Rights league delivered a tribute to Douglass as one of the great Americans, liberator of his race.

Monday Session

On Monday morning the Conference assembed in the Metropolitan Baptis tChurch, on R Street. After prayer by ev. H. B. Tayor of the Presbyterian Church, Pesident Carke put Rev. W. H. Jernagin, president of the Nat'l. Race Congress in the chair. The minutes were read by the secretary, Jas. L. Neill, Esq., of the Equal Rights League and adopted. The two petitions were read and with all procedure arranged. M. W. Spencer led the delegation to the White House arriving at exactly 11:45.

At White House

M. W. Spencer, as program chairman was Master of Ceremonies, inident, the Lincoln Douglass Race Controduced the 40 delegates to the Presfeence representing the National Equal Rights League, the National Race Congress, the N. A. A. C. P., the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the National Political Study Club, and prominent Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalean, and African Arthodox Clergymen assembled.

He then presented Rev. George Frazier Miller, president of the Equal Rights League as chairman spokesman. He explained that the delegates came in the names of Lincoln and Douglass, Emancipator and black race liberator, to ask redress, that they, personally were not segregated but they felt the sting, the stigma, the humiliation, because it was aimed at the whole 12,000,000 Colored people, that the matter was one of great importance. He then presented A. S. Pinkett, secretary of the local N. A. A. C. P. as secretary of the Conference, who read the Lincoln-Douglass petition, asking abolition by Executive order of segregation, that the president send to Congress a special message for the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill and have the Attorney-General investigate sufferage conditions in the South.

Pres. Miller then introduced Rev. Thomas S. Harten, Nat'l. Organizer and Soldier Pardon Drive director of the Equal Rights League, the soldier spokesman, who presented a petition with 20,000 signatures from 30 states for the pardon of the remaining 20 soldier prisoners of the Houston Riot. He made a most eloquent plea for the soldiers, citing the valor of Colored soldiers ever. Among other things he said: "We are the only group ever sent 3000 miles to fight for democracy and then to be denied it on returning home." He said, "We were told to get education, property, money, character. We did this and had the patience even of Job, only to see the hand-cuffs of prejudice the more tightly fastened upon us."

WILLIAM MONROE TROTTER

Fighting Editor Boston Gaurdian, Uncompromising Believer In Absolute Justice And Fair Play for Colored Americans—Who will not equicocate and Who Will Be Heard.

CUMBERLAND, MD.
Alleganian
MAY 12 1927

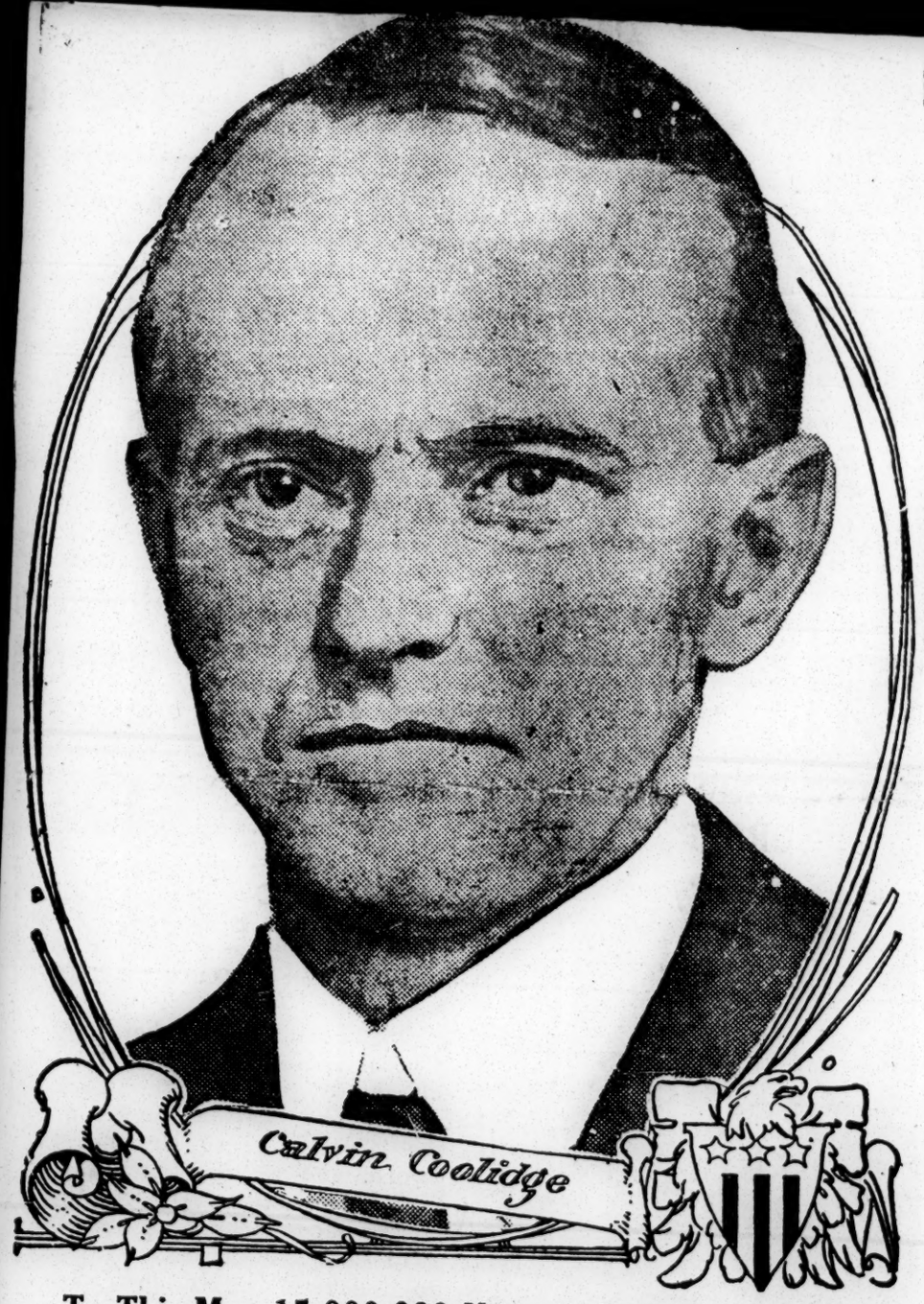
TRIPLE RACE PROBLEM

A novel feature of the refuge camps established in the flooded areas of the lower Mississippi valley is that in some places there are three separate camps, for white Americans, colored Americans and Mexicans.

Thus the race problem grows more complicated. Instead of a two-fold problem, it is now three-fold.

There are fewer negroes but more Mexicans. As negroes have moved north, Mexicans have poured in and taken their places in the southwest and middle south.

There are said to be from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 Mexicans, of mingled Spanish and Indian blood—the latter predominating—now living in the United States. The line of demarcation between them and the native whites is not so clean-cut as between whites and blacks, but it is pretty definite in most communities. It brings new social problems that cannot be ignored.



To This Man 15,000,000 Negroes Looked—And Looked In Vain,—For Relief From Federal Discrimination and Segregation.

Somehow Colored Americans Deluded Themselves into Believing the election of Mr. Coolidge as President would mean Great Times, for The Negro—Up to going to press they have been bitterly disappointe

President Asks Questions

When the president had asked the number of prisoners at present and said he would take up the matter with the Secretary of War, Rev. Miller resumed against segregation. The president asked about the number of colored employees, named a big figure and was told only 1-10 were in Washington and then asked how many complained, Pres. Miller told him in classic language they did so inwardly but not outwardly for fear of losing their jobs. Then T. H. R. Clarge, the President of the Lincoln-Douglass Conference, James T. Neill, Recording Secretary of the Equal Rights Leagues Neval Thomas, President of the Washington Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., Rev. W. H. Jernagin, President of the National Race Congress, and Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, presented facts regarding segegation, also W. M. Totter of 10 clerks in even the department of Justice. Al spoke in the names of their organizations, incidentally showing union of the race.

The House

Then the delegates divided in two groups and visited congress. William Monroe Trotter, the chairman and Rev. J. V. King, the secretary, led the delegation which presented the petition to Congressman George Holden Tinkham of the House of Repreeseptatives.

The Senate

Rev. W. H. Jernagin, the president of the National Race Congress, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell and Prof. Geo. A. Parker, the Secretary led the delegation, which presented the petition to Senator Frederick Huntington Gillett and interviewed Vice President Dawes in this office.

The Petition

The Petition to The House of Representatives and The Senate closed as follows:

To those ends and in honor to the memories of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass at the natal anniversaries of these noble servants of their Republic, we do petition Congress for legislation.

(a) To reduct state representation in the Federal House in proportion to adult disfranchisement.

(b) To forbid denial of accommodation or segregation, by or for race or color, in interstate carriers and in all public places and faculities in federal property or in other federal demains.

(c) To more quickly detect and more adequately punish the crome of peonage.

(d) To make mob murder and lynchings a federal crime and, finally

(e) To refuse to seat those elected under conditions of disfranchisement because of race and color.

A splendid meting was held at the Metropolitan Baptist Church on the evening of February 14th, 1927 under the auspices of the National Lincoln-Douglass Conference, as a part of the program staged in the observance of the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass.

Federal Petition Commission

On motion of Mr. Trotter, resolving the meeting into an Equal Rights League one, Mr. Clarke was elected Chairman of the Federal Petition Commission of the Equal Rights League.

Kerlin, Kinneman and th Konstitution

(By WILLIAM PICKENS)
(For The Associated Negro Press.)

These three K's are korrect, and they are komrades in that West Chester Normal College fight for free speech. These three will stand or fall together: when Kerlin and Kinneman are kicked out, the constitution is thrown out with them. The constitution of the United States was made to defend just liberties as Kerlin and Kinneman were exercising. I know these men. They are my friends, and the friends of all of us, because they believe in justice and equality of opportunity for all. The foundations of this government were laid by that type of manhood, and the structure of the government will be defended by the type of young people represented in the Liberal Club of the West Chester State Normal College.

I know those young people, too. I have looked into the honest faces of those boys and girls and have observed their eagerness to get the truth from any source, even though it contradicted the myths and traditions of their elders. Their brains are not yet concreted and hardened like the brains of some of the officers and trustees of the college. They are the impressionable material out of which "futures" are molded. Such traces of race and class narrowness as may be found among them, have been made on them by the control of their mediaeval-minded elders. Sometimes I think the world could be quickly saved if the young people were not compelled to learn certain things from old ones. But the young are beginning a new revolt against the superstitions of their fathers, not only in West Chester, but in all the earth. And may the God of Gideon forward their fight.

This Kerlin type of white man,—who means what he says in politics and church, and who will not compromise with injustice nor lie about his religion,—is our pressing need and ultimate hope in both national and international affairs.

Kerlin was proven right in Virginia, because the supreme court of the nation ultimately freed the tweive colored men against whose threatened execution by the state of Arkansas, Mr. Kerlin had protested. He will be proven right in this West Chester case by the continued progress of the ideals for which he is sacrificing.

STAR
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
MAY 10 1927

RACE PROBLEMS ON CONFERENCE AGENDA

Problems of race relations in the United States will be discussed by speakers at the eighteenth annual conference o fthe National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to be held here June 22 to 28. Delegates are expected from all over the country representing the 400 branches of the association which has a membership of 100,000 persons.

An event of the conference week will be presentation of the Spingarn medal, awarded annually to the man or woman of African descent and American citizenship for most distinguished achievement in some field of human endeavor. The recipient will be chosen at a meeting of the award committee in New York, June 2.

Daily conference business sessions will be held at the Bethel A. M. E. Church. Public mass meetings in the evenings will be in Caleb Mills hall. On Sunday afternoon, June 26, a mass meeting will be held in Cadle Tabernacle.

Speakers on the convention program include Governor Ed Jackson, Clarence Darrow, Representative Hamilton Fish of New York, Louis Marshall, writer on constitutional law; Bishop W. T. Vernon, former registrar of the United States treasury; Dr. Will W. Alexander of Atlanta, Ga., secretary of the commission on inter-racial relations, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the Crisis Magazine.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

MR. DARROW IN THE SOUTH

Our well known fellow citizen, Clarence Darrow is reported on his way out of the south. In Alabama some confused reports of his addresses to Negro meetings gained circulation and the local authorities thought it would promote better feeling if he took the air further north.

We credited Mr. Darrow with better judgment. He usually takes some pains with his jury. Alabama is no place in which to have it currently believed of a person that he is author of the advice to colored citizenship to strike as they had nothing to lose but their chains. Mr. Darrow says he did not say it, but Mobile was circularized with statements credited to him and travel was indicated to him.

The north has offered Mr. Darrow a hospitable battleground of modern thought. He likes self-expression and has been freely granted it. So many opinions have such free currency here that no one in particular has much time to pay any attention to any of them. That may be to our disadvantage or to our advantage but it promotes the undisturbed life and probably is all for the best. But it is still advisable for any orator to take geography into consideration occasionally. He may get where he can outspeak himself. A check now and then may be helpful to the best of men. It promotes a sense of responsibility.

COLORFUL NEWS "MOVIES"

1. Darrow and the Church.
2. "The Negro Dance Under European Eyes."
3. Retarded Advancement In N. J.
4. Colorgrams.

1. Darrow and the Church:

Following the ardently-delivered message of Hon. Clarence Darrow to an overpacked audience in Washington recently, at which time the attorney-abolitionist oratorically blasted to dust the pet idea of Nordic "supremacy" and resurrected from the ashes the absolute equality of all men, several prominent members of the Cloth and their friends have taken Mr. Darrow sorely to task for his alleged affront to the Christian church. The protestants say, that no matter what Mr. Darrow has averred upon the open question of equality, it is all as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals, because of the inferences made by the speaker that the Negro is paying too much attention to religion and too little to plain, everyday, practical life.

Two or three eminent clergymen have entirely discounted the orator's fearless portrayal of good, and see only the "evil" that in him lies.

Far be it from us to attempt to detract from the virtues of the House of Worship; nor would we dare stimulate our hearts to turn back upon the good Book of the Ages. Yet, we are frank to say that when a man, in terms other than those of the Church, expresses a creed of Christian equality such as Clarence Darrow expressed in Washington, it is high time for the Christian church, both white and colored, to replace some of their own foundation with the foundation of Christian life as described by Clarence Darrow.

Negroes are a religious people—so are white folks. It is good that they are; and even with some slight defects which are obvious, it is good that each group lives within some kind of a shrine of Christian brotherhood, even though there's many a broken chain in the tie that binds. Religion, however, and particularly that of our white brethren, must make many strides forward before it can lay claim to the kind of freedom which the good Book so beautifully describes.

To our mind, Clarence Darrow, with all his "faults," is preaching some of that Gospel which should be paramount in the Church, but which the Church has long since laid down. (Perhaps it never picked it up.) The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man are being exemplified today in a way quite foreign to our idea of what should characterize both.

We earnestly feel that the clergy, both white and colored, could take unto its bosom not a little of Mr. Darrow's philosophy, without blemishing their Christian armor. We do not think that it is that Darrow loves the Church less, but, rather, that he loves his brother more. Greater love hath no man than that he lay down his life for his friend! This is what Mr. Darrow is doing. How about the Church?

An article by Andre Levinson, appearing under this heading in "The Theatre Arts" magazine for April, 1927, goes into the very ethics of Negro Jazz dancing. Since the French writer, Andre Colurony, has devoted a volumne of his collection "Modern Music to Jazz," jazz dancing may now be admitted into the galaxy of fine arts, although, but recently it was an object of jest and ridicule, to both the public and the press. In the language of today, it has arrived.

This is proven by the furor that has been created by the colored artists of the "Revue Negre" at the Champ Elyses, Paris, where a vast audience greets these colored performers nightly; for Josephine Baker and Florence Mills have taken Paris by storm. Of Josephine Baker, M. Levinson says: "It is not a grotesque Negro dancing girl who stands before the audience but a black Venus." It is she with her Simian suppleness, who is responsible for the Charleston craze in Paris today. She is "an idol that enslaves and incites mankind."

The writer draws a sharp contrast between the Josephine Baker and the Florence Mills type of dancing, the latter being dainty and free from sensuality. He asserts that it is a long road from the valley of the Niger to the white lights of Broadway, and who will deny this. In the Niger Valley, these dances were sacred ceremonials, but in Paris, New York and Chicago, they have become a mere divertisement for white idlers of these great world cities. The Negro, himself, has progressed since leaving the jungles of his fatherland, while his Nordic admirers have evidently retrograded and become somewhat demoralized in their taste for pleasure and enjoyment.

It is, indeed, gratifying to know that this fair and open-minded critic is able to draw the line of distinction between different types of artists of our group. He says: "The mad arabesques of the incomparable Josephine can give us an almost shocking insight into our own more sombre depths, but Florence Mills, for instance, is developing toward an almost precious elegance."

We make no proud boasts of our racial kinship to Josephine Baker, with her "demoralizing" appeal." A genius," M. Levinson says, "who is able at one bound to join her savage forefathers and with another to go back to our common animal ancestors."

"Citizens whom the United States drafts into her armies, whom she taxes, on whom she imposes all the obligations of citizens, are certainly in their own homes entitled to protection against outrage. We are spending hundreds of millions and employing thousands of officers to punish men for selling, carrying or drinking liquor, beer and wine, and not a cent to punish men for cruel murder, not an officer to enforce the rights of twelve millions of American citizens. The President, without consulting Congress, and without power under the Constitution, taxes us all and sends our soldiers as police to preserve order in Nicaragua, but finds no power to punish murder in our own States.

"The Constitutional Amendments, won by four years of Civil War, which secure the fundamental rights of our own citizens are treated as dead letters, with the result that 86,341 votes elect 8 representatives in the South while it takes 592,246 to elect the same number in the North. The white voter loses his own rights when he ceases to protect the rights of his colored brothers."

ASK PROTECTION OF BLACK MAN IN U. S

Criticising the sending of fleets and soldiers to protect Americans abroad while American Negroes [illegible] safeguarded in their fundamental citizenship rights in their own country, Mr. Storey's message said:

II. THE NEGRO PROTEST AGAINST GHETTO CONDITIONS

By Herbert J. Seligman
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

In substance, Dr. Kelly Miller postulates as "beyond the pale" of argument certain beliefs of white men; urges resignation in face of the "inevitability of social forces," i. e., lawlessness "which laughs at law," and proposes acceptance of what he erects into the "destiny" of the Negro in America, which is to live in ghettos, pursuant to tacit understanding, illegal but nevertheless "honorable and satisfactory to both white and black."

To bolster up his position Dr. Miller deals arbitrarily with the entire series of legal victories against segregation. He admits the Louisville segregation case, won in 1917 before the Supreme Court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, forever outlawed State or municipal enactments establishing segregated residential districts. Then he says this unanimous decision of the Supreme Court "had no appreciable effect on the fact of segregation." Is Dr. Miller ignorant of the fact that had the decision gone the other way there is not an American city with large Negro population in which segregation ordinances would not have been pushed and probably enacted?

The second step, the Sweet case in Detroit, also fought by the N. A. A. C. P., and won by its attorney, Clarence Darrow, went beyong the civil aspects of segregation by law and established the Negro's right to protect himself against segregation by mob. Dr. Miller, on the strength of a "visit" to Detroit, asserts the Sweet case did not involve segregation and that it "had not the slightest effect" upon the segregation movement. Judge Ira W. Jayne of the Wayne County Circuit Court, who has the advantage of living in Detroit and of being familiar with the situation, informs me that "the Sweet trial has been of great educational value in teaching tolerance, the tragedy of mob spirit, and the need for Negro housing." Race relations, Judge Jayne continues, are now more amicable than they have been since the migration began and "the police problem is much relieved." Since the trial there have been no attacks upon Negro residents of districts predominantly white, although before the trial there were a number of such attacks and one reputable colored doctor was driven from his home. The people of Detroit now realize that 85,000 colored people cannot be crowded in the space occupied by 8,000 before the World War. At least three competent observers, one of them M. L. Walker, a prominent colored citizen of Detroit, bear out Judge Jayne's observations. Nor has the lesson been lost on other cities.

In commenting on the Washington case, the third step in the legal attack upon segregation, Dr. Miller fails to say that the Supreme Court in 1926 declared its lack of jurisdiction and went out of its way to indicate the opportunity for further cases. Three cases are now in preparation to test conclusively the question of segregation by property owners' agreement.

The Louisville case killed segregation enactments by city or State. The Detroit case was a fatal blow to segregation by mob. A victory in the three cases now in preparation would complete the circle by outlawing property owners' writing their own segregation laws into private agreements.

Having minimized the effectiveness of legal victories against segregation, Dr. Miller, to prove his case, draws an inaccurate picture of the status of city dwelling negroes. In Harlem, for example, he claims they are set off from whites by a line of demarcation as sharp as if cut by a knife; the tendency to home ownership there is "not apparent"; and he adds that nowhere "do we discover" that the race is developing "industrial and economical self-sufficiency."

What are the facts? In border streets of Harlem colored people and white live side by side. They do so elsewhere in New York City. They do so without friction throughout the North and even in the South, except where such friction is fomented. Both races have even tenanted amicably the same apartment houses in Harlem. Dr. Miller's imaginary knife line has no counter part in reality. Even as theory such separation becomes absurd. In any city housing both races they must somewhere live in contact, unless it is proposed to establish a no man's land patrolled by armed sentries.

Negro Property Holdings

As for the tendency to home ownership being not apparent in Harlem, perhaps that is because Dr. Miller failed to inform himself. John E. Nail, a member of the real estate firm of Nail & parker, estimates the colored holdings of real estate in Harlem at more than $60,000,000 including many apartment houses as well as private dwellings. In one year negroes are reported to have taken title to $5,000,000 in New York real estate, most of it in Harlem, making cash payments of $1,000,000.

In view of there being every form of service in Harlem from theatres to restaurants and all manner of small shops, Dr. Miller's failure to discover "any tendency" of the race to develop industrial and economic self-sufficiency seems strange. Of course, if this phrase "self-sufficiency" be taken literally, the statement becomes absurd. No race or group living in the midst of another group ever developed absolute self-sufficiency. Dr. Miller admits the weakness of his own statement when he writes: "The same might, of course, be said of the great bulk of the white race." Measured by any ordinary standard of progress, economic and commercial, as well as cultural, the development of the Negro has been and continues to be extraordinary.

Dr. Miller's attitude toward race problems accords with his presentation of facts. He indulges in loose statements, for example, that "the Negro problem has become more instant and urgent in the North than in the South," a statement any intelligent Negro south of the Mason and Dixon line would ridicule. He states unequivocally that "the white man deems social assimilability impossible." If this be true, why the agitation about it and the controversial literature? He accepts as beyond argument a criterion for white men, which many of them would repudiate namely, that "intermarriageability is the acid test of good neighborhood," and uses that statement to bolster his case. In effect, he champions segregation on this ground, ignoring the fact that most people living in large cities make no effort to know their neighbors, or even those living in the same building. He asserts unequivocally of certain Negro groups that for them "no form of racial separation is tolerable," when, in fact, it is enforced and not voluntary separation that is in question. No rational Negro quarrels with the tendency, natural or acquired, of individuals to live among their own group, provided the choice is free. Negroes as a group have no more desire to live among whites than whites have to live among Negroes. But individual Negroes who prosper do want decent homes, in decent districts, decently lighted, policed, paved and served with schools, water and sewer; and all Negroes know that enforcement of segregation, whether or not by tacit agreement, means inferior accommodation at exorbitant rents, just as in the South the Jim Crow cars, theoretically "equal accommodation," are in effect for the most part disgraceful denial of decency, cleanliness and comfort for travel.

A fundamental which Dr. Miller entirely loses from sight is that the Negro as an American citizen has no choice except to fight segregation to the last ditch. To accept it would be to brand himself as inferior and to accept permanent impairment of his status as a citizen.

DR. GREGG SCORES NEWSPAPERS FOR CARRYING TRASH

Hampton President Says Most of News In Journals Not Worth Reading

SCHOOLMASTERS CLUB HAS 17th CLOSING

Baltimore Is Interested In All the Children, Says Dr. Weglein

Dr. James E. Gregg, president of Hampton Institute, was the principle speaker at the seventeenth annual mass meeting of the Schoolmasters' Club, which was held at the auditorium of the Douglass High School, Friday.

The subject of the address was "Reading and Meditation." Dr. Gregg cited four educational values that go to make a well rounded life. They were listed as follows: Well ordered home life, Contact with other people, a chance to hear lectures and other entertainments and education which is upon through books and reading. Dr. Gregg said the English Bible was one of the masterpieces of literature.

Scores Newspapers

The speaker scored the mass of trash that is carried in most newspapers and said much valuable time is lost in pursuing the columns of many periodicals of today. Most of it is not worth reading and it would take all of your time to digest the material carried.

"We realize with a gasp how low is the level of popular taste when we see the display of books in some of our stores. Through the best books you can have companionship with the noblest and finest men and women in all the earth and if you will you can associate with intellectual equals," said the speaker.

A training school for librarian workers has been opened at Hampton and the demand for qualified workers cannot be supplied, said Dr. Gregg.

Dr. David E. Weglein, superintendent of Baltimore public schools, introduced Dr. Gregg. Dr. Weglein paid tribute to Hampton and called attention to the fact that a number of graduaes from Hampton were teaching in local schools.

Attend Summer School

Dr. Weglein said the School Board at a meeting Thursday had given permission for teachers to attend the Hampton Summer School, which will open before the local schools close, without loss of salary. 'Baltimore is interested in all the children of all the people," said Dr. Weglein.

Dr. Wood Presides

Dr. Francis M. Wood, supervisor of colored schools, presided. W. Cato Anderson is president of the Schoolmasters' Club. Two selections were rendered by the High School Choral Club and the Peerless Glee Club. Miss Mamie L. Diggs sang a solo. Invocation was by the Rev. C. S. Briggs.

Those on the platform were J. C. Briscoe, principal of the Vocational School; M. Calloway, Mrs. Laura D. Wheatley, president of the Parent-Teacher Federation; William Fitzgerald, Mrs. Sarah C. Fernandis, social worker; Dr. J. O. Spencer, president of Morgan College, and Attorney W. T. McGuinn.

Race Problem - 1927
United States.

HELPING THE AFRICAN AT HOME

THE vast majority of the African people at home has many things to learn concerning themselves and their possibilities and their splendid land and its incomparable values, which it should be the business of their brethren in other lands to help them to know. It has not been the purpose of the Christian missionaries to teach the Africans how to make the most of their social, civil and economic values, and they have depended for their support upon the contributions of those who sent them as missionaries; it has rather been the purpose to lift up the people in their spiritual living, their moral conceptions and practices. It has been only of late years that the missionaries have adopted the policy of teaching the natives the value of making the most of their material things, of striving to make the mission work self-supporting in a measure by teaching the natives how to do things, how to know values in agriculture, in minerals, in stock raising, in forestation, and the work of doing this is still in its infancy. 2-12-27

Nobody can read the elaborate work on "Education in Africa," being a study of West, South and Equatorial Africa, by the African Educational Commission of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, without having a very lively appreciation of the educational work being done in Africa, representing untold sacrifices on the workers and the expenditure of princely moneys by those who support the missionary work in Africa. The report was made several years ago by Thomas Jesse Jones, but it will long serve as a rich mine of information. The chapter on Liberia shows the extent of activity of the missionary workers and makes it all the more difficult to understand the policy just adopted by President King of excluding foreign missionaries and support of foreign mission work from Liberia, many of these societies being maintained by Negro church organizations in the United States and most of their workers being American and West Indian Negroes.

What the African at home needs most is education of the hand as well as of the head, appreciation of material as well as of spiritual values; they want to be taught how to live as well as how to die; the philosophy which Dr. Booker T. Washington made popular with the Negro as well as with the white person in the United States. This education can be got by the African at home only by the institution of schools among them, by missionary and other provision, and it can best be taught the people by Negroes educated for the purpose. From this viewpoint Liberty University on the James River, maintained by the Universal Negro Improvement Association, takes on very large proportions; it becomes of the greatest importance in helping the African to help himself. Tribal barriers must be broken down in Africa, and the people must be taught that an "injury to one is an injury to all," that they must trust each other and organize among themselves under their own leaders to accomplish the things that will most benefit them. In short, the African at home needs most the education that will teach him what are his true values of manhood and of material possessions, and how best to control and use these for his benefit rather than for the benefit of others. And the African at home is learning all of this very rapidly, as our African newspaper exchanges indicate, much of their inspiration being drawn from the teachings of Marcus Garvey and the work of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

It is our business to teach the African at home how best to help himself, and how this can most wisely be done should be made the subject of consideration and discussion in all of the locals of the Universal Negro Improvement Association everywhere.

SOUTHERN SENTIMENT UNDERGOING CHANGE.

That Southern sentiment is rapidly changing on the eternal "race question," was again evidenced in Houston last week at the Houston Open Forum, held in the auditorium of the Taylor School on Louisiana Street.

When a difference of opinion arose between Dr. Owen Reed Lovejoy, former president of the National Child Labor Committee and an outstanding educational authority and publicist, and Hon. E. A. Calvin, former Texas legislator, on the "Negro problem in the schools," Dr. Lovejoy's answer (according to the daily newspapers) to his interrogator evoked as much applause from the audience as the questions fired by Mr. Calvin.

When asked by Mr. Calvin if he thought that white and colored children should attend the same public schools in Texas and the South, or if the present Southern arrangement of maintaining separate schools for the two races should prevail, Dr. Lovejoy was quoted as saying: 1-29-27

> "I agree with you (on the argument that the South should be permitted to solve its 'race problem'), but if you are going to expect society to be raised to a higher level, the Negro, as well as all other races, must be considered. The recreational, educational, religious and political rights given the white or American child, also should be given the black child. It must not be expected that the Negro in our midst can become cultured, maintain his virtue and measure up to the standard of civilization, if he is not given these opportunities."

Dr. Lovejoy contended that where school districts are not financially able to maintain public schools for both races, that one school should serve both races, even in the South; adding that where districts are financially able to do so, particularly where there are large numbers of Negroes, separate schools for the two races should be maintained.

The fact that the white audience, according to daily newspaper reports, applauded Dr. Lovejoy for his courageous and brave expressions touching on this subject, indicates that Southern sentiment has gone and is still undergoing a wonderful transformation on the "race question," and that there are many Southern white people who want to see the Negro given a fair and square deal.

BOY OF EIGHT GETS AWARD OF $800 FROM JURY

A jury sitting in the Court of Common Pleas on Monday, awarded Charles Williams, eight years of age, 1218 Mosher street, $800 damages against Aaron Horn, white, for injuries received from an automobile owned by the latter, which struck and injured the child at Pennsylvania and Lafayette avenues on May 20, 1925. 1-29-27

George Williams, father of the boy, brought the suit, and was represented by Benjamin Weintrab, white. The case was bitterly fought by Aaron and Aaron, white, but the jury felt that the injuries received by the plaintiff merited the damages allowed. The elder Williams is a prominent insurance man of the city.

ROANOKE, VA.

JAN 18 1927

THE AWAKENED SOUTH.

In his thoughtful address at the annual Chamber of Commerce banquet last night, Mr. Roger Babson, who spends his winters in Florida and therefore has real touch with what is going on in the South, emphasized that what impressed him most in recent times was not so much the uncovering of the material resources of the South, which have long been postponed, but "the awakening of new vision, courage and accomplishment among the people themselves." He declared that "men make values."

Mr. Babson says "a strong tide has set in from the North toward that great section known as the New South," and he regarded the climate as something of great value and attraction in the coming of northern men and women for warm climate and for health, and also saw in an attractive force to bring new industries.

The story of southern development as told in well handled and condensed statistics and commented upon by Mr. Babson, gave strength to an address that was both informing and helpful. But he warned southern people to beware of some of the speculative methods that had given a temporary setback to Florida and against the danger of making too free use of credit.

Mr. Babson thought in the past the emotional side of the negro has been ridiculed instead of capitalized. He counts the negro as "perhaps, the greatest asset of the South." He said little was heard now of the "negro problem," and this is largely true because the two races have learned to get along together with mutual good will. He

commended North Carolina for the large amount it is spending on schools, and said "It is one of the best investments you can make." He believed the South had entirely neglected "the powerful and emotional characteristics of the colored people."—Raleigh News and Observer.

CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GA.

DEC 4 1926

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL.

Another Hyper-Altruistic Scheme to Denature Our Afro-Americans.

Today, December 2, I am handed a document that bristles with racial and social stickers. It embodies a hyper-altruistic scheme for "creating good will" between the white and black peoples of these United States.

Up at Eagle's Mere in Pennsylvania a conference was held recently which was attended by white and negro women from both the south and the north. It framed a "continuation committee" to study the inter-racial situation and publish "findings to go to church women throughout the country as a working program."

The paper before me does not tell who the women are that comprise the committee, what have been their past experience with inter-racial problems, or what are their qualifications for framing a workable and acceptable program to pacify race antipathies and establish cooperative harmonies between the white and black masses of our population. In the absence of such data one can only consider these "findings" in the light of one's own knowledge of the facts and their contacts and antagonisms.

* * * *

Why Is Any "Negro Problem"?

Again I am impelled to ask "Why is there any negro problem in our country?" In my library are a score of books written and published in the past forty years by white men and negro men to map the dimensions of that so-called "problem" and suggest its solution. From the issuance of Bishop Haygood's "Our Brother in Black" down to this good hour none of the books has served to concrete the "problem" or to get the two races upon a common platform of interaction.

The boiled-down truth, as it appears to me after 75 years of contact with the negro race, is that the American negro is a problem to no one but himself.

Ever since the negro was emancipated by our internecine war that ended 61 years ago and became his own boss, to quote his own words, ninety-nine and nine-tenths of the white people have been steadily minding their own business, exercising their own psychology, and practically denying any responsibility "for what becomes of the negro!"

Some political demagogues have capitalized him where his vote was worth while and various juntos of northern white and negro self-annointed apostles of negrophilism and amalgamation have bleated and blatted about the wrongs done the black race in incidents of political and social segregation.

* * * *

The Negro His Own Redeemer.

Since the negro is his own boss his redemption from unpleasant conditions is his own job. Almost every one of them that has put his innate manhood into that job has won his peace and ease. There are thousands of negro men and women in Atlanta this hour who have no racial agony in their spirits. They learned the lessons of self-reliance, self-support and self-respect. Now they are respected, trusted and protected in all their rights by the whole community.

The essential and valuable education that is needed by the negro is not algebra, astronomy and Assyriology, but pride of race, personal industrial competency and the social value of good character and conduct.

This appeal, sent forth with the imprimatur of the Federal Council of Churches, to the church women of the south and north, white and black, to actively associate in carrying "the black folk's burden," shoots far wide of the mark of wisdom and efficacy.

Here in the south where the great mass of negroes live and labor it is a work of supererogation to suggest to our women methods of conducting their daily dealings with the race. Deny it who will the fact remains that average white men and women in the south are more lenient, sympathetic and helpful to their negro neighbors than the general run of people in any other section of the country. That fact has become an axiom with the experienced negroes among us.

* * * *

Warring Against Experience.

The trouble with most of the recommendations in this new altruistic agenda is that they put imagination at war against centuries of experience. When it urges church women everywhere to condemn "forced housing segregation" as "unspiritual and undemocratic," and "to take a definite stand against it in their community," this Federal Council of Churches paper is giving asinine advice.

The segregation of the races in dwelling areas in towns and cities is a measure of both wisdom and humanity. It accords with instincts, social and economic values, minimizing racial frictions and contributing to the peace and comfort of both races.

As for lynching, it is a diminishing evil. The great mass of men and women in the south deplore and denounce it as seriously as those of the north. The southern press is unanimous in warring against the lynching spirit and demanding the drastic punishment of identified and convicted members of lynching mobs. Its influence has powerfully aroused public sentiment and reduced the lynching mania.

But to think of a Dyer anti-lynching bill as a death-blow to lynching is silly. One might as well offer to abolish a hurricane or a cyclone with a Japanese paper screen as a barrier. Lynching is dying down and soon will be only a rare criminal spasm.

I think the fewer of these endeavors to set up a solvent for race differentiations the better for all concerned.

'GET MONEY' ADVICE OF DARROW TO STUDENTS

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala., Jan. 27.—(By A. N. P.)—"Get education and money for these mean powers" was the advice which Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago, introduced by Vice Principal R. R. Taylor as a lover of humanity—a characterization which he repudiated at the outset—gave to students of Tuskegee Institute in an address here Thursday afternoon. "In these place your hope for advancement. As I see it they are your only hope. Remember that nothing comes into this world without labor and pain and sacrifice. Your worse days, I believe are over. But there are still hard days ahead."

Speaking for longer than an hour, the noted lawyer expounded all his cherished iconoclasms, his religious skepticism, his dissatisfaction with the social order, his disregard for tradition, his lack of faith in the human race. He talked in an easy going manner, deliberately, leisurely, slouched characteristically over the pulpit. At times his voice was low and soothing; again it was indignant, fierce, blazing.

He reviewed the history of race relations between Negroes and whites, a record which he said every white man ought to be ashamed of. He made an estimate of present conditions, analyzed their cause and ventured to prophesy their outcome.

He pointed his customary contemptuous thrust at the "noble Nordic," arraigning the whites as arrogant oppressors of disadvantaged people and declaring that science knew no such thing as race. "Color," he said, "has nothing to do with race prejudice. Rather it is previous condition of servitude. It is not merely this. It is that the Negro is nearer to his slavery than the white to his."

Ruthlessly, Mr. Darrow attacked the superiority complex of the Nordic, declaring that no race possesses more intrinsic intelligence than any other and that the talk about "pure blood" is the veriest of bunk. "And on this practically every scientist in the world agrees. Every biologist, every philanthropist knows that I am telling you what is true. They are all for you. Likewise, all the best literary men are on your side."

The present generation of Negroes in America, according to Mr. Darrow, cannot hope for a full measure of the constitutional rights that are theirs, but it is their duty to work and fight for these rights for their children.

DESTINY OF NEGRO IN HANDS OF AMERICAN WHITE WOMEN

Declares Head of Negro Synods In Address to 700 Women at General Assembly of Presbyterians.

San Francisco, Calif., June 13.—(Pacific Coast News Bureau)—"The Negro problem in this country will never be settled until every one accepts the principals of love as laid down by Jesus Christ' said Rev. Albert B. McCoy, D.D., delivering the opening address on "The Negro in the World Family" in the First Congregational Church at the general assembly meet of the Presbyterian church, U. S. A. recently held in this city.

"Give us Christian homes, Sunday schools, the Bible and the family altar, and we will give back to you decent neighbors and respected citizens of whom you will not be ashamed," declared Dr. McCoy.

"What does the Negro, knocking at the door of the World Family, bring? He brings his toil, his music, his religion, the patience and long-suffering of the Negro women. Some day the world will realize those gifts and pay homage to them."

In Women's Hands.

"In the hands of the American white women is the destiny of the Negro people, and in the Negro race is the test of white Christianity," challenged Dr. McCoy, representative of the Negro synods, as he faced his audience of 700 women delegates at the biennial convention of the Women's Missionary societies of the Presbyterian Church.

"Dr. McCoy's address was the first in the discussion of the topic —"A World Family in the Making." Rev. A. B. Carr of West Africa, also spoke.

Third Pacific Coast Assembly.

For the first time in its history the general assembly of the Presbyterian church, U. S. A., met in San Francisco. Only twice before has it met on the Pacific Coast; at Portland, Ore., in 1892. and in Los Angeles in 1903. The recent assembly was the 125th anniversary of the beginning of its work in Alaska. It was also the 75th anniversary of the California synod, which according to the 1926 year book has 376 churches, 759 ministers, 2083 ruling elders and 85,297 communicants, while its total contributions for all purposes amounted to $1,842,537.

Race Problem- 1927
United States.

HERALD
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

FEB 27 1927

'Nigger Heaven' Will Not Corrupt Morals, Says Dr. Betts, Head of Library Board, in Reviewing Book Some Would Prohibit

Compares Present Agitation to Fight on Moral Survey Years Ago

Wants Deeper Study

White Race Condemns Educated Negro to Despair, He Asserts

The Rev. Dr. F. W. Betts, president of the Syracuse Public Library Board, opposes the movement sponsored by a number of Syracuse clergymen and reformers who would bar Carl Van Vechten's "Nigger Heaven" from circulation.

In a review of the book, prepared for The Sunday Herald, Dr. Betts denies that it will corrupt morals and asserts that writers should continue to tell the truth about such conditions until "they are gone forever from American life."

Dr. Betts says that the white race has "damned to defeat and despair" educated and refined negroes. He looks upon the book as a "tragedy in color" and compares the movement against it to opposition experienced years ago by the Moral Survey Committee. His review follows:

By The Rev. Dr. F. W. BETTS.

This is the book which is disturbing the peace and exciting the wrath of some good people in Syracuse. It is a tragedy in color.

Its author, Mr. Carl Van Vechten, is a well known writer and critic. His special field is that of musical and dramatic criticism. In this field he has served on the New York Times, in New York and Paris. He has written books on the music of Spain, and music since the World War. At one time he was dramatic critic of the New York Press. He has a dozen or more books to his credit which have given him a real standing among contemporary writers, including works of fiction and musical biographies for the Century Dictionary edition of 1916. He is a Ph.B., Chicago University, 1903. He knows New York City thoroughly.

In "Nigger Heaven," Carl Van Vechten undertakes to describe one neighborhood in that great cosmopolitan community. The Survey of March 1, 1925, is an illustrated number. On the front cover page are these words, "Harlem, Mecca of the New Negro." Harlem as we know it, is a section of New York City, between Lenox and Seventh Avenues, east and west, stretching north and south for about a mile, with its center somewhere near 125th Street. Here is the greatest Negro city within a city in America.

The Survey says it is neither slum, ghetto, nor colony, though it is some of all these. It is, or promises to be, a "race capital." "Nigger Heaven" is an effort to describe this "Mecca of the New Negro" from the inside, from the point of view of Negro life in New York City. The title of the book is an insult to the Negro. Mr. Van Vechten borrowed it from the speech of the ignorant Negro, who is said to use it to describe his vision of what Harlem is in his own imagination. Whether author or publisher adopted this title for the book, it is in very bad taste. Whatever crude speech Negroes may use of Harlem, no white man with any self respect any more uses the term "Nigger" of a whole people.

The book is written from the angle of journalism. It may be justly criticised for describing Harlem and Negro life there out of its true proportions. Negro life in Harlem is not all underworld life. There are tens of thousnads of Negroes there who live decent, industrious lives. Of these the book says very little. What it does do is select one theme out of all that mass of human existence, and exploit this theme for the purpose of writing a story. This theme is the history of a Negro youth of promise and some culture who is drawn into the maelstrom of Negro life in Harlem and in New York City. Byron Kasson was a college graduate with literary ambitions. He come to New York in order to find his place and work in the literary world. He was young and inexperienced. He was not black, he was brown. In Harlem there are hundreds of these brown people, of every shade, up to so near white that some of them cross the dead line and become white. Byron Kasson was not made that way. He was a Negro. He refused to be anything else. But he soon learned his bitter lesson. He learned that there was an invisible barrier, set up by the white people, across which no Negro could pass, any more than a soldier of the Allies could cross the Hindenburg line in the World War, alive. Kasson was unable to make good in the literary world. He tried other jobs. He found that the color of his skin barred him absolutely from occupations which white youths of his ability were admitted to freely.

All the while that Byron Kasson was fighting his losing battle with the race barrier of the white people there was another influence at work. He was a fine looking youth. He had manners and the polish of a gentleman. He was the kind of a man that any Negro girl would like to win. Mary Love, the public library worker in the Harlem branch, loved him, and he loved her. She tried to encourage him to fight on. He did so for a time, but he lost heart and hope and ambition. A great despair got hold of him. Just then a beautiful Negro courtesan discovered Kasson, and she made her plans to possess him for her own indulgence, for a day and a night. She was rich. Some man now gone had showered his wealth on her. She invited Kasson into her fine auto and her elegant home. Afterwards she deserted him and turned him out. He did not understand, or if he did, he was too desperate to accept his fate. He hunted for her [illegible] Harlem underworld. He saw red and then crimson, until in a fit of insane passion he shot to kill, and found a policeman waiting for him as the last act in the tragedy.

What the moralists condemn unsparingly in "Nigger Heaven" is that undertow of moral disintegration which runs through the story of Byron Kasson, and that final climax of this in the description of his seduction by the scarlet woman and what followed after that. It is a tragic, depressing, disgusting incident.

Is it immoral? It is certainly raw, but is it also rotten? The immoral book is one that seduces the reader into the state of mind where good becomes evil, and evil good. Or, the immoral book is one that obscures the eternal difference between right and wrong. "Nigger Heaven" does not do that. How any normal human being can read this story, compare Mary Love and Byron Kasson, and watch him take the toboggan and descend to the abyss of debauchery, without moral repulsion, I do not understand. "Nigger Heaven" makes the constancy and virtue of Mary Love beautiful, and the concupiscence of Byron Kasson and the artful and beautiful courtesan, ugly and unattractive.

But this is not all. Is the story true to life? Has Carl Van Vechten made a true transcript of Negro life in Harlem and New York City?

I think that on the whole, and from the direction of the underworld, and the undertow of the underworld he has given us a picture of what has happened to more than one Byron Kasson who came to New York City full of hope and found only ruin and death. This is the tragedy of color in New York City, and in other American cities. The critics of this raw book, I mean the white critics, should go a little deeper. That tragedy of color, that impassable race barrier, which broke the will and broke the heart and crushed Byron Kasson under its hopelessness, was built and is defended by the white people. It is the race arrogance and the the pharisaism and the heartlessness of our own race that shuts the Negro out, and leaves him to beat out his brains against the stone wall of stolid indifference.

The other day a London journalist was severely criticised for calling public attention to the life of a street woman there. The good people of London were shocked. The answer of the journalist was, "There are ten thousand and more of them like that one. What are you good people going to do with them?" I have a good memory. I remember that in that bitter, ugly, dirty fight to get rid of the "segregated" district in Syracuse, that many of the severest criticisms which we were subjected to were from good people who were willing that hundreds of women and thousands of men should stew and rot in that district rather than that the public should know the nauseating facts.

I am making no apology for or defense of anything that Carl Van Vechten has written in "Nigger Heaven." I would like to take him across my knees and spank him for his insult to the Negro people in his title. Some passages in his book turn my stomach. But they do not corrupt my morals, and they won't corrupt the virtue of anyone. That is evidenced by the reactions of those who criticise us for circulating the book from the Public Library. But is it true? Have we, the white people shut in and damned to defeat and despair the educated and refined Negro who wants to climb out of the pit? I think we have. And therefore I hope that those who write about this problem will continue to describe the facts as they are, and never give us any peace of mind until the conditions which ruined Byron Kason are gone forever from Ameran life.

Has A "New Negro" Arrived

Lest that school of writers who has seen the actual arrival of a "New Negro" become too confident of its convictions, and lest the literati get too far from actualities in the fashion of this phenomenon described as the "New Negro", Dr. W. S. Turner of Shaw University, in the March number of Social Forces, asks "Has The Negro Arrived?" and under this caption gives a discussion which will provoke penetrating thought in the minds of those who too readily assume that our group has arrived. Dr. Turner concludes with the thought that while there is much said about the Negro as a new creature, "he is only changing with the changing order as he learns the art of social adjustment." Doubtless the most striking idea conveyed in Dr. Turner's analysis is the fact that though the Negro is acquiring new types of behavior and improving his social vision the transition from the old order to the new has not been sufficiently pronounced on a scale of wide enough proportions to warrant the conclusion that there has been anything like a social revolution.

Says Dr. Turner, "An understanding of the social forces determining Negro life leads one to conclude that a great deal more of the old order, the old Negro and the old viewpoint remain than the writers of the new declaration of independence seem to realize." The writer finds that in the South the conditions that molded the life of the old Negro, "the economic and social conflict evolved from slavery," in a large measure still exist. More than 35 per cent of the Negroes above 21 years of age in Georgia; 38 per cent in Alabama and 43 per cent in Louisiana are illiterate, while from 80 to 90 per cent of the Negro farmers of some parts of the South still are tenants and croppers, Dr. Turner points out. He also sees that the Uncle Toms, the subservient type of Negro, "has not been swept so suddenly from the stage of action as some of the exponents of the new order assume." Even in Harlem, the greatest Negro city in the world, Dr. Turner declares, "the backwoods culture of the South and the sugar cane plantations of the West Indies persists." The mass of illiterate adults of the South, the enslaved tenants and croppers added to the poverty stricken masses in the cities North and South, "the millions of menials coming inevitably in the transition from chattel slavery to economic independence, at best can only be slightly touched by the thought currents of the modern world," asserts the Shaw University dean.

Dr. Turner does not believe that the new Negro can in any large measure become a social reality as long as these conditions obtain. What he says on this subject actually places the much heralded New Negro in an almost insignificantly small group in comparison with the race entity, and takes much from the glamor of the acclaim that our group has arrived.

Foe of Censorship

THE REV. DR. F. W. BETTS.

'NEGRO HEAVEN' NOT THE ONLY RACE MECCA

The "Negro Mecca," "Negro Heaven," or the "Negro City within a City," as Harlem in New York City is often characterized, has been the subject of numerous books, magazine articles, and feature stories in some of the most widely read newspapers. Attention has been directed to economic and social conditions of this group of 200,000 American citizens who, not unlike other racial groups, are simply seeking the prosperity and happiness that depend so largely upon a favorable environment.

But concerning the New York "Italian City within a City," with its 900,000 inhabitants, many of whom are aliens; the "Jewish Mecca," in New York City with its population of 1,600,000 inhabitants, and the "German City" with its 750,000 population, very little is written. For some mysterious reason 'Ready Writers' do not regale the reading public with stories of the family life and the recreational pursuits of these peoples

Assessments are not so freely made, at least for publication, of the spiritual life, of the wealth, or of the poverty of these groups; nor are their homes and social circles so easily invaded by those whose real or fictitious narrations are of questionable value. The same is true of the "Western Negro Mecca," Chicago. Happenings in the so-called "Black Belt" are constantly and vividly portrayed, but not even for the purpose of comparison is mention ever made by these erudite investigators and "sociologists" of the "Bohemian City," in Chicago(with its 325,000 inhabitants; of the "Polish City" in Chicago, with its 400,000 population; nor is the ht of publicity turned on the wish quarter where more than 0,000 persons of that nationali- are domiciled. There must be eason.

N. Y. JOURNAL OF COMMERCE

MAR 9 1927

Darrow Champions Negroes

MOBILE, Ala.—Clarence Darrow, Chicago lawyer, much escorted by deputy sheriffs, returned to his vacation residence at Fair Hope, near here, following a lecture in a Mobile theatre in which he advocated better treatment for colored people in the South, denounced lynchings and "racial injustice."

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
MAR 1 News 1927

Mr. Darrow Is Not Welcome With His Efforts To Stir Racial Hate

In a letter to The Foley Onlooker of Feb. 24, signed by A. L. West, of Fairhope, "and two prominent educators of Baldwin County, who claim to have been present at the Negro Industrial School at Daphne" when Clarence Darrow, who is wintering in Baldwin County, made a speech to the Negroes, he is quoted as saying:

I can't help you, you will have to help yourselves, but I advise always an attitude of defiance toward the white man who calls himself "your friend." How has he manifested this friendship? By hanging and burning you; by making you do his work, and use his back door; refusing to let you enter the best hotels and to use the best coach in the train, and by making you sit in the rear of the street car. The only front place the white man has ever given you is in the battle line. There you can stop the bullets, but when you return home you can't use the sidewalks, you have to use the road. What can the colored man do to help himself? I see you pray, but I don't know why. Your God must be a "white" man, considering the way he treats you. No doubt there will be a "Jim Crow" law in your heaven when you get there. You can sing—I heard you sing—"Sweet Land of Liberty," but I don't see how you can. I don't sing it because I know it's not true. But you can work and gain a place for yourself if you can do your work better than the white man. You are being recognized and you have some friends who are not afraid to sit at the table with you. I have done so, and even drank bootleg liquor with you, and in what better way can friendship be manifested?

There is probably no more avid notoriety-seeker than this same Darrow; but he is going a bit far when he comes down here and out of his ignorance and desire for the limelight endeavors to stir up trouble and ill-feeling between the two races.

Darrow simply is shooting off his mouth, and every intelligent Negro knows it. In the first place he is stupidly ignorant of real conditions; in the second, he is hunting notoriety, and thirdly, he either wilfully or ignorantly misstates.

Birmingham, Ala.
News
MAR 9 1927

DARROW DECLARES NO THREATS MADE

"Dry Rot," He Says Of Report That He "Escaped" Mob After Daphne Talk

MOBILE, Ala., March 9.—Clarence Darrow, who left here shortly before noon Tuesday for Chattanooga, declared before leaving that the sensational reports stating he narrowly escaped being mobbed at Fairhope, Ala., following an address he made before the Negro Industrial School at Daphne, Ala., recently, were "all dry rot."

When asked concerning a circular letter quoting alleged portions of Darrow's Daphne address, Darrow states it was all a vision of a misguided mind. Darrow said he did not urge negroes "to rise against their white masters."

Darrow said he did comment on the lynching of "colored men," and said: "I said it happened in the North as well as in the South and that where it took place it was a disgrace. But I told my listeners that lynching was rapidly diminishing in the South and that every intelligent person, both South and North, deplored these things.

"I advised the negroes to acquire property and education as the best solution of their difficulties and commented on the fact that many of their race are already excelling in various forms of culture."

Darrow came to Alabama for a six weeks stay, but, instead, remained two months. He will stay over in Chattanooga until next Saturday night, when he expects to return to Chicago.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

PATERSON

NEW JERSEY

MAR 2 3 1927

NEGRO NOT GIVEN PROPER CHANCE HERE SAYS REV. BINDER

Discrimination Prevents Him From Taking Proper Place in Civic Life, Pastor Declares

"We boast of our civilization—but we are hardly more than a step removed from barbarism," declared the Rev. Louis Binder, pastor of the Ward Street Presbyterian church and president of the Paterson Ministerial association, Sunday evening in an address on the third of his popular "If" sermons, entitled, "If I were a Negro."

"An exploiting financial baron who has the poor classes at his mercy, and who, because of his dishonest operations ruins thousands, driving them to suicide, has on his conscience more victims than a whole tribe of cannibals," declared the Rev. Binder.

"We eat our fellowmen with greater refinement than the cannibal," added the pastor.

The Rev. Louis Binder has, for the past six months been intensely studying and investigating the negro problem in Paterson, in preparation of his thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology at Columbia University. In an interview with a News reporter following this sermon he said:

"The colored man in Paterson is industrially discriminated against He is shut out of the factories and is impoverished.

"To keep the wolf from the door, the wife of the negro is forced to go to work. This removes parental influence from the children and allows them to run wild.

"Living conditions of the negro in Paterson are therefore deplorable. This is due to economic conditions and not to the black man."

When asked if he believed in segregation of the colored man the Rev. Binder replied:

"Absolutely not. It only engenders hatred and widens the breech for mutual interest, understanding, or tolerance. Moreover, segregation affords the unscrupulous politician an opportunity to use the black man as a pawn to swing his votes.

"The Paterson negroes are not segregated and do not constitute the problem that many other American cities are faced with. There are only 110 negroes who own their own homes.

"The popular notion is that the colored population here runs as high as 3,500. Verified statistics show it to be 1551.

"If he is given a chance to work he can prove himself able economically. Thus, he can obtain better homes which will work for his moral uplift. He will be able to move in better social circles and conduct himself accordingly.

"There is one outstanding trend which manifests hopefulness for the colored man in Paterson. He is demanding trained leaders.

The six churches in Paterson have pastors who are young college men, and seminary trained."

The following is taken directly from the address of the Rev. Louis Binder:

"The Negro has a hard road to travel and the prejudice which he encounters all along the way is enough to discourage most of us. If I were a member of the colored race, I should sense the ill will deeply, for after all, whethe white or black, we are all God's children, made in His image and of one blood, destined to fulfill a definite mission in the world. My heart would bleed when I would experience the white man's hatred while he sings about his love of Christ.

"If I were a Negro, I would, of course, be conscious of my inequality, inferiority in numerous respects. Knowing the white man's attitude toward me, I would not antagonize him, for antagonism gets us nowhere. I would be aggressive without being offensive, ambitious and try to assume the role of priest and prophet for my people and lead them to better things. I would prove myself. I would so develop my latent potentialities, so that I could command respect. I have no claim to rights until I can utilize or enjoy them. I would so live that men would have to respect me."

"Knowing all this, I think, as a negro, a victim of unhappy circumstances, I would on the one hand not feel the sting of prejudice quite so keenly and bear my lot with kindliness and patience, but on the other hand, I would denounce the spirit of self-righteousness which the white man assumes.

"If I were a negro I would insist upon my fundamental and God-given rights. I would not ask for favors, my manhood would forbid that, but I would insist upon justice.

"If I were a negro of the average type I would seek an education and become a leader among my group.

"Finally, I would unceasingly remind my white brethren, that while they may assume an air of superiority, biologically and spiritually I am of the same parent stock as they. Though a negro I am a son of God and favorable in His sight provided my soul is pure.

"The conflict between the classes, nations and races of the present-day world are indicative of the fact that as yet we have not worked out a basis of action or conduct which is universally accepted for harmonious human living."

Birmingham, Ala., A

APR 6 1927

SOUTH CAN SOLVE RACIAL PROBLEMS

Alabama Conference On Social Work Hears Plea For Cooperation

GADSDEN, Ala., April 6.—In race relations, the South is confronted with a challenge that is world-wide in its effect on human relationships, James D. Burton, interstate secretary of the Alabama and Tennessee district of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Wednesday told the Alabama Conference on Social Work, meeting in Gadsden.

"The South has an opportunity to make a distinct contribution to a world problem in interracial cooperation," he said. "The resources, leadership and civilization is here if employed to this end."

He explained that cooperation would react in preservation of the American economic structure and in spreading good will and understanding between the races.

Burton's Talk Anticipated

Mr. Burton's talk was an anticipated event on the convention program. Mrs. Alfred Tunstall, of Montgomery, spoke upon "Needed Legislation in Alabama as it Relates to School Conditions."

A dinner meeting with Maj. William Hammond Parker, who spoke on "The Changing Social Order," was Tuesday's feature. The annual session of the Alabama Tuberculosis Association was also completed Tuesday night.

It was expected that the next

"The improvement in racial attitudes is the first step in the improvement of race relations," Mr. Burton said. "This is now at work. Many evidences of this improvement are expressing themselves in tangible ways.

Believes In Racial Preference

"The interracial cooperation movement believes in racial preference, but not in racial prejudice. It believes the white man should prefer his race and the negro his race, but believes there should be a program whereby the two races can live side by side in peace in the same community."

This calls for conference between representative leaders of the two races, Mr. Burton said, promoting mutual understandings of viewpoints and needs, and in obtaining ends agreed on in conference.

"The paternalistic attitude is avoided, and members of interracial committees are invited to speak with utmost freedom, forming a basis of confidence and understanding. The strength of such a movement is vested in local community leaders of the two races who constitute interracial committees."

Among the things which are usually found to need attention, Mr. Burton said, are health, housing, sanitation, recreation, legal justice, traveling accommodations, educational facilities, the negro home and church, crime prevention, provision for negroes in jail, alms houses and juvenile detention homes.

Officers named for the year were: President, S. B. Murphy, of Birmingham; first vice president, Mrs. T. E. Adams, of Gadsden; second vice president, Miss Bessie Rencher, of Mobile; secretary, Richard F. Hudson, of Birmingham; treasurer, Miss Roberta Morgan, of Birmingham; members of the executive committee, Miss Virgil Brooke, of Montevallo; the Rev. Charles Clingman, of Birmingham, and Mrs. J. R. Jolly, of Florence.

The next convention will be held in Birmingham at a time to be set by the executive committee.

Officers of the Alabama Tuberculosis Association for the year are: President, J. D. Heacock, of Birmingham; first vice president, L. W. Roe, of Birmingham; second vice president, Miss Kate Uhlfelder, of Montgomery; secretary, Mrs. N. M. Colman, of Florence; treasurer, J. H. Cranford, of Jasper. The association will hold its next convention in Birmingham in connection with the meeting of the state social workers.

NEW YORK TIMES

FEB 13 1927

EQUALITY FOR NEGRO.

kers at Youth Conference Discuss Aspects of Problem.

"Youth and the Negro Problem" was the subject of the first session yesterday of a "Douglas-Lincoln Memorial Conference," held at International House, 500 Riverside Drive, under the joint auspices of the American section of the World Youth Alliance, the Intercollegiate Club of New York City, made up of groups of negro students, and the Young People's Fellowship, composed of members of the parish of St. Philip's Protestant Church, 134th Street and Seventh Avenue. More than 200 young men and women, both white and colored, attended the conference and took part in a forum discussion of various aspects of the negro problem. A. G. Dill, managing editor of The Crisis, was Chairman. Among the speakers were Devere Allen, editor of The World Tomorrow, and Alain Locke, formerly Professor of Philosophy at Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Allen discussed social equality of the negro from the white man's point of view, while Mr. Locke presented the question from the point of view of the negro. Both speakers held that social equality was essential to the real freedom and progress of the negros and that it would be the only means of combating existing evils in the relationship between the two races. Along with the development of the "new" negro, both speakers declared, whose cause is championed by such men as Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina, Eugene O'Neill and Paul Green, author of "In Abraham's Bosom," there has arisen a new white man who has cast aside old prejudices and is working for the social, intellectual and economic betterment of the colored race.

"There is no way of settling the negro question short of complete justice, complete equality, complete freedom of friendship. Youth must not think of any other way," Mr. Allen said.

Birmingham, Ala.
News
MAR 9 1927

DARROW

To the Editor The Birmingham News:

My first acquaintance with the name occurred many years ago, when a man of that name was the proprietor of a year-around hotel at Richfield Springs, New York.

The next time that I remember to have heard it mentioned was by an Idaho mining engineer, who told me of the killing of mine foremen and non-union miners in that section by dumping ore on anyone objectionable to that union: of an instance of a case of dynamite being hung in a mine shaft arranged to be exploded by a wire placed across the shaft when the cage was lowered. I asked if the law could not be invoked to stop such practices. The engineer answered that it had been tried repeatedly, but that the union had complete control of the courts in the section, so that no convictions could be had, and that there was a brilliant young lawyer who was able to get around any lawyer that the mine owners could bring into the courts to prosecute. In fact, it was difficult to get a lawyer who dared to take up the prosecutions because of threats made against any attempting to prosecute violators of the law. The violations became so bad and business was so seriously hampered that action was demanded by the state, and the governor, Steunenberg, called out the militia to take charge of the situation. Many arrests were made and a special place of detention provided, surrounded by a high wire fence, in which were placed the leaders of disturbances and business resumed nearer normal conditions. Not long after the trial of these leaders of disturbances, Gov. Steunenberg was blown up by a bomb on the way home. The disturbances covered several years previous to the election of Steunenberg. There was a general understanding as to who the dynamiters were, but not in such a way as to make absolute proof. Arrests were made of persons against whom circumstances directed evidence which was strong, but the jury failed to convict. Through all of these disturbances Clarence Darrow seemed to have been able to have saved the law violators from punishment, although at the Steunenberg murder trial he was opposed by William E. Borah. After that trial public opinion was so strong against that violent element which he represented they transferred their activities to other localities, and later they were heard of in the bombing of structural iron work along the Pacific coast, ending with that of the destruction of The Los Angeles Times Building by dynamite. In that case when the trial of the perpetrators came up a strict watch was placed on all talesmen subpoenaed for juries, and it was found that some had been approached in reference to service on the jury for trial of The Times case, and such were excused. The result of that trial was conviction, and probably the large union funds that had formerly been derived for payment of legal services to Darrow were no longer forthcoming and he no longer could find profitable employment for his talents from that source.

Later he appears as counsel for the wealthy Leopold and Loeb boys, who wantonly killed another boy and were saved from the extreme penalty under circumstances that have been the subject of criticism.

Still later he appears as counsel for negro murderers with the booking of the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, well provided with funds to pay for legal services of a kind.

As to Darrow's social affiliations reported from Baldwin County, they seem in line with those previously mentioned, and will probably hold so long as they may be a source of profit. A possible exception may be his injection in the Scopes case as a defiance of a large religious element, but it is not known what fee he may have been paid from some obscure source.

The above is written from memory covering many years, and may have errors, but is believed to be substantially correct.

W. E. HOTCHKISS.

Courtland, Ala., March 5, 1927.

DARROW IS GIVEN BIG BANQUET ON 70TH BIRTHDAY

Walter White Tells Of His Work As Defender Of An Oppressed People

Clarence Darrow, eminent criminal lawyer, friend of mankind, distinguished humanitarium, was honor guest at a banquet on his 70th birthday at the Palmer House Monday night as more than 1,200 distinguished citizens gathered to pay tribute to the simple greatest of the man who wears no title other than that of—lawyer.

It was a strictly cosmopolitan gathering—professors, lawyers, novelists, jurists, ministers, and those who, like Darrow, wear no titles—all gathered to honor the man and to tender him flowers while he was yet alive.

Knows No Precedent

"He is not a good lawyer. A good lawyer lives in a world of clear cut black and white. He lives in a world of gray. He is not abashed by the established thing, coming as he does before the bar snapping his irreverent blue suspenders." That was Attorney Donald Richberg speaking, and he continued:

"His motto is: To him who has not, should be given something even if it be only a little charity and mercy. He has been a defender of man's civil rights, more than a lawyer for a private client—a lawyer for humanity, a sword of truth, a shield of science, a defender of the faith, that old and universal faith founded on the doctrine, 'Know the truth and the truth shall make you free.'"

Sympathy for All

And, "His religion has consisted in a love for his fellow man rather than in the love of any abstract God," said Shirley J. Case, professor of early Christian history at the University of Chicago. "There is no human ill for which he does not have the deepest sympathy."

Walter White, Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., who retained Darrow in the Sweet case at Detroit, declared:

"We do honor to a man who has attacked, ridiculed, and exposed every idea held by this smug bourgeois civilization of ours," he said. He cited Darrow's victory in defending Dr. Sweet, of Detroit. "He has shown," he continued, "that the agnostics and free thinkers are friends of the Negro rather than the fundamentalists whose religion stops at the color line."

"Though censured and charged with every disrespect for the law," declared Judge Harry M. Fisher, "no man has done so much for the law as he. He has defended every constitutional guarantee when those who insisted they wanted law and order attacked them and clamored for their repeal.

"He has kept his pledge of thirty years ago to be always on the side of the weak. He believes life ends with the dissolution of the body. The forces he has set in motion will continue eternal throughout the history of mankind."

"He says he is a cynic," said Zona Gale, the novelist, "but if his words are those of a cynic then let us all be cynics, too."

Gives Lesson in Science

Prof. Fay-Cooper Cole of the University of Chicago department of anthropology said he had given the world a lesson in science.

"As the King commanded, he has served 'the least of these, my brethren,'" said John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community church, New York. "He has the capacity of living the lives of other men, knowing how they suffer. He has taught us that every man has a cause worth defending."

Then they gave him a bust of himself by Kathleen Wheeler.

Darrow arose and said:

"I have never courted danger. I have hated criticism. Abuse has hurt me. The opinions of some have cut me to the quick. But I could take no other course than I did. I would have suffered more had I failed to do that which I thought I ought to do. Every man is but the product of the machine and the environment. Power, peace, wealth, respect. They could have been bought, but they cost more than I would pay. Yet in taking the hardest road, I was doing the easiest thing.

"My friends are my compensation. I would like to think that after I have gone my friends will be happy and I will be—not miserable. I have been a destructive, not a constructive, force. But I have destroyed weeds. All I want more of life is a greater capacity for kindness, forgiveness, and understanding."

Post
KANSAS CITY
MISSOURI
APR 18 1927

Novelist Stresses Major Handicaps Facing Negroes

Lynching, residential restrictions economic restrictions and limited educational facilities, were pictured last night as the principal handicaps confronting Negroes in the United States, by Walter White, New York, Negro novelist, in an address in All Souls Unitarian church, 3427 Baltimore avenue.

"Masked mobs and public sympathy make it difficult to obtain the truth in lynching cases," the speaker declared. "Investigation of causes and fixing responsibility by Negro organizations is being attempted to combat the lynching evil.

"By residential restriction, Negroes are forced to pay more for their homes and in many cases these restricted districts are the last to be improved by city authorities. Negroes feel they should be permitted to live in decent surroundings.

"Economic handicaps Negroes must face are limited kinds of employment, both in the professions and in other branches of endeavor and non-recognition of Negroes in many labor unions.

"Negroes seek economic advancement, but in many cases the standards of Negro schools are low and there is a tendency on the part of many larger universities to discourage Negro students from attendance."

The novelist will speak in Chicago tonight at Clarence Darrow's seventieth birthday anniversary celebration to be held in the Palmer House. Dr L. M. Birkhead, pastor of the church presided at the service last night.

Race Problem—1927

United States

-:- Darrow in Washington

—By KELLY MILLER—

Noted Attorney Gives Capital Its First Thrill in Months

I HAVE lived in Washington for more than forty years. During all of that time I cannot easily recall that the appearance of any single individual ever stirred the imagination of the multitude as did the coming of Darrow a fortnight ago. We are accustomed to so many distinguished personages in the national capital that we pay little heed to any particular celebrity aside from political excitation. There are few if any renowned orators since Bryan died whose announcement would fill an ordinary auditorium. When Neval Thomas, the local head of the N. A. A. C. P., announced the coming of Darrow, the more cautious and hesitant became fearful that the audience might not prove to be complimentary to the renown of the great commoner. A shabby showing on such an occasion would have been a sad reflection on the part of the colored people of the capital city.

Neval Thomas deserves the bulk of the credit. He is a human dynamo in the cause of liberty, fraternity, equality. Under the guiding hand of his leadership, our militant organization moves on from victory to victory. The Washington branch of this organization has national significance. Everything radiates from this local point.

Neval Thomas is the right man in the right place at the right time. It was his eloquent persuasion and impassoined appeal that swung the populace to this great national reception to Mr. Darrow. The city of Washington expressed the sentiment of the race at large. The daily papers stated that there were three thousand enthusiastic auditors inside the building, with five thousand on the outside clamoring for admission.

An overflow meeting quickly filled an adjacent church which Mr. Darrow addressed at the termination of the central meeting. I was among the throng which arrived out of due season and had to hear the emphatic pronouncement of the usher. "Too late; you cannot enter now."

Human nature changes slowly, if at all. The same appeal that moved the multitude in the days of old moves it still. Whenever appeal is made to the human heart, the human heart responds. Darrow touches the fundamental depths of human nature. He pleads for elemental justice. To him race and color are but meaningless surface markings. I know of but one great American with whom to compare him, and that is Robert G. Ingersol, the eloquent apostle of freedom.

Ingersol was the great religious liberal of his day. He ridiculed the religious beliefs and feelings which his fellow men held dear. But, at the same time, he was the outstanding liberal in the field of human rights. The Negro never had a more fearless champion than this great infidel.

Mr. Darrow pitted his wits against that of the great defender of the faith, William J. Bryan. They met on the battlefield at Dayton, Tenn. Darrow won and Bryan died. Had this champion of religious liberalism come to the capital to speak on religious freedom, he doubtless would have met with wide acclaim. But on such a mission his welcome would have come all but wholly from the whites.

But, turning aside from his great legal triumph in the religious arena, he took up the cause of an unpopular race. He lent his legal talent and the detached devotion of his soul to the defense of the Negro's right to defend his home and fireside, just as the white man defends his home and fireside.

Darrow at Detroit touches the high-water mark of legal altruism. He was working neither for fee nor for fame, but simply for the joy and zest of the working

have known Mr. Darrow for many years.

I first met him in the office of my good friend, Dr. Bentley of Chicago. He was introduced as a white man who was willing to go all of the way with the Negro. Detroit merely presented the occasion to bring out what was in him. He rings true at every point. He is not putting on, but giving out. I did not hear the address, but read large quotations in the morning press. Those present tell me that his speech was not characterized by moving eloquence and flamboyant words, but was a simple, straight, almost conversational presentation of the faith and doctrine in which he believes. After all, this is the most impressive mode of eloquence. One can pick out few pointed sentences or polished periods as illustrative of his discourse.

The presence of the man and his straightforward utterances held the crowd in rapt attention. The comment next day was: "It was good to have been there." The address covered his usual range of topics in his address to the colored audiences.

He repeated his common stock advice upon religion, urging upon the race that it has been too dependent upon vicarious religious succor.

Upon this feature of his doctrine I most sincerely disagree with the great commoner. I have expressed the basis of my disagreement on another occasion.

It was unfortunate that he was invited to speak in a Christian church. All knew beforehand just what his views were. None could hope that he would refrain from the expressions of his belief merely because of the place in which they were to be presented. He would not be true to his nature and to his mission had he done so, even out of respect for the religious feeling of the vast majority of his hearers.

He would no more withhold his honest views on religion out of defference to the feelings of colored people than he would refuse to speak out straight and clear on the race problem out of respect of the sensitiveness of white people.

It would have been best had the management secured a secular hall, where there would have been no constraints of any kind. Most of the colored preachers on the following Sunday had something to say about the irreligious feature of the great discourse. They advised their congregations to stick to the old religious moorings which had brought them

DEAN KELLY MILLER.

safe thus far. They accept his gospel of human equality, but balk at his denial of the benefit of our cherished religion.

It would be a great calamity, in my view, if the colored people should act upon this part of Mr. Darrow's advice. We are not willing, however gloomy the prospect may seem, to curse God and die.

Mr. Darrow is an Anglo-Saxon, with all of the Teutonic fearlessness and dare of his blood. He is wholly impatient with the meekness and submission which all religion teaches as a means of overcoming evil. He looks upon the Negro's cause without an outside eye of pity. He believes in measuring might against might, which may become the race and class which holds all power within its grasp.

But where there is want of power, we must resort to patience.

Gandhi, in India, in humble submission to British dominion, urges his race to resort to the resistive power of the spirit. He knows that his race cannot measure power with the Englishmen in terms of European standards. Darrow would have no patience with Gandhi. But Gandhi knows his race better even than Darrow knows them.

The Negro minister in close contact with the race knows better than a good-natured outsider just how far the race may rely upon its own exertion, and to what extent it must look beyond itself for higher guidance and direction.

Mr. Darrow stated that it was only the white morons that were opposed to the colored race. In so far as this may be true it brings us little consolation. It is the mentality of the moron that furnishes the best lodging place and breeding ground for race prejudice and hatred. There is no reason to which appeal may be made.

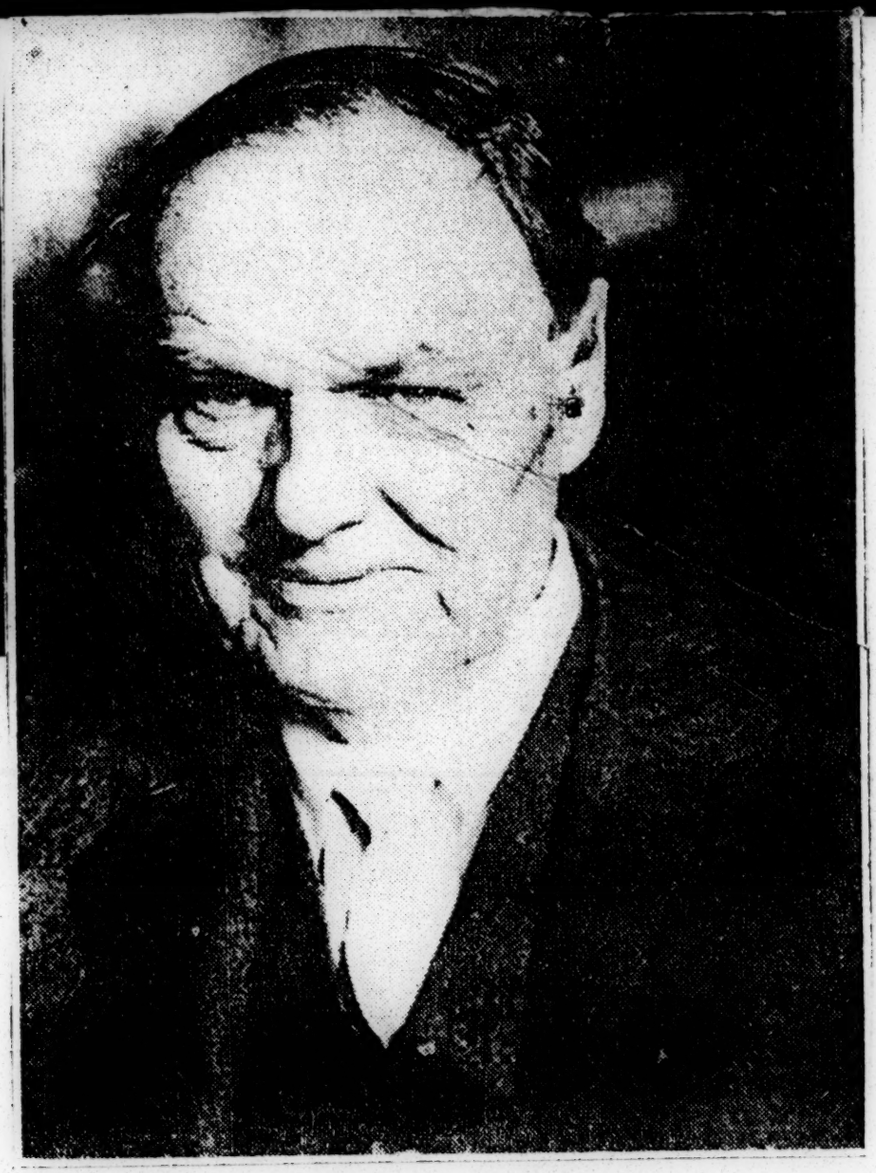
When this animosity of race becomes a part of the passion and emotion of the feebler minds, it takes on all but the virus of animal fury. The lynchers are doubtless made up largely of this class. We are still in quest of the remedy for race prejudice, especially when it finds lodgment in the brutish breast of human beings.

Let us hope that Mr. Darrow will live for many years to go up and down the land preaching the gospel of human brotherhood which will not balk at the complexion of the skin or the texture of the hair.

One cannot escape the reflection that our champion has already reached the mark of three score and ten. In course of nature he must shortly take his leave. There are few, if any, white men of the rising generation making ready to take his place.

The allurements of money and the temptations of pleasure are too strong for the spirit of sacrifice to thrive in our day and generation. Let us say the good and pleasant things about him while his ears are still able to hear. Let us never more be accused of failure to appreciate the vicarious service which comes to us from across the color line. What Washington has done the Negroes of the nation applaud. The whole race joins in honoring this Great Commoner for his sacrifice and devotion to an altruistic cause.

— Neval Thomas —



— Clarence Darrow —

THE SOUTH'S PERNICIOUS POLICY TOWARDS THE NEGRO

For many years the most important subject which has claimed the attention and gripped the minds of the people of the South and the nation, to some degree also, has been, what is rather badly denominated, "The Negro Problem." When we refer to the South, we mean that psychic force which sways its people, shapes the opinion and executes the policies of the Southern States. The opinion of the Negro is not respected in the adoption of policies in the South; it is for him to obey and not to advise, even in the things which pertain solely to his welfare. Therefore, we must necessarily mean the white man of the South, whose opinion is law and the propriety of whose acts is not to be questioned by the Negro.

For the Negro there are many problems and upon his successful solutions of those problems depends his future welfare, the attainment of full exercise of his rights of citizenship in this community. For the white man there is no Negro problem. He has an established policy, built upon his hatred for the Negro, and he continuously displays that prejudice. The question which predominates his thoughts is: How shall he be able to maintain his program and eventually destroy the rights of the Negro?

Realizing that chattel slavery could no longer exist under the laws of this country, the South set out immediately after reconstruction to abridge the rights conferred upon the Negro by the Constitution of the United States, and for the past fifty years has been successful, to no small degree, in carrying on the policy which was adopted to accomplish this aim. Thus, the policy of the South is to evade the law of the land. It purposes, by intimidation and actual cruelties practiced upon the Negro, to inspire his mind with fear and to produce such cowardice of soul within him that his morale will be destroyed and he will willingly submit to subjection. How to perpetuate this policy is what disturbs the minds of the South.

For the promotion of its program the South employs all the many methods and practices, which a perverse mind can conceive; it starves; it crushes with physical violence, and it even calls upon the arms of the law to aid in carrying on its aims against the welfare of the Negro.

For his labor the Negro is paid not even a living wage; the amount paid is insufficient to supply him with food and provide for decent shelter. He is forced on this account to seek out the most miserable quarters in the back alleys of civilization; he can buy only the most unwholesome foods, most of which should be cast into the garbage, and for wearing apparel, he must appear in the streets, ridiculous and fantastic, because he can afford only the discarded clothes sold at second-hand shops and rummage sales.

SOUTHERN "JUSTICE"

The proprietor of an Atlanta, Ga., filling station was arrested recently for giving short measure. Officers say that he had defrauded the public of more than $25,000 in the past year.

With him, his two negro employes were also held. According to their own admissions, they drew $5 weekly each for their part in the fraud. They received from the proprietor, they swore, instructions as to how "short" the gasoline sold to each customer should be.

Arraigned in court, all three defendants pleaded guilty to the same charge. The negroes were sent to serve sentences of 12 months without the alternative of paying a fine. The proprietor was sentenced to pay a fine of $500 or serve six months on the gang.

He promptly paid the fine, of course. He could well afford to with $25,000 of the public's money in his pocket.

Such a travesty on justice goes far towards lending color to the claim of people from the north and east that the negro does not get justice in the south. For while it is seldom that the difference in the treatment accorded the races is so marked as in the Atlanta case, it is too often a fact that Justice, supposedly blind, is undoubtedly influenced by the color of a man's skin.

Talk of social equality between whites and negroes is becoming rarer. As the people of other sections become more familiar with conditions in Dixie they sympathize more and more with the southern viewpoint in this matter. This makes it none the less true, however, that southerners can never hope to have a clear conscience with regard to their treatment of the black man so long as incidents like the one cited continue to happen.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

JOURNAL

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MAR 4 1927

DARROW AND MOBILE.

The Hon. Clarence S. Darrow, the well known Chicago criminal lawyer, brands as false the report from Mobile, Ala., that his pro-Negro views almost landed him in the grip of an enraged people in the southern city. He says the story is "all dry rot," whatever that may be.

Mr. Darrow's many friends in all parts of the country will be glad to know that the incident in which he was made to play the most prominent role by a southern writer, was, as he says, much overdrawn.

Mr. Darrow is not only an able lawyer, but he is a careful thinker and a cautious speaker. He has lived long enough to know what to say, when to say it and where to say it. This much can be said for him without doing violence to truth or any of its attributes.

In discussing the Mobile report Mr. Darrow said he did comment on the lynching of "colored men," and in the course of his remarks said it happened in the north as well as in the south, and that wherever it took place it was a disgrace.

And thus—

Another bubble coming from the sunny south land is punctured by the central figure around which a wordy southern reporter erects a frail hair-raising story for the edification of his readers and the gratification of an element of people always and everywhere arrayed against one whose greatest offense—to some people—is a capacity to think, to speak and to care for himself in any company anywhere at any time.

PICKENS ADDRESSES SMITH COLLEGE GROUP

A group of fifty girls and teachers of Smith College, Northampton, Mass., came on April 23 to 69 Fifth avenue to attend an address by William Pickens on the "Economic Motive in Race Problems."

Mr. Pickens explained at length that the basis of oppression is robbery, not race integrity, and the greater the robbery, the faster is the amalgamation process. A subject race will be amalgamated faster than a race that is on terms of legal equality with the dominant race. Equality is the best check on amalgamation between two races that differ. There is no final preventive of amalgamation but respect for the equal rights of the weaker group is the best check on amalgamation."

Birmingham, Ala.,

News

MAR 5 1927

DARROW SOWS SEEDS OF DISCORD

To the Editor The Birmingham News:

I beg the privilege of expressing publicly my surprise and indignation over the speech of Clarence Darrow to the negroes of Baldwin County. If correctly reported by the press, Mr. Darrow is here sowing seeds of discord and hatred in the hearts of the negro toward his best friend, the Southern white man.

Booker Washington, the greatest man of his race, told his people not to aspire to social equality with white people. And now Mr. Darrow comes down at this late day to advise to the contrary. Is there any possible good to be accomplished? He may not know it, but such advice from a man of national reputation may induce a few negroes to commit some act which might cause the death of a few at the hands of a mob and now and then one at the hands of some Southern white man.

It was just such men as Darrow for whom the Ku Klux Klan, led and directed by that great soldier, Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, was organized just after the Civil War.

I am not a Ku Klux, nor do I think there is any special use for such an organization in the South, but if the present organization should invite Mr. Darrow to go north of the Ohio River to preach infidelity and social equality between the negro and white races, I for one will enter no protest.

Mr. Darrow is a great criminal lawyer. He knows that the Constitution of the United States guarantees free speech to every man, and it might be well for him to know that in some cases the Constitution availeth not.

For the people of Fairhope I want to say they are God-loving, law-abiding. A few may believe in the teachings of Tolstoy, but I hardly think there are any who believe in social equality between the races.

T. H. MOLTON.

Fairhope, Ala., March 2.

Birmingham Age-Herald

Advertiser

MAR 3 192

MR. DARROW IS NOT WELCOME WITH HIS EFFORTS TO STIR RACIAL HATE.

In a letter to The Foley Onlooker of February 24 signed by A. L. West, of Fairhope, "and two prominent educators of Baldwin County, who claim to have been present at the Negro Industrial School at Daphne" when Clarence Darrow, who is wintering in Baldwin County, made a speech to the Negroes, he is quoted as saying:

I cant help you, you will have to help yourselves, but I advise always an attitude of defiance toward the white man who calls himself "your friend." How has he manifested that friendship? By hanging and burning you; by making you do his work and use his back door; refusing to let you enter the best hotels and to use the best coach in the train, and by making you sit in the rear of the street car. The only front place the white man has ever given you is in the battle line. There you can stop the bullets, but when you return home you can't use the sidewalks, you have to use the road. What can the colored man do to help himself? I see you pray, but I don't know why. Your God must be a "white" man, considering the way he treats you. No doubt there will be a "Jim Crow" law in your heaven when you get there. You can sing—I heard you sing—"Sweet Land of Liberty," but I don't see how you can. I don't sing it because I know it's not true. But you can work and gain a place for yourself if you can do your work better than the white man. You are being recognized and you have some friends who are not afraid too sit at the table with you. I have done so, and even drak bootleg liquor with you, and in what better way can friendship be manifested?

There is probably no more avid notoriety seeker than this same Darrow; but he is going a bit far when he comes down here and out of his ignorance and desire for the limelight endevors to stir up thouble and ill feeling between the two races.

Darrow simply is shooting off his mouth, and every intelligent Negro knows it. In the first place he is stupidly ignorant of real conditions; in the second, he is hunting notorigiety, and thirdly, he wilfully misstates.

—The Birmingham News.

N. Y. AMERICAN

MAR 14 1927

DARROW'S FOES ASK BAR ACTION

MOBILE, Ala., March 13.—Still smarting from Clarence Darrow's alleged pro-negro lectures, aggrieved citizens are asking the Mobile Bar Association to denounce the eminent barrister as a "falsifier and agitator," and recommend impeachment proceedings to his colleagues in Chicago.

Several hundred signatures were obtained to a petition, accusing Darrow of trying to foment negro uprisings, which is designed to be laid before the Mobile Bar shortly for action. Unsatisfied with merely forcing Darrow to retreat hurriedly to Chattanooga, after the speeches he made nearly provoked a riot a week ago, a grievance committee of pastors, church workers and fundamentalist business men is preparing to harass the noted Freethinker further in his return northward. L. C. Ervine, chairman of the committee, said:

"Darrow made inflammatory speeches at negro schools and then, when he got in trouble, deliberately gave out a false statement denying he had advised the blacks to revolt."

Ervine, real estate operator and hotel owner, is a brother-in-law of Elliott G. Rickarby, president of the Mobile Bar. Members of the committee are obtaining affidavits from persons who heard Darrow speak and declare they will seek to press their charges of "falsification" before the Chicago Bar Association in the form of a resolution, if possible.

Rickarby, however, said he believed the Mobile Bar could not afford to consider the accusations against Darrow and refused to call a special meeting of the body to investigate. He added:

"Darrow made a fool of himself down here, but he didn't violate the ethics of the bar, so we can't do anything about it.

"The speeches he made were contrary to public morals and decency, but if Clarence wants to go around 'shooting off his mouth' it's nobody's business but his."

NEW YORK
SUN and GLOBE
MAY 18 1927

Little Rock Negroes Warned to Leave Town

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., May 18 (A. P.).—The Arkansas *Gazette* said to-day that letters warning them to leave Little Rock had been received by several negro business men. The communications threatened that "the white people" would "kill you out" if the negroes failed to depart. All negroes are undesirable here and the town will "be unhealthy" for them after to-day, the warnings asserted.

The letters were mimeographed on ordinary tablet paper. They were addressed with typewriters.

Little Rock has a negro population running into the thousands.

The killing of several white children here recently, attributed to negroes, has caused authorities to take precautions to prevent serious race riots.

JOURNAL
Corry - Pa.
MAY 9 1927

TRIPLE RACE PROBLEM

A novel feature of the refuge camps established in the flooded areas of the lower Misissippi valley is that in some places there are three separate camps, for white Americans, colored Americans and Mexicans.

Thus the race problem grows more complicated. Instead of a two-fold problem, it is now three-fold.

There are fewer negroes but more Mexicans. As negroes have moved north, Mexicans have poured in and taken their places in the southwest and middle south.

There are said to be from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 Mexicans, of mingled Spanish and Indian blood—the latter predominating—now living in the United States. The line of demarcation between them and the native whites is not so cleancut as between whites and blacks, but is pretty definite in most communities. It brings new social problems that cannot be ignored.

IRONY AS YOU LIKE IT

Neither Anatole France, Samuel Butler, Rose Macauley, Sir Thomas Browne or Dean Swift ever conceived a situation so deliciously ironical as that which recently confronted the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World. The educational committee of this well known Negro fraternal order recently decided to hold a national oratorical contest in Washington, D. C., in the merry month of June. It was to be a "colored," i.e., a segregated on jim-crow contest. The subject of the orations was, and is doubtless yet to be, the Constitution of the United States, the sacred Constitution that vouchsafes the Negro citizen his alleged rights as a human being and a citizen of the Great Republic; the Constitution that gives him the right to vote, the right to pursue life, liberty and happiness. True, there is another national oratorical contest on the Constitution and open to all, regardless of color, class or creed, but our dear brethren wanted a special Negro oratorical contest.

But there must be a place in which to hold such a contest, so the representatives of the order applied for the well-known Washington Auditorium, described by our Washington correspondent as "the only modern and spacious concert and convention hall in the District of Columbia." Twice before the colored brethren had sought to obtain the use of the auditorium, indeed, were willing to pay an exorbitant rental for it. Both times they had been refused solely on the ground of color. It was probably felt that this time since the Negroes were to orate on the glories and sanctity of the Federal Constitution, they would be gladly admitted within the portals of that exclusive auditorium. But alas! Mr. Robert N. Harper, the president of the Washington Auditorium Corporation, could not see eye to eye with the august Elk committee and their special pleaders in the far-famed National Capital. In vain did the colored gentlemen descant on the advantages of the contest to the City of Washington in general and the Washington Auditorium in particular. Our correspondent says: "They cited the significance of the contest. They told him of the numerical and financial strength of the Elks. They impressed him with the patriotic and educational values of the contest. Their representations were underwritten by men high in business and in politics." Mr. Harper continued to shake his head. An F. F. V. from Leesburg, Va., he is also president of the District National Bank, "in which," says our correspondent, "thousands of members of Columbia Lodge and Morning Star Lodge of Elks deposit their money."

While such discrimination because of color is to be deplored and denounced by all lovers of liberty, equality and fairness, the person with a developed sense of humor is struck with the delicious irony of the situation. Here is a group of American citizens holding a special oratorical contest on the Federal Constitution, its advantages, glories and privileges, and they cannot rent a decent place in which to hold it in the capital city of the nation, where resides the government committed to the support and execution of its sacred provisions; in a city, mind you, where one-third of the population is colored; in a city governed by members of Congress; in a city which Prof. Kelly Miller rhapsodically described on one occasion as "NEGRO Heaven." And these colored citizens, spurned and spat upon by Colonel Harper, will continue to bank their money in the financial institution he heads, despite the fact that there is a Negro bank in the city anxious and eager to handle their accounts. One is forcibly reminded of the grim army of starved and exploited workers described by Anatole France in "Penguin Island," who, when the republic is threatened by revolution, march out in solid phalanx to die for its preservation, "though, to be sure," says France, "the republic had done nothing for them."

Men of color may gnash their teeth at this latest manifestation of color prejudice in the Federal capital, but the Gods on Olympus must indeed chuckle over the irony of the situation. It may not be too late for the Elks to change the subject of their oratorical contest from "The Constitution" to "Colorphobia," a subject not so far removed from the daily experience of American Negroes, in Washington as elsewhere.

ANOTHER PLAN FOR SOLVING THE RACE PROBLEM

An arrangement of a speakers bureau whose members would go about the country telling white audiences about the wonderful progress of the Negro race and selling books of Negro literature has been proposed by a young lady who feels that this course would result in increased respect of the white race for the Negro. She has come to this conclusion after experiencing several instances of the complete ignorance of the average member of the other race which would show itself in such a response to Negro messages of progress as are contemplated. Unfortunately it is true also that the average member of the other race feels that he knows all there is to be known about the Negro and it is only a very limited number of those whose vision has become so broadened as to allow them to see that there are larger possibilities for the nation as the capacities of all of its citizens are discovered, who would be interested in such a venture.

It is also true, especially in the section where The Express is now located, that the average member of the other race knows as much, probably more about the Negro than the Negro does about himself and it would appear that this education, like charity, should begin at home. It is not uncommon, rather it is the rule, that the average Negro knows nothing about the great of his race aside from Booker Washington, Dunbar and Douglas. And despite the very often heard argument about the placing of Negro history in Negro schools, there are few educated members of the teaching profession who even own a book of Negro history or realize that the greatest of contribution to the present day civilization has come from black peoples. They have never heard much about Woodson, Brawley, DuBois and other authors of texts on Negro contribution to civilization and they read their own periodicals so carelessly that they know little of the present day accomplishment of their own folks. Interracial meetings have furnished rather ridiculous proof of the truth of this assertion and it is by no means uncommon in the South for the white members of such organizations to give information to Negroes about the progress of their own race. All of such information having come from journals and books by Negro authors. And so, it would seem that any thinking about the education of folks to the facts of Negro progress should begin with the Negro himself. He needs it most badly. And then too, it must be finally borne to the general mass of others by him. Once let the Negro learn of himself and there will be no reason to complain about his transmission of this knowledge to others.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

DR. WILL ALEXANDER, OF ATLANTA, AND THE NEGRO

Dr. Will W. Alexander, Director of the Commission on Interracial Relations, in an address to the N. A. A. C. P. Conference at Indianapolis, touched the high spots in Negro relations. Among the interesting changes he pointed out in the attitude of business leaders of the South toward the Negro is the following:

"The new leaders of industry in the South are hardly conscious of the race question at all," said Dr. Alexander. "To them it is a labor question and an industrial question. They are preoccupied, as the rest of the nation is in making money. With them the hot spot in their thinking is neither the race question, politics or fundamentalism; it is business. They do not get excited over the race problem except as it might affect industry. They are willing to listen with minds opn and go at least as far as the best interests of industry demand.

'The coming of industry and the new economic background is slowly working a change in the political philosophy of the South. Thousands of business men are Republican, nationally, and are yielding to the arguments that make the business section of this country favorable to the Republican party. They no longer respond to the old slogans in local politics. As a rule they are indifferent to local politics but ultimately ths indifference must give way to an intelligent interest based upon what they conceive to be good business policy. This means a profound change in the politics of the South.

"The nation must find some way to deal with the mob and mob violence. The fight is discouraging Aiken was a slipping back on the part of South Caro lina. The guiltiest States are Mississippi and Flor ida, where there is no effective opposition to mob viol ence and Arkansas where there is very little. These States have been the least influenced by the new economic and industrial development. They have particularly large populations of the poor white type. Lynching must be looked upon by the whole nation as so horrible that these indifferent and backward States shall be forced to put an end to it.

"In closing may I say that I am not especially interested in Negroes or the race problem. Something very much larger than this is involved in this situation. It is a question of civilization. Can human beings be civilized and can they learn to meet the situation that they confront by civilized methods and a civilized spirit? That is the great question. The experiment of the human race in civilization is very interesting and important. The outcome of the democratic movement which gave birth to this nation is an important aspect of the experiment n civilization. Twelve million American Negroes and their future are a test as to the outcome of this experiment in democracy and free institutions.

"In spite of handicaps Negroes have made great progress. My presence here tonight is evidence that at least one white man has made progress and I represent a type and that is the only significant thing about my presence.

"At the University of North Carolina last spring the distinguished Executive Secretary of this organization made a very moving statement speaking to a great audience of students and faculty in the chapel of the institution:

" 'Negroes want full participation in American life and they expect to secure it.'

"That last clause has great power in it. If they continue in this intelligent expectation it will probably come, step by step even in the South—certainly in the South if anywhere in the Nation, for the South will go with the Nation."

Dr. Alexander's declaration that he is not especially interested in Negroes or the race problem" is especially significant and attaches far greater weight and influence to what Dr. Alexander says, and to his efforts in behalf of justice to all men than if he posed as a special friend to the race.

No man in the South has done more, is doing more to bridge the chasm between the races than Dr. Will Alexander. The type which he referred to himslf as representing is one of the finest and highest that America has produced. It is that type which is producing a quiet but marked, revolution in the South, encouraging and stimulating its industrial leaders to forget about the race question and to apply their brains and energy towards developing its great industrial resources, putting and keeping its labor at work and through industralism and commercialism secure the passage and enforcement of laws which will give equal and adequate protection to industry and labor which, of necessity, must include Negro labor as well as white.

The N. A. A. C. P. is to be congratulated upon its advance movement in seeking to ally with itself such upstanding men in the South as Dr. Alexander.

Not always are they able, nor would it be wise for them to undertake to go the full length that the N. A. A. C. P. has marked out for itself, but there are fundamentals upon which their aid and active co-operation can always be secured if wanted

TRUTH?

a needed spur, a boon to boost us out of a slough of self-pity, self-praise, self-indulgence and stagnation.

A New Criticism

Mencken brings a new and original criticism. Formerly most criticisms directed at the Afro-American, from within or without the group, has been of two kinds, viz: That directed by prejudiced types such as the late bourbon, fiery southerner, John Temple Graves or by defenders blinded by their sympathies for us to our faults, such as William Dean Howells and Ray Stannard Baker and Prof. DuBois. Mencken has not spared us. He has dilgentlv probed the bleeding wounds of our short-comings that the irritating foreign substances might be plucked out. He leaves the treatment and cure of our ills to our own homeopaths, nature and the patient's own desire to survive the painful ordeals of the very necessary operation.

Being a critic of the newer school of thought, Mencken approaches his subject without bias or prejudice and weighs us in the balances against our own claims and those made for us by our sponsors. He has found us wanting, lacking in many of the essentials and achievements of which we proudly boast with more less bombast.

Do We Agree With Him?

Opinion within the race is very much divided as to his appraisal of our virtues and practical and artistic accomplishments, although all of his facts are axiomatic. This difference of opinion has raised many questions, most vital ones to our future progress and power.

The most important of them may be summarized in the following questionaire:

1. Are the social attentions of the whites toward the New York Negroes temporary and Trantient?

2. Does the acceptance of the Negro socially remove the last ground of complaint against his fate in this country?

3. Have the accomplishments of the American Negro so far been very modest?

3. Is he exposed to the same criteria of judgment that applies to any other race and should he be?

4. Has he failed to utilize to the fullest extent his gifts and opportunities in Music?

5. Is he justified in slighting the Spirituals?

6. Is the work of our novelists, dramatists and poets inferior?

7. Do our publicists make a sorry showing?

8. Has the Negro still a heavy grade ahead of him?

9. Is the Negro preacher being supplanted by the Negro business man?

10. Is the Negro business baron to become the realist, the real and beneficial leader?

These are some of the most important issues Mencken's high-pressure criticisms have developed and emphasized. These questions are of importance and have a direct bearing on our future destinies. What is your opinion?

Hundreds Are Writing In

Hundreds of readers are expressing their opinions on this matter. Their conclusions will appear in the next and subsequent issues of "The Bee." Write yours to-day and send it in.

Mencken has said that, "Hereafter he (the Negro) will have to produce the goods or shut up." The Bee believes that he can and will produce the goods, but constructive criticism will prove a spur. Give us the benefit, then, of your honest criticism of this burning question of the century.

Has Mencken maligned us, or is his criticism a tribute? Have we been CRUCIFIED or glorified? Write in to-day your honest views.

GENERAL WOOD

The death of General Leonard Wood marks the end of a life that was notable in many respects. He is being held up to the world as an example of Anglo-Saxon achievement, and, no doubt, that is one purpose which his record may be made to serve.

He was a man of unusual intellectual endowments and of tireless energy. These qualities, coupled with the fact that he, by some circumstance not known to us, was on intimate terms with three presidents of the United States, account for the rise of a "contract surgeon" in the army to the position of commander of that army and governor-general of our principal insular possession.

Our interest in him is concerned with his views as to the relations that should exist between the white race and the darker races of mankind. One can not read his record in the Philippines, and his reports and messages dealing with conditions there, without realizing that General Wood was thoroughly obsessed with the notion that government is the peculiar mission and function of white men in the world; that the regulation and control of darker men is one of the burdens imposed upon white men as if by divine appointment. In the Philippines he found the Filipino to be intellectual and progressive, but "not ready" for independence, and would not be ready for until some indefinite time in the distant future.

His views in this respect coincide with the views of imperialists the world over. The white world looks askance at the possibility of equality with other races, and is resourceful in the invention of pretexts for withholding from the darker races their claims of national and racial equality. Even the rankest imperialist is haunted with the ever-present specter that some day there is to be a rearrangement of things in this world of ours, and that the scepter will depart from the hands that now grasp it to other hands, whether more worthy or less worthy to hold it.

MENCKEN THE MAGNANIMOUS

NEVER has a more complete and composite photograph of the modern Afro-American been executed, with precise and varying depiction of the subject without retouch or recourse to the artistry of deceptive illusions, than that of the critic, H. L. Mencken in his "The Colored Brother," in a recent issue of The Chicago Sunday Tribune.

By far the most noteworthy of his numerable analytical conclusions therein is his measurement of us by the standards and accomplishments of the modern Anglo-Saxon rather than from the differential of race, opportunities and the respective commensurate years of civilization. His separate deductions all rise from the common basis of equality. It is the common denominator of his reasoning, his first premise, the supplement of his argumentation, the foundation for all his claims. We prate of our equality. He has fairly judged us by our own yardstick, a measure both analagous and appropriate. If we shy at the resultant disparagement or dislike the picture, don't blame it on the light, the lens, the focus, the background, the photographer, for the imperfections are a part of the subject.

The Negro is right in his desire to be judged on his merits and as an American citizen, rather than as a ward, a weakling or a dependent, though he be comparatively dwarfed by comparison with his Caucasian brother.

The criticism mainly emphasizes the fact that the Negro achieves that which he sets out to do, but also calls attention to the fact that he does not do it efficiently, only with a mediocrity born of a desire and too great a haste to do.

"It will be interesting to see what he makes of himself," and "but hereafter he will have to produce the goods or shut up," two striking sentences from the article, show that our case is far from hopeless, and, that the onus of our destiny is now in our own hands and its burden on our own backs.

Upon what we will do with this burden we ourselves have snatched from the white man's back, in addition to the ones we were already over burdened with, rather than what he says we have done with it largely and almost solely depends our salvation in all of the things most vital and necessary to our success.

He points out our sins of omission as well as commission, points out grave faults, marks the danger spots, sets up standards and in all sincerity gives sound, constructive advice. He is clean, crisp, clear, concise, clever. There is nothing of prejudice or bitterness in his thoughts. There is rather the desire to clothe the prodigal brother in the proper habiliments before the slaughter of the fatted calf. The table is set, the chair is placed, the viands are being prepared, but he must needs be groomed a little more before the company he craves and expects to meet arrives to look him over critically and pass formally upon his fitness, since his right has been established to not only take, but retain his place at the table along with his peers.

Mencken hints that we have invaded the dining hall prematurely, that we do not know either what to do with our napkins or our hands; that our clothes are a bit awry, our necks are unscrubbed, our manicure missing, our voices a bit rough and rasping, our shoes not polished and our jewelry cheap and tawdry.

He suggests that we postpone a bit our re-entry until we drop overboard such leaders as we have had and substitute pilots of wealth for pilots of wisdom who have seemingly guided us into the right ports, but in the wrong channels.

There may be good logic in his suggestion. The clergy, the politician, the bard, the gentlemen of the the learned professions have tried their hands. The imperfections of all of them are quite evident. It is but fair that our business men, fast looming to the front in recent years as leaders, be given a chance to display their abilities in influencing our trend if not directing it.

There are many valuable lessons to be learned from Mencken's criticism which is as instructive as it is constructive and sane. There are many silken skeins we might catch and weave in to the fabric of our own future. Yet it is the same old story, twice told tales all in all re-inforcing the fact that there is no Royal road to success, either for an individual or a race. It should stimulate us to greater efforts and a desire to avoid the hazards that we might have escaped. Our future will be secure or insecure, successful or unsuccessful in proportion to the importance and weight we give all honest and constructive criticism. Mencken's should be of real service to us in many ways without adopting it entirely or without careful study and consideration. Any way we can profit by its lessons.

STOP RACE GANG WAR

WHITE YOUTHS MOLEST COLORED, ONE GETS STABBED—WHITES INVADE COLORED DISTRICT AND POLICE ARREST THEM AND DISPERSE CROWD

A disturbance which threatened to develop into a small race gang war near Hancock and Green Sts., Cambridge, Monday night, was quelled by the prompt action of police, who arrested five young men, alleged ringleaders of a gang which had invaded the district to avenge the stabbing Saturday night of one of their friends, James J. Hayes, 17, of 140 Pine street, Cambridge.

Police say Hayes was cut with an ice pick after he and his associates had quarrelled with Colored boys who were driving an ice wagon. Hayes is [illegible] hospital, but is believed to be out of danger.

According to residents of the Hancock and Green street neighborhood, the young men who were arrested last night were members of a large party of white men and boys, all armed with fence pickets, brickbats and clubs, and all apparently bent on wreaking vengeance on the negroes of the section for the injury to Hayes.

An alarm was telephoned to the Central square, Cambridge, police station, and several motor car loads of reserves, in charge of Capt. John J. Canney were sent to the scene of the impending trouble. They arrested the quintet of white boys, and then dispersed the crowd, about 100 persons in all, including both whites and blacks.

They were all booked for disturbing the peace. The police say that this morning they will ask a warrant for the arrest of the Colored boy who is alleged to have done the stabbing.

Race Problem - 1927
United States

Correspondence

That Fifteenth Amendment

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: About two months ago I mailed to every United States Senator a letter asking whether they considered the Fifteenth Amendment ("the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude") less sacred than the Eighteenth; why Congress should appropriate $30,000,000 in one year to enforce the Eighteenth and not one cent to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment; whether they would support legislation to enforce the right of colored citizens to vote. I received in all six replies.

Senator Borah writes that the Fifteenth Amendment cannot be enforced on account of its phrase "by any State," which makes all the difference in the world between it and the Eighteenth Amendment.

Senator Fletcher of Florida writes that no Negro in his State or any other Southern State has ever been denied the right to vote.

The remaining four Senators are just as unequivocal and clear-cut in their views on this national problem.

Newark, N. J., November 14 A. A. GOLDEN

VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.
DEC 12 1927

Views of A Veteran

OUR NEGRO NEIGHBORS

As far back as I can remember, our family numbered colored people among the neighbors. That was before the Civil War, and there were slaves in those days, but also quite a number of "free Negroes," as they were usually called. My intercourse with the slave element was more limited than with the other class, but memory recalls more than one of the former who manifested the qualities of a good neighbor so far as circumstances would admit. There, for example, was "Joe," the sexton (or janitor as we now say) of the Baptist church, who, after ringing the bell for service, would always come down from the gallery, go around with scissors and carefully snuff the candles in the sconces around the church walls, and then go back to toll the bell until time for the service to begin. He was a very respectable and serviceable man, a valued slave of the leading man in that church.

Among the "free" colored men I recall another "Uncle Joe," a skilled worker in wood and iron, who used to manufacture tops on his turning-lathe in season, and sell them to us boys for a small sum. He was pious, industrious, and universally respected by the white people. In a real sense he was a neighbor to members of both races. Then there was "Uncle Jack," a godly man who played the fiddle for the young white people to dance by at night, and kept a decent restaurant in the day time. Another familiar figure was "Isaiah," who led the devotions of a colored congregation on Sunday, and sold ice-cream from his little push-cart along the streets when the heat of summer came. To us children it was a treat to intercept him as his bell tinkled, and purchase the delicious coolness from his cart. He too was a neighbor worthy of esteem and freely receiving it.

Did space permit, this list might be extended to include others, both men and women, slaves as well as free persons, who manifested some of the best traits of neighborliness within the limits which the customs of that era permitted. As I recall those times and the people who lived in them, I am impressed with the fact, that there was a genuine neighborly attachment between the best class of white people and their worthy colored nearby dwellers. It scarcely needs to be said that not all Negroes in those days were regarded as neighbors to white people, for many were unworthy of such consideration. But, then, the colored people had no monopoly of undesirable traits. Some of the white men and women of the community were just as unworthy and as little esteemed. Virtue and vice are not confined to people with dark skins, nor to those of fairer complexion.

During the Civil War, as is well known, many Negro slaves were true to the interests of their masters, protecting the women and children of those who were absent in the army; while the free colored people as a rule were harmless and friendly. The upheaval of emancipation and "reconstruction" upset both races, demanding a radical readjustment in political and domestic life, and many unjust and unwise things were done. Some Negroes made themselves offensive under the leadership of "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags," and some white persons lost their heads, and did regrettable deeds. But as the years have passed by, matters have settled down into grooves, which are not altogether admirable, but which do manifest decided improvement in the relations of the two races toward each other. At the present time, I am quite sure, all intelligent and right-thinking white persons regard the uplift of their colored neighbors with pleasure, and give their respect and good will to all of that race who are trying to live industrious, honest and law-abiding lives. There are those, of course, among the dominant race, who take pleasure in using belittling terms when speaking about Negroes, and who do not hesitate to take advantage of them when opportunity offers. But relatively the number of these is small, and their influence is diminishing. On the other hand, it is evident that public sentiment of the best kind is coming more and more to regard the Negro as a real neighbor, to be respected according to his worth, and not discounted because of his color. As I see it, the future of the colored man is virtually in his own hands, to be made or marred accordingly as he lives worthily as a citizen and a member of the social order.

As to the future, it is certain that the colored people will be more and more the recipients of justice in their relation to the laws and customs of the land. Courts of law will guard the rights of the Negro as impartially as those of the white man, neither shielding him on account of his supposed ignorance nor condemning him because of his sable skin. The abominable custom of lynching is bound to go into the discard under the force of public opinion, operating through the executives of the State and the Nation. Whether the victim of the mob is a white man or a Negro, killing without a fair trial is murder of the vilest kind.

It is also quite certain that municipal authorities are going to give more attention to the housing and sanitation of neighborhoods inhabited chiefly or exclusively by colored people. The contrast between the white people's localities and many of those occupied by Negroes, as to livable conditions, is too apparent to need elaborate description. It is altogether right that evils of this kind should be recognized and corrected as speedily as possible. No family should be doomed to live in mud and filth for the sole reason that they belong to the one race rather than the other. At the same time, it must be remembered that much time is required, and much outlay of money which comes chiefly from white people's pockets, before ideal conditions can be attained. It becomes us of the dominant race to be unselfish and liberal and those of the weaker race to be patient and charitable, with the purpose and the hope of bringing in a new era of mutual understanding and reciprocal help.

As to the social question, that must be left to time and progress for ultimate solution. There are basal instincts in both races to be reckoned with, in addition to other factors. Self-respecting persons desire to preserve racial integrity whether it be white, black, brown or red. But in spite of all obstacles in the way of closer relations between the two races, it is profoundly true that the neighborly spirit can be, and ought to be, cultivated. "Who is my neighbor?" Any person of any race, who needs my friendly ministrations. And a second answer is, my neighbor is the man or woman whose help need in the multiform struggles of life.

J. T. WHITLEY.

ASHVILLE, N. C.
Times
NOV 16 1927

The South, The 15th And 18th Amendments

SENATOR GLASS is legally and morally sound in declaring fallacious The New York World's editorial charging the South with inconsistency in its attitude toward the Fifteenth and Eighteenth Amendments. However, the Senator should have gone further and admitted that there was a time when the South in its suffrage practices nullified the amendment giving the ballot to the Negroes. But it was justifiable nullification, no other remedy at that

time being available for the preservation of white civilization in a region comprising one-third of the United States.

The World's argument has on its face some little plausibility. Southern Prohibitionists ask for respect and obedience to it from other citizens who regard Prohibition as a vicious law. Why has not the minority the same right to nullify the Eighteenth Amendment which the South invoked when it urged a higher than statute law in opposing Negro suffrage in Reconstruction days?

This proposition overlooks the fact that Prohibition, at best or worst, is after all only a method of controlling the liquor problem—and Wets and Drys agree that some control is necessary. Not even Dr. Butler of Columbia, denouncing the Eighteenth Amendment as subversive of good government, asks for its nullification on the grounds that it is destroying the civil liberty guaranteed under the Bill of Rights. He says it should be obeyed.

A truer statement than The World's position is this: The majority of the country approves Prohibition as a method of "social control." The minority holds it to be a wrong method and one that trespasses on the rights of the states to regulate internal affairs, but few Wets assert that the fate of civilization itself in any state is at stake in this issue.

The World's analogy is false, not because there is not, possibly, some shadow of technical inconsistency in the South's position on the two amendments, but because the two amendments are utterly different in the substance of their effect upon the body social and politic.

If it can be shown that Prohibition is producing results anywhere that are comparable to the social and political demoralization that reigned in the South in Reconstruction days, then the Prohibition minority would be justified in nullifying the Eighteenth Amendment if this minority should be as politically helpless as was the South in the years immediately following Appomattox. There are times when human rights take precedence over statute law. That occasion does not exist in the controversy over Prohibition.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald

JUL 23 1927

The Advancing South

BY EDWIN MIMS

Professor of English, Vanderbilt University. © 1927, for The Birmingham Age-Herald by Doubleday, Page & Company. All rights reserved.

GEORGE GORDON CRAWFORD'S attitude to those who wish to investigate conditions in the villages and home is revealed in what he said to a writer for an American magazine: "There are no restrictions. Go right ahead on your investigations. And if you see fit, I would like to know just what you find—it may help to improve conditions." Lest I be accused of overstating the case, I quote the words of Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, third vice-president of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, who made a thorough inspection of the whole system in company with a member of the British Commission in 1918, and gave his impressions as follows:

The work of the Tennessee Company in the Birmingham District is one of the most remarkable contributions to the ultimate solution of the labor problem of which I have knowledge. That problem, as I conceive it, involves no more and no less than the whole question of contentment, or absence of friction, on the part of the employe with any and all conditions giving unnecessary occasion for irritation, discomfort, etc. Now, of all that concerns laborers, there is nothing so vital as the houses in which they live, and the surroundings that go with them, and the conditions of family life that depend upon them. The company has taken hold of this question with a thoroughness rarely met with in this country. Familiar as I am with what has been done by the Krupps at Essen, and by other large employers of labor in Germany, and by a number of large corporations in England, as, for illustration, at Port Sunlight, or at York, I am absolutely satisfied that these efforts are on a distinctly higher plane, and bound, in course of time, to produce more satisfactory and lasting results.

Captain Sand and I were particularly pleased with the high order of intelligence on the part of your welfare workers, including the teachers whom we met and their associates. They reflected a practical idealism and common-sense viewpoint, than which there is nothing of greater importance in efforts of this kind. . . . We were delighted with what is being done for the children, the admirable playgrounds provided for them, the excellent school facilities, the wholesome atmosphere surrounding the schoolhouses, the insistence upon personal hygiene, etc.

What pleased us most, however, was the fact that the Company disregards racial lines and aims in its home and housing provisions to provide the same comforts and surroundings for the negroes as for the whites. The contribution to the so-called race problem may, in the course of years, have a more important influence, in my judgment, that what is being done by Hampton or Tuskegee. After all, there are no impressions more enduring upon the plastic minds of the young than those of early childhood spent amidst pleasing and even impressive home surroundings. Nothing has hindered the negro as much as the deliberate policy on the part of the whites to provide him continuously with housing accommodations frequently unworthy of the name. While some progress has been made from the one-room cabin to one of two or more rooms, the company is the first, to my knowledge, which is providing a real home life on equality with the conditions under which the best white element lives for those of the colored race.

The effect of this work on the Birmingham District and on the state in general is quite as marked as the effect of the material development already noted. Jefferson County voted a three-mill tax in order that the schools might be brought up to the standard set by the company for its employes. Nor are the other features of the program lost on the people of the state. Here in their midst is as enlightened a piece of social work as is being done anywhere in the country. Dr. Noland is now president of the Alabama Medical Association, while his associate, Dr. Walsh, like himself, is regarded as one of the prime movers in a health program that may extend to the backward counties. Of the taxes paid by the company to the state, $850,000 goes into the support of the state school system.

Of the effects on the state and the South of the significant development that has been here outlined, one of the most striking is the part that Mr. Crawford has taken in the development of the Warrior River and the Mobile Harbor. As already suggested, he soon saw that one of the markets of the products of the Birmingham District must be Central and South America, and one of his early triumphs was the chartering of vessels to take 73,000 tons of steel rails to South America. During the war, the Steel Corporation erected a shipbuilding plant in Mobile; naturally the burden fell on the Tennessee Company and its president. On December 29, 1919, a 9,600-ton vessel was launched from the Mobile dock, and others soon followed. The policy had to be abandoned, as the United States does not seem to foster such a policy, but the whole experience left Mr. Crawford still more impressed with the possibility of Mobile as an export place for his products and for those of a whole section.

After nine years' service on the old State Harbor Board, it was not strange that Gov. Brandon should have appointed him chairman of the new State Docks Commission on the Mobile Harbor, made possible by the appropriation of $10,000,000 by the State of Alabama. In justice to his other work, Mr. Crawford could not accept the position, but he told the governor that he could find a better man. With the permission of the governor and the other members of the Harbor Board, he went straight to Kentucky to see General Sibert, a friend of his since the time when General Sibert was the captain of engineers in charge of the Monongahela River improvements with offices at Pittsburgh. General Sibert had retired from the army to spend his last days on a bluegrass farm, but when this opportunity was presented to him by a man who has a genius for discovering and inspiring men, he said, "Well, I have been on a good many jobs; I have helped the country build the Gatun Dam in Panama; I have helped Pennsylvania and other states in connection with work on the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers; I have helped several other states on the Great Lakes; I have done engineering work on the canal, but I have never done anything for my native state, Alabama, and I would like to." The services of General Sibert, with his wide experience, can hardly be measured in dollars and cents, but he accepted the position of chairman of the State Docks Commission, general manager and chief engineer, and the only compensation he asked was a salary about equal to his living expenses. Now he is in Mobile, undertaking what may prove to be one of the largest commercial developments of the Lower South. When the docks are finished, another one of Mr Crawford's well-devised plans will have been realized.

Senator Edge Declares 14th And 15th Amendments Are As Sacred As 18th

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.—(AP)—Commenting today on the New York address of Senator Borah, Republican, Idaho, last night, Senator Edge, Republican, New Jersey, declared he had "no argument whatever" with Borah's contention that the 18th amendment should be enforced or repealed, but added that "it is no more sacred than any other law and should not be in a class by itself."

11-14-27

Senator Borah's statement that "there is no reason in the world why, if a party intends to enforce the 18th amendment, it should not say so," drew this reply from Senator Edge:

"Why confine a platform pledge to protection of the sanctity of the constitution and compel law enforcement of the 18th amendment and the Volstead Act? Doesn't the same argument apply to all law violation and, especially from a constitutional standpoint, equally to the 14th and 15th amendments? Surely Senator Borah will admit there is no constitutional guarantee more sacred than the privilege of voting?"

Recalling that the Supreme Court recently declared unconstitutional a Texas law prohibiting negroes from voting in primary elections, Senator Edge said:

"I assume no one would defend violation of any law or constitutional mandate, but if the national political platforms are to specify any particular statute because it is not generally respected, then in all consistency they must go much further than the 18th amendment or the Volstead Act, particularly as thousands of representative citizens unhe[...] tend the latter prohibit[...] 18th amendment itself perm[...]

time being available for the preservation of white civilization in a region comprising one-third of the United States.

The World's argument has on its face some little plausibility. Southern Prohibitionists ask for respect and obedience to it from other citizens who regard Prohibition as a vicious law. Why has not the minority the same right to nullify the Eighteenth Amendment which the South invoked when it urged a higher than statute law in opposing Negro suffrage in Reconstruction days?

This proposition overlooks the fact that Prohibition, at best or worst, is after all only a method of controlling the liquor problem—and Wets and Drys agree that some control is necessary. Not even Dr. Butler of Columbia, denouncing the Eighteenth Amendment as subversive of good government, asks for its nullification on the grounds that it is destroying the civil liberty guaranteed under the Bill of Rights. He says it should be obeyed.

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The Advancing South

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The effect of this work on the Birmingham District and on the state in general is quite as marked as the effect of the material development already noted. Jefferson County voted a three-mill tax in order that the schools might be brought up to the standard set by the company for its employes. Nor are the other features of the program lost on the people of the state. Here in their midst is as enlightened a piece of social work as is being done anywhere in the country. Dr. Noland is now president of the Alabama Medical Association, while his associate, Dr. Walsh, like himself, is regarded as one of the prime movers in a health program that may extend to the backward counties. Of the taxes paid by the company to the state, $850,000 goes into the support of the state school system.

Of the effects on the state and the South of the significant development that has been here outlined, one of the most striking is the part that Mr. Crawford has taken in the development of the Warrior River and the Mobile Harbor. As already suggested, he soon saw that one of the markets of the products of the Birmingham District must be Central and South America, and one of his early triumphs was the chartering of vessels to take 73,000 tons of steel rails to South America. During the war, the Steel Corporation erected a shipbuilding plant in Mobile; naturally the burden fell on the Tennessee Company and its president. On December 29, 1919, a 9,600-ton vessel was launched from the Mobile dock, and others soon followed. The policy had to be abandoned, as the United States does not seem to foster such a policy, but the whole experience left Mr. Crawford still more impressed with the possibility of Mobile as an export place for his products and for those of a whole section.

After nine years' service on the old State Harbor Board, it was not strange that Gov. Brandon should have appointed him chairman of the new State Docks Commission on the Mobile Harbor, made possible by the appropriation of $10,000,000 by the State of Alabama. In justice to his other work, Mr. Crawford could not accept the position, but he told the governor that he could find a better man. With the permission of the governor and the other members of the Harbor Board, he went straight to Kentucky to see General Sibert, a friend of his since the time when General Sibert was the captain of engineers in charge of the Monongahela River improvements with offices at Pittsburgh. General Sibert had retired from the army to spend his last days on a blue-grass farm, but when this opportunity was presented to him by a man who has a genius for discovering and inspiring men, he said, "Well, I have been on a good many jobs; I have helped the country build the Gatun Dam in Panama; I have helped Pennsylvania and other states in connection with work on the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers; I have helped several other states on the Great Lakes; I have done engineering work on the canal, but I have never done anything for my native state, Alabama, and I would like to." The services of General Sibert, with his wide experience, can hardly be measured in dollars and cents, but he accepted the position of chairman of the State Docks Commission, general manager and chief engineer, and the only compensation he asked was a salary about equal to his living expenses. Now he is in Mobile, undertaking what may prove to be one of the largest commercial developments of the Lower South. When the docks are finished, another one of Mr Crawford's well-devised plans will have been realized.

Senator Edge Declares 14th And 15th Amendments Are As Sacred As 18th

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.—(AP)—Commenting today on the New York address of Senator Borah, Republican, Idaho, last night, Senator Edge, Republican, New Jersey, declared he had "no argument whatever" with Borah's contention that the 18th amendment should be enforced or repealed, but added that "it is no more sacred than any other law and should not be in a class by itself."

Senator Borah's statement that "there is no reason in the world why, if a party intends to enforce the 18th amendment, it should not say so," drew this reply from Senator Edge:

"Why confine a platform pledge to protection of the sanctity of the constitution and compel law enforcement of the 18th amendment and the Volstead Act? Doesn't the same argument apply to all law violation and, especially from a constitutional standpoint, equally to the 14th and 15th amendments? Surely Senator Borah will admit there is no constitutional guarantee more sacred than the privilege of voting?"

Recalling that the Supreme Court recently declared unconstitutional a Texas law prohibiting negroes from voting in primary elections, Senator Edge said:

"I assume no one would defend violation of any law or constitutional mandate, but if the national political platforms are to specify any particular statute because it is not generally respected, then in all consistency they must go much further than the 18th amendment or the Volstead Act, particularly as thousands of rather representative citizens unhesitatingly contend the latter prohibits liberties the 18th amendment itself permits."

Race Problem- 1927

United States.

LOCAL "THROW 'EM OUT" STORE!

According to information imparted to The Informer, all the employes, except one, of a certain local colored concern are slated to be "thrown out" of a certain local white mercantile store, in the event any of these black Houstonians enter this store to purchase an article or commodity.

If The Informer is not in error, it appears to us that this same "throw 'em out" store, one of whose directing heads made the statement anent the rather hostile reception which awaits this particular group of black citizens, was frantically striving some time back to interest some of these same colored citizens in acquiring some of its stock.

Every time the door of this particular colored concern opened a stock-selling representative from this "throw 'em out" store was seeking entrance and vainly endeavoring to elicit the financial and moral support of these colored citizens, who are not wanted nor desired in this store now since a few local Negroes fell for this salesman's pleasing palaver and invested some of their money in this white store.

Of course, the editor of The Informer did not purchase any of the stock, for he feared the "gift-bearing Greeks"; and already it appears as if his fear and suspicion were well founded.

Furthermore, word has been conveyed to the editor of The Informer that this same "throw 'em out" store will not advertise in this paper any more, as if said "throw 'em out" store's refusal or failure to advertise in the columns of The Informer will bankrupt the paper, or force it out of business!

In looking over our advertising records we discovered that this same "throw 'em out" store, whose slogan a few months ago was "sell 'em stock" and "invite 'em in," has not inserted six ads in The Informer during the entire career of this newspaper; and that the first of this brief series of advertisements did not appear in The Informer until the stock-selling campaign was launched here by this "throw 'em out" white mercantile establishment among the Negro citizenry.

As to the advertisements of this local "throw 'em out" white store, it was apparent at the time the ads were inserted in The Informer that they were merely being placed for strategic reasons—not because this store desired to advertise in a Negro newspaper, but rather due to the fact that this was somewhat of a novel and shrewd stroke to interest Negroes in buying stock in this anti-Negro concern.

As a matter of fact, the present "throw 'em out" policy of this local white store is not surprising to The Informer (even though a few local Negroes are reported to have purchased some of the stock placed on the local market); for the policy of this white mercantile institution has been rather hostile to blacks since the early days of the klan, when the manager had a colored woman ejected simply because she endeavored to witness an exhibit on one of the floors of the store.

The Informer wonders how these local colored stockholders feel now, with this "throw 'em out" edict being issued by one of the directing heads of "their" store!

In this connection, it will also be interesting to note what reaction this threat of violence upon certain colored citizens and customers of this "throw 'em out" store, will have upon the Negro patrons of this local white mercantile establishment!

NEGRO MUST BECOME PRODUCER AS WELL AS CONSUMER, EDUCATED, CONSECRATED AND RECOGNIZE POWER OF BALLOT

By WILLIAM H. FERRIS, A. M.

Dr. T. S. Harten

At an early hour Sunday morning, October 30, throngs were wending their way to the Holy Trinity Baptist Church, of which Rev. Dr. Harten is pastor. Dr. Harten hadn't preached for a few Sundays, and the people were clamoring to hear him. The church was crowded to capacity with both white and colored and many were turned away.

Dr. Harten is one of the greatest crowd-getters of today. He is known from the Atlantic to the Pacific; has the ear of both white and colored people; is a staunch race man, courageous and bold; has the courage of his convictions and is fearless in his stand for the rights of the race. He is a man who is active in politics, has had many opportunities, but has never sold out. He believes in the rights of his race, stands for and fights for the same.

With the church filled to capacity, many standing in the aisles, up and down stairs, Dr. Harten ascended the pulpit and preached with profound logic, doctrinal philosophy, and all that goes with it. He spoke on "The Wisdom of Solomon." In the introduction Dr. Harten stated that if God calls a man to perform a task he cannot fail.

Consecration and Education.

Dr. Harten said: "There is a group of people nowadays who are over-estimating education, I stand second to none in fostering education; but education without consecration will not put the Christian program over. While we need an educated ministry, we also need a consecrated ministry; just as we need an educated pew, we need a consecrated pew. Egypt was the cradle of science and art; she gave birth to civilization. Greece summed up the world's philosophy. Rome was the greatest organized force in the ancient world, and yet these nations forgot God and lost their prestige and power.

The World War shows what education divorced from consecration will accomplish. It was educated men who designed the dreadnoughts, submarines, poison gases and T N T in the recent World War.

Some denounce those who are loyal to the church, but it is better to be a slave to the church than a slave to the world, the flesh and the devil. But while a follower of Christ, I am not one of those who believe a man can live on earth and board in Heaven."

Politics and Journalism.

After the sermon Dr. Harten introduced Dr. Edna C. Robinson, a dentist of Cambridge, Mass.; Prof. C. F. Graves of Roanoke Institute, Elizabeth City, N. C., Justice Lawrence C. Fish of the Municipal Court and Mrs. Fish. This gave Dr. Harten an opportunity to touch on current topics.

In introducing Judge Fish, Dr. Harten said: "If there ever was a time when our group should be careful of whom they elect to office it is now; we should consider carefully men and measures as well as the party label. Southern prejudice, under the supervision of the Ku Klux Klan, has crept into the North and is seeking to influence judges, senators and governors.

Then in ringing tones, Dr. Harten cried out, "Our race will never come into its own until it becomes educated, consecrated, recognizes the power of the ballot, becomes a producer as well as a consumer, supports Negro enterprises and opens avenues for our boys and girls who are coming out of school."

Dr. Harten emphasized the power of the ballot and urged the importance of reading colored newspapers, to learn of the progress and achievements of the race.

It is constant habit for Dr. Harten to take from five to ten minutes before or after his sermon, in stressing the power and importance of the Negro press. Dr. Harten is not only a drawing card and a sensational preacher, but he is also a thoughtful preacher. He trains his people to think. Dr. Harten has been classed by the ablest theologians of both races as one of the greatest preachers in the country.

Judge Fish said: "Dr. Harten possesses a natural gift of leadership, born of personality that commands respect." He commended the people for supporting Dr. Harten and said: "It is marvelous."

SEX EQUALITY IS ABSENT IN MANY STATES

Legal Disabilities Of Whites Make Them Understand Burdens of Race Women

MD. LAW REGARDS FATHER AS BOSS

At Death He May Appoint Guardian Other Than His Wife For Their Children

By Mary Church Terrell

The discrimination and disabilities set up against white women make them understand what Negro citizens are up against, according to Mrs. Burnita

Matthews, White, Legal Advisor to the National Women's Party.

At a meeting held in Washington last week, Mrs. Matthews pointed out the legal barriers still existing between women and the citizenship rights they are still fighting for. Although coming from Texas, she speaks right out against racial or any other kind of discrimination.

When she was president of the D. C. Bar Association some time ago, they wanted her to sign a bill calling for three "white" judges of the Municipal Court. This she refused to do because, as she said, she did not think it was right to exclude colored men from such a position. She recalled that her first case as a D. C. lawyer was before the late Judge Robert Terrell.

Still Bar Women

The laws of many states still bar women some of the rights accorded men, she pointed out. Right here in the District of Columbia, for instance, a father inherits to the exclusion of the mother. A concrete illustration of the injustice of this law is well illustrated by a case which happened a few years ago in West Virginia.

A father deserted his wife and little son, who was about six years old at the time. The mother had to work hard to support herself and child till he reached manhood. Then he secured a good position as telegraph operator at a railroad station. One night he stepped in front of one train while he was trying to avoid another and was killed. He was about twenty-seven years old then and unmarried. But he had saved enough money to buy himsely and his mother a nice little home.

When he was dead and buried, the father who had done nothing for his boy stepped in, claimed the property as the rightful heir and got it. The members of the League realized for the first time in their lives that any mother in the District of Columbia would suffer the same fate, if her son or daughter should pass away without leaving a will.

In Maryland

But our next door neighbor, Maryland, has a law which is just as bad, if not worse, than the one mentioned above. For in that State a father can actually will away his children from their mother. If, for instance, he has left her and wishes to spite her, he can appoint by will a guardian for his children other than the mother and in spite of the mother's opposition. It is therefore possible for a father in Maryland to day, just as in ancient times, by his will to tear young children from their mother's care and to hand them over to a stranger, or to some one whom the mother thinks entirely unsuited to bring up the child. Thus, one of the most unjust and cruel features of the common law of olden times still remains in a State which is next to the Capital of a Republic which is supposed to be more advanced, more liberal and juster in its treatment of women than any other in the world.

Father Guardian

In Rhode Island also the father is the sole natural guardian of his children. He can take the earnings of his children, while the mother is powerless to prevent it, no matter how much she would like to do so.

In some States there are public offices which a woman may not hold. For instance a woman could not be Governor, Lieut. Governor or Attorney General and she could not even be State Superintendent of education when the duty of educating the children of this country is placed to a large extent in the hands of women.

Ma Ferguson

An amusing thing happened when "Ma Ferguson" was elected governor of Texas. She had to petition the legislature for the removal of her disability as a woman, so that none of her acts or contracts as governor of the State could be called into question. In many of the States married women are limited in their capacity to make certain contracts.

For that matter, the United States Civil Service Bureau discriminates against women. Not long ago an examination was held to select a trained nurse for the Panama Canal Zone. The men were offered $125 per month, while the women were offered only $100. So that's the way it goes in this country, where women are concerned.

Twice As Many Burdens

For that reason it would be natural for the white women of the country to understand what colored women are up against, when they try to reach a certain goal. They know what it means to be unable to succeeed, not because they lack the ability or the industry to achieve success in a certain profession or pursuit, but solely because they are women. And it would be natural also for them to have a bit of sympathy with their dark-skinned sisters, who are discriminated against, not only because of their sex, but on account of their race as well. In other words a colored woman in the United States has just twice as many burdens to carry as a white woman and they are twice as heavy, too.

Well, some white women do understand the huge obstacles which block a colored woman's path to success, **and they wish they could help to remove them.**

SOUTHERNER ATTACKS RACE PREJUDICE

New York, Nov. 4th—The National Associatio nfor the Advancement of Colored People calls attention to an article in the November issue of the Magazine "Plain Talk" by Howard Snyder a white man living in Mississippi, under the title "The South Bungless the Negro Problem." Mr. Snyder declares that one of the greatest injuries the South does he Negro is to see him as a class and not as an individual.

"Let an individual in the South have but a sixteenth or thirty-second part of Negro blood in his veins," writes Mr. Snyder, "and it matters not how straight his hair, how clear his skin, how clean his morals, how brilliant his intellect—he is nevertheless to the Southern public just a 'nigger', and on the same level with the half-civilized brute who beats his women and beasts of twenty illegitimate children.

Mr. Snyder exposes the falsity of the notion that the South can prosper by "holding the Negro down" and writes: "Until the white man leads his hand in the uplift af the Negro there is little hope of a better South for many a day to come. That the Negro is capable oof a higher degree of training for skilled trades is known to many; that he is also capable of the same higher education and culture that the white man enjoys is known to a few."

The plantation system encourages shiftlessness, declares Mr. Snyder, as it robs the soil and degrades the laborer. He says: "Surely it is high time the Southerner awoke to the fact that not through antagonism, but through cooperation will he secure the desired results financially, socially, and morally."

MINOR URGES RACES TO LIVE, FIGHT TOGETHER

Tells Forum That Two Groups Must Eat, Dance, And Associate Together

H. U. PROFESSOR IS NEXT SPEAKER

Abram L. Harris Expected To Lecture To Interracial Group

"The white working class in America must wipe out all distinctions between itself and the Negro workers if it is to succeed in its fight and groups that do not eat, dance, associate and live together will not, and can not, fight together," declared Robert Minor, assistant editor of the Daily Worker, in his talk before the Interracial Workers Forum on Sunday afternoon.

"The history of this country has been woven around the race issue since the first slave ship landed at Jamestown and it will be more closely woven around this problem in the future," the speaker told an audience composed largely of whites that filled the auditorium of Carpenter's Hall, Eutaw street. "The rising tide of color is but another name for the rising tide of exploited labor."

Mr. Minor came to Baltimore to address the first meeting of the Interracial Forum which is a combination of the Young Workers Forum (white) and the Sunday Afternoon Forum, both of which operated last season. He showed a wide knowledge of Negro history and was familiar with the various Negro movements, each of which he characterized during his speech. In referring to the Garvey movement he said: "Here was a movement that gave promise or doing more to unite the masses of the Negro than any thing that had gone before. But Garvey began to play for white aid and they merely aided him to Atlanta. His movement has become a way to an easy livelihood for a few instead of the dynamic thing it ought to have been."

Garvey Framed

"I believe," said Minor, "that Garvey was framed to be sent to prison but he had already forfeited his right to leadership when he advocated taking the Negro to Africa and leaving America to the white man. America is as much the Negro's as it is anybody else's."

The speaker also treated of the Negro's political history. "When Frederick Douglass, Maryland's greatest son, said 'the Republican party is the ship, all else is the sea' he was right for that day and time. But that day has passed." Mr. Minor asserted that either of the two major parties, if they wished, could wipe out the various forms of segregation and disfranchisements tomorrow. But the ruling classes do not wish to do this, according to the speaker. "The owners of the steel trust could have prevented the setting up of a separate school in Gary but instead they permit. In fact, I will wager you, they will give hundreds of dollars to aid in establishing a school that will discriminate between the workers in their own mills."

Harris Next Speaker

In the discussion that followed Mrs. Mabel Chew, Marvin B. Eckford, Aaron Dally and others took prominent parts. R. Maurice Moss presided. Next Sunday's speaker was announced as Abram L. Harris, professor of sociology at Howard University. The Forum is open to the public. It is held each Sunday afternoon at 6 o'clock at Carpenter's Hall, 709 Eutaw street.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.
SEP 25 1927

The Negro And His Misleaders

By H. L. MENCKEN

Some time ago I permitted myself the observation that the Afro-American, despite his rapid and laudable emergence from neglect and oppression among us, had yet to do anything, as an artist, of serious importance. A roar naturally followed, and I was at once bombarded with proofs of his high attainments. These proofs I have now examined patiently and at great length. They induce me to modify my doctrine in only one particular. When I said that no colored composer had ever done anything to dignify and develop the music of his race I forgot Prof. R. Nathaniel Dett, of the great Afro-American house of learning at Hampton, Va. I should have remembered Dr. Dett's anthem, "Listen to the Lambs," a genuinely original and moving piece of work. He has done other anthems and motets, but, that, I think, is his best. It is dated 1914.

But Dr. Dett remains almost sui generis. The other colored composers have done a great deal to popularize the music of their race, but they have done very little to develop it. It remains, in their hands, simple folksong. It is not Negroes, but Jews, who have turned it to more ambitious uses. In much the same way it is white novelists and dramatists, and not Negroes, who have best utilized the Negro as a dramatic figure. The imaginative authors of the race all seem to be hampered by a propaganda purpose. They are so intent upon depicting the Negro as the hero of a moral melodrama that they fail to show him as a human being. This fault is spread all over the work of such men as Walter F. White; it tends to conceal their very real talents. White's hero, in "The Fire in the Flint," perhaps the most successful Negro novel yet written, is a symbol rather than a man. One longs for him to do something weak and human. If he broke into a hoedown now and then he would be greatly improved. And it would be a relief to see him sit down to a hearty meal of Virginia ham, chitlings, cabbage sprouts, hominy-cakes and corn pone, with a beaker of country buttermilk to wash it down.

As I have said, my late animadversions brought forth protest, but it should be added that they also got some support. The Negroes, despite their generally solemn and humorless mien, do not lack critics of their own race, and some of those critics, notably George S. Schuyler, of the Pittsburgh Courier, are extremely realistic. It is their aim to break up the self-satisfaction which now afflicts the race, not only in the esthetic department, but all along the line. They are tartly critical of the Negro Babbitt and they are by no means blind to the excessive faults of the dark holy clerk, or colored pastor.

This worthy man, it seems to me, is now the most dangerous enemy, at least within their own ranks, that the colored brethren have to face. He is, in the main, magnificently uneducated and mixed with his somewhat theatrical piety there is a large adulteration of bald self-seeking. The kind of religion he preaches was exactly suited to the needs of the Negroes while they remained slaves, and perhaps it was also of some use to them during the first 50 years of freedom, but today it falls far behind their aspirations. Its aim seems to be to stir up the emotions, and its effects are indistinguishable from those of the frantic whooping of such political evangelists as Marcus Garvey.

Worse, its upkeep is very expensive. The Negroes everywhere have too many churches, and keep themselves poor supporting them. In my own town of Baltimore, when the late war gave them ready money, they wasted most of it buying abandoned white churches. The higher the steeple the more they were willing to pay for it. As a result they were stripped bare and led into debt, and a bit later on, when a chance offered to set up a badly needed hospital for their people, they had a hard time raising the money. Much the same thing happened in other towns. In proportion to their incomes the Negroes probably spend more money upon religious enterprises than any other group among us, and a great deal of what is left is wasted upon tinpot fraternal orders.

This habit not only dissipates their money; it also exposes them to imprudent and disastrous leadership. The Negroes of America, despite the great prgoress that they have made of late yea still face very serious difficulties, and need enlightened and sagacious leaders. But nearly everywhere the men who might develop into such leaders are held in suspicion, and the masses of the blacks follow mountebanks, clerical and lay. Some of the colored clergy, to be sure, are men of sense, but not many. The average is an ignoramus. The theology that he trumpets comes out of the swamps of Mississippi, and his personal culture remains on a pork-chop level. It is seldom that he enjoys the respect of the neighboring whites. They see few signs of intelligence in him, and very often they have serious doubts of his integrity.

The lay readers of the average Negro community are almost as bad. They are, as a rule, not the principal professional and business men of the race, but the principal Elks, Odd Fellows and Nazarene Fishermen. The lower classes of blacks, like the lower classes of whites, greatly delight in gaudy ceremonials, and any man who appears among them wearing a sword and a plume is pretty sure to be admired. The fact opens the way for the profitable functioning of a vast horde of pompous charlatans, who consume the money of the race and dissipate its energies upon simian buffooneries. Debauched by such zanies, its members neglect those leaders who seek to improve its economic status, and, in particular, to organize its workers and deliver them from the exploitation to which they are now exposed.

What the support of their grotesque fraternal orders costs the Negroes of the United States annually I don't know, but the total must be immense. They get nothing out of the expenditure, not even rational amusement. The money goes mainly to sharp fellows who live by making monkeys of the ignorant. The rest, in large part, is expended upon insurance schemes that are badly organized, and frequently come to grief.

Hitherto its natural leaders have been so busy trying to get rid of its disabilities that they have had no time to give attention to its defects. Such men as Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Dr. Kelly Miller, James Welden Johnson, William Pickens and Maj. Robert R. Moton have fought a magnificent fight, and many of the goals they have sought are now won. The position of the American Negro is obviously better today than it was 20 years ago, or even 10 years ago. Many of the doors that used to be closed to him are now open. When he shows ability it is quickly recognized. And very often he shows it, not only in the arts, but also in business.

What the race now needs is a realistic stock-taking, an unsentimental self-analysis. It is still handicapped by folkways that are archaic and barbarous. It needs to reorganize its religious ideas, to get rid of its lingering childishness, and, above all, to deliver itself from the exploitation of frauds and mountebanks. Garvey is now pining in the Federal hoosegow at Atlanta, but multitudes of lesser Garveys, clerical and lay, yet operate upon the black proletariat. If they are ever disposed of, it will have to be by a critical movement within the race itself. Fortunately, such a movement seems to be taking shape. Led by the Schuyler aforesaid, a number of young colored intellectuals address themselves to flaying the follies of their people. They are no more popular than a Dr. John R. Neal is popular in Tennessee, but the bellowing against them does not seem to dismay them.

In the long run, I believe, they will be heard. For what they say can not be dismissed as the slanders of alien witnesses, as the present mild remarks, no doubt, will be dismissed. They are as self-consciously colored men as Garvey himself. The difference is that they are not trying to sell something, and that they have a civilized respect for cold facts.

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N. Y. WORLD
SEP 25 1927

Hiring a Hall

Mencken Modifies Opinion of The Negro in One Particular

By H. L. Mencken

SOME time ago, writing in this place, I permitted myself the observation that the Afro-American, despite his rapid and laudable emergence from neglect and oppression among us, had yet to do anything, as an artist, of serious importance. A roar naturally followed, and I was at once bombarded with proofs of his high attainments. These proofs I have now examined patiently and at great length. They induce me to modify my doctrine in only one particular. When I said that no colored composer had ever done anything to dignify and develop the music of his race, I forgot Prof. R. Nathaniel Dett of the great Afro-American house of learning at Hampton, Va. I should have remembered Dr. Dett's anthem, "Listen to the Lambs!" a genuinely original and moving piece of work. He has done other anthems and motets, but that, I think, is his best. It is dated 1914.

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By H. L. MENCKEN

Some time ago I permitted myself the observation that the Afro-American, despite his rapid and laudable emergence from neglect and oppression among us, had yet to do anything, as an artist, of serious importance. A roar naturally followed, and I was at once bombarded with proofs of his high attainments. These proofs I have now examined patiently and at great length. They induce me to modify my doctrine in only one particular. When I said that no colored composer had ever done anything to dignify and develop the music of his race I forgot Prof. R. Nathaniel Dett, of the great Afro-American house of learning at Hampton, Va. I should have remembered Dr. Dett's anthem, "Listen to the Lambs," a genuinely original and moving piece of work. He has done other anthems and motets, but, that, I think, is his best. It is dated 1914.

But Dr. Dett remains almost sui generis. The other colored composers have done a great deal to popularize the music of their race, but they have done very little to develop it. It remains, in their hands, simple folksong. It is not Negroes, but Jews, who have turned it to more ambitious uses. In much the same way it is white novelists and dramatists, and not Negroes, who have best utilized the Negro as a dramatic figure. The imaginative authors of the race all seem to be hampered by a propaganda purpose. They are so intent upon depicting the Negro as the hero of a moral melodrama that they fail to show him as a human being. This fault is spread all over the work of such men as Walter F. White; it tends to conceal their very real talents. White's hero, in "The Fire in the Flint," perhaps the most successful Negro novel yet written, is a symbol rather than a man. One longs for him to do something weak and human. If he broke into a hoedown now and then he would be greatly improved. And it would be a relief to see him sit down to a hearty meal of Virginia ham, chitlings, cabbage sprouts, hominy-cakes and corn pone, with a beaker of country buttermilk to wash it down.

As I have said, my late animadversions brought forth protest, but it should be added that they also got some support. The Negroes, despite their generally solemn and humorless mien, do not lack critics of their own race, and some of those critics, notably George S. Schuyler, of the Pittsburgh Courier, are extremely realistic. It is their aim to break up the self-satisfaction which now afflicts the race, not only in the esthetic department, but all along the line. They are tartly critical of the Negro Babbitt and they are by no means blind to the excessive faults of the dark holy clerk, or colored pastor.

This worthy man, it seems to me, is now the most dangerous enemy, at least within their own ranks, that the colored brethren have to face. He is, in the main, magnificently uneducated, and mixed with his somewhat theatrical piety there is a large adulteration of bald self-seeking. The kind of religion he preaches was exactly suited to the needs of the Negroes while they remained slaves, and perhaps it was also of some use to them during the first 50 years of freedom, but today it falls far behind their aspirations. Its aim seems to be to stir up the emotions, and its effects are indistinguishable from those of the frantic whooping of such political evangelists as Marcus Garvey.

Worse, its upkeep is very expensive. The Negroes everywhere have too many churches, and keep themselves poor supporting them. In my own town of Baltimore, when the late war gave them ready money, they wasted most of it buying abandoned white churches. The higher the steeple the more they were willing to pay for it. As a result they were stripped bare and led into debt, and a bit later on, when a chance offered to set up a badly needed hospital for their people, they had a hard time raising the money. Much the same thing happened in other towns. In proportion to their incomes the Negroes probably spend more money upon religious enterprises than any other group among us, and a great deal of what is left is wasted upon tinpot fraternal orders.

This habit not only dissipates their money; it also exposes them to imprudent and disastrous leadership. The Negroes of America, despite the great prgoress that they have made of late yea still face very serious difficulties, and need enlightened and sagacious leaders. But nearly everywhere the men who might develop into such leaders are held in suspicion, and the masses of the blacks follow mountebanks, clerical and lay. Some of the colored clergy, to be sure, are men of sense, but not many. The average is an ignoramus. The theology that he trumpets comes out of the swamps of Mississippi, and his personal culture remains on a pork-chop level. It is seldom that he enjoys the respect of the neighboring whites. They see few signs of intelligence in him, and very often they have serious doubts of his integrity.

The lay readers of the average Negro community are almost as bad. They are, as a rule, not the principal professional and business men of the race, but the principal Elks, Odd Fellows and Nazarene Fishermen. The lower classes of blacks, like the lower classes of whites, greatly delight in gaudy ceremonials, and any man who appears among them wearing a sword and a plume is pretty sure to be admired. The fact opens the way for the profitable functioning of a vast horde of pompous charlatans, who consume the money of the race and dissipate its energies upon simian buffooneries. Debauched by such zanies, its members neglect those leaders who seek to improve its economic status, and, in particular, to organize its workers and deliver them from the exploitation to which they are now exposed.

What the support of their grotesque fraternal orders costs the Negroes of the United States annually I don't know, but the total must be immense. They get nothing out of the expenditure, not even rational amusement. The money goes mainly to sharp fellows who live by making monkeys of the ignorant. The rest, in large part, is expended upon insurance schemes that are badly organized, and frequently come to grief.

Hitherto its natural leaders have been so busy trying to get rid of its disabilities that they have had no time to give attention to its defects. Such men as Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Dr. Kelly Miller, James Welden Johnson, William Pickens and Maj. Robert R. Moton have fought a magnificent fight, and many of the goals they have sought are now won. The position of the American Negro is obviously better today than it was 20 years ago, or even 10 years ago. Many of the doors that used to be closed to him are now open. When he shows ability it is quickly recognized. And very often he shows it, not only in the arts, but also in business.

What the race now needs is a realistic stock-taking, an unsentimental self-analysis. It is still handicapped by folkways that are archaic and barbarous. It needs to reorganize its religious ideas, to get rid of its lingering childishness, and, above all, to deliver itself from the exploitation of frauds and mountebanks. Garvey is now pining in the Federal hoosegow at Atlanta, but multitudes of lesser Garveys, clerical and lay, yet operate upon the black proletariat. If they are ever disposed of, it will have to be by a critical movement within the race itself. Fortunately, such a movement seems to be taking shape. Led by the Schuyler aforesaid, a number of young colored intellectuals address themselves to flaying the follies of their people. They are no more popular than a Dr. John R. Neal is popular in Tennessee, but the bellowing against them does not seem to dismay them.

In the long run, I believe, they will be heard. For what they say can not be dismissed as the slanders of alien witnesses, as the present mild remarks, no doubt, will be dismissed. They are as self-consciously colored men as Garvey himself. The difference is that they are not trying to sell something, and that they have a civilized respect for cold facts.

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Hiring a Hall

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Race Problem - 1927

United States.
VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.
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MENCKEN MENTIONS THE NEGRO

By KELLY MILLER

Hampton, Va., Oct. 3—The Musica rt Society of Hampton Institute has number of unusual treats in store r the students and friends of the hool. The list of attractions is one the most exceptional in the history of the organization which has one so much for musical culture in idewater.

A dramatization with music of urn's famous poem "The Cotter's aturday night," opens the series onday evening, October 17th, at ght fifteen. This will be followed n October 25th by the "Beggars pera," produced by the same Engsh company that is now playing in ew York City. On December 10th umperdincks "Hans and Gretel" wil e given by an American opera comany. Other later attractions sched led are the Russian Cossack Chorus return engagement of Max emfl iolinist, and a Broadway play, "The eturn of Peter Grim" by the Theare Guild.

It is hoped to have Mrs. Nell Hunor as soloist on the Christmas proram, and there will be the usua hoir and glee club concerts. Admission either to single concerts o o the whole series is by invitatio nly; obtainable from the principa r other officers of the Institute.

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pretty baby girl.

Dr. C. C. Boone delivered an ex allent sermon at Centralia Baptis hurch on the third Sunday. Dr oone is a missionary and has spen 5 years on the field in Africa.

Mrs. Priscilla Briggs, the wife o eacon Joseph Briggs has been il or a short while and is improvin lowly.

The Hickory Hill Training Schoo as opened with a greater number o tudents than the institution has ha n its history. Mr. B. A. Jackson i rincipal of the institution. He is a raduate of Union University o Richmond.

Mrs. Neilie Hill, a prominent mem ber of the Centralia Baptist churcl as been ill for a short while. She s getting much better.

Mrs. Viola B. Baugh has returnec o New York with her husband, Mr awrence Baugh.

CAPE CHARLES

Cape Charles, Va.—Rev. S. Outer ridge and wife motored here on Sep ember 27, visiting Mr. and Mrs enry Allen for the week-end, an ere also guests of Mrs. M. L. Har er and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Dixor They enjoyed a week of pleasur uring which time they visited Fai iew A. M. E. Church, St. Paul Mis ion and Eastville Union Baptis Church. Rev. and Mrs. Outerbridg ere the recipients of many socia ourtesies and several presents whil n this vicinity.

St. Stevens A. M. E. Church hel heir regular communion on Sunda ight last.

The Fall revival services opened a he First Baptist Church on las unday. Rev. M. Braxton, of Balti more, has charge this week, and eac ight large crowds pour out to hea his speaker.

Mrs. Berlin Moore and children lef hursday afternoon for their home i altimore, Md., after spending

he has but two resources, either like Gral's putative Milton, to die mute and inglorious, or to get out from among them unto a land which his inner promptings will show him.

Began Editorship When A Youth

Mencken remains corporally in Baltimore, but lives spiritually in New York. The only recognition which he receives from his home place is the acceptance of an occasional contribution from his scathing pen by the Baltimore Sun paper which illumines its otherwise customary and uniform sameness. If I mistake not W. R. Hearst turned over to him the editorship of the Baltimore Herald while merely more than a beardless youth, fresh from the hands of my old teacher Fabian Franklin. We next find him editing the Smart Set in collaboration with his alterage, George Jean Nathan. He is the author of many books of unique titles and novel literary curiosity. I recall that some years ago, he made an appraisement of the net compensation of his authorship, which at that time was expressed in two figures ahead of the decimal point.

My first knowledge of Mr. Mencken was gained in 1917. My "Disgrace of Democracy" had just appeared in the Congressional Record, and was attracting attention on two continents. Mr. Mencken gave this brochure a three column notice in the New York Globe. From that time till now, I have followed his career with some degree of closeness. I remember reading his autobiography which at that time indicated promise rather than performance. But there was no doubt that a new star had risen in the firmament. Like any other comets, its orbit was irregular and somewhat difficult to compute. But the last ten years have given us Mencken as he is. His indelible mark has been stamped during the past decade. But the end of this luminary of uncomputed orbit is not yet in sight. He astounds us with his perennial freshness and never failing novelty. Like blind Cassandra, everybody feels that he tells the truth, but nobody is disposed to take him seriously. His sting, like the gadfly's, smarts keenly, but stimulates lively. It was said of Samuel Johnson that he adorned whatever themes he handled and left no themes untouched. Mr. Mencken seems to absorb half the wisdom of the world and guesses at the other half. There is no theme of current interest which he does not touch usually with critically, and sometimes with technical discrimination. He is the bugaboo of the orthodox and the regular.

Hurls Scathing Defiance At Hoary Heads

He hurls his scathing defiance at their hoary heads with the boldness and bluntness of the Galilean religious radical. "Wo unto you scribes and Pharasees, hypocrits." The Century, Harpers and Scribners, like the British soldiers of my native South Carolina, when appraised of Marion's name was told, tremble at the mention of Mencken and the Mercury. The cash and carry periodicals join in the hue and cry. Massachusetts is a commonwealth of strange alterations betwteen freedom of conscience and intolerance of spirit. The Pilgrim Fathers crossed the ocean to set up a shrine of freedom for conscience sake. But soon began to burn witches, hang Quakers and banish Baptists. Then came a spasm of virtue. Garrison, Phillips and Sumner were not only tolerated but extolled. But again the grand old commonwealth is reverting to reactionary ways. She hangs radicals for imputed doctrine as well as for alleged crime. The state that rocked the cradle of liberty now puts the Mercury on the index expurgatorius for plain speaking which everybody knows is true. "Hat Rack" was not half so putrid as a whole flood of verbal and pictoral material which is daily released in forty magazines devoted to uplift and down thrust, in the red and yellow journals, in moving pictures and released to the air on the radio. But the Mercury and Menckenism must be quelched. But the Atlantic Monthly needs no such protective tariff. Let Mencken alone to rise to his own heights or to sink to his own level by the gravity of his own genius, whether you deem that genius good or evil.

Has Given Much Attention To The Negro

From the first of his literary career, Mr. Mencken has given much attention to the Negro question. He is not handicapped by any philanthropic pretensions on the basis of race hatred. He neither loves nor hates the Negro. He has no propaganda for or against him. He does not regard him as all good as the Moody and Sankey brand of religionists were once wont to do, nor yet as all bad according to the exploded school of Tillman and Vardaman. He does not deem him as saintly, which he is not, nor as devilish, which in a large part he is, but as a blend of saint and devil, in whom at times and by turns, his angelic and his satanic majesties assert away. He undertakes to describe the Negro, not to reform him. Like Shakespeare, he does not make the original but holds up the mirror to nature. Nor does he warn the subject to look pleasant while the picture is being taken.

The frequency with which Mr. Mencken resorts to the Negro theme, and the liberality of the Mercury columns beyond those of the purely orthodox magazines, must be accounted for by some secret nor yet explained. The inherent interest and artistic posibilities of the subject may help to enlighten us. But the Mercury and the Forum would have no monopoly on this score. The standardized publications demand that contributions on this dark subject must present the Negro as a simpleton, a buffoon or a molly-codle. He must make the white man laugh by which laughter he may quiet the qualms of a guilty conscience. But all that the Mercury requires of any contributor, on any theme, is that his treatment must not be hackneyed, it must not be orthodox, and it must not be dull.

I somewhat faintly recall seeing in the brochure autobiography of Mr. Mencken, that he had a highly educated Negro as part valet and part emanuensis. This may be the cat in the bag, if he has not been let out by this time.

I have exhausted my space,, but have hardly touched my theme—"Mencken and the Negro." Indeed I find it so engaging that I will revert to it in another release, in which I shall take up Mr. Mencken's assignment of the Negro's place in literature and in life.

Race Problem - 1927
United States

Negro Problems and Tasks

By ALEX BITTELMAN
(Secretary of Committee for Work Among Negroes of W. (C.) P. of A.)

MASS migration of Negroes from the south to the west, north and east presents a complex of problems not only to the southern white capitalist, but also to the Negro masses themselves. With particular urgency these problems impose themselves upon those Negro organizations which sincerely strive to represent and work for the interests of the Negro masses as against those of the small group of Negro capitalists and against the ramified powers of the white capitalists.

FOR the capitalist interests of the south, the exodus of large masses of Negroes creates the serious problem of labor shortage. Employers of labor in the south, agrarian as well as industrial, are actually alarmed of the situation. They are becoming frantic at the mere thought that the inexhaustible supply of cheap, unorganized and docile labor is being seriously interfered with. The task that these capitalists see before them is to stop this exodus by all means at their command. By persuasion and cajoling if possible, by force if necessary.

TO the Negro workers, to the farmers, and to all militant fighters for the liberation of the race, the situation presents a different complex of problems. These are all related, of course, to the fundamental conditions of Negro life in the United States. They can find their complete solution only in the light of such social and political changes as will bring about the full emancipation of the Negro race. But at the same time tasks must be formulated which could be successfully applied in the immediate situation. And it is with some of these tasks that the present article proposes to deal.

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IT occurs to me that of late the Negro of the south has been somewhat neglected. Is this so, or not? If it is so, then a serious mistake is being committed. For after everything has been said about the tremendous economic, political and cultural importance of the new Negro centers in the north, east and west, which one can successfully dispute, yet the fact of the matter is that the bulk of the American Negro race, its most exploited and persecuted section, continues to live and suffer in the south. Does this fact carry any meaning at all to the Negro emancipation movement, to Negro labor and to Negro farmers? If it does not, it should. It would be a grave injustice to the millions of Negroes in the south and would be a fatal political mistake from the point of view of the liberation struggles of the American Negroes as a whole to hang the fate of the race on migration from the south and the upbuilding of new centers in New York, Chicago, etc. Not that these latter developments are in any way harmful to the Negro masses. Far be it from us to entertain any such views. The point we are trying to make is that the exodus from the south and the upbuilding of new Negro centers elsewhere, taken by themselves, do not offer a complete solution to the Negro problem in the United States.

LENIN

* * *

WHY is it so?

First, because not all the Negroes are migrating from the south. Though the forces creating migration are still operating very intensely, yet the probabilities are that the bulk of the race will continue in the south. The overwhelming majority is still there. Even a cursory glance at conditions will show that the scope of Negro migration from the south is bound to become smaller. There are at present several powerful factors working in that direction.

FOR one thing, the industrialization of the south. While some of the earlier features of the industrialization of that section of the country may have contributed to aggravating Negro conditions in the south, thus swelling migration, yet the further this process proceeds the more will it operate, up to a certain point, as a force keeping the Negro masses in the South instead of driving them out of there. Negroes will undoubtedly continue to move from plantations and farms to cities and industrial centers, the same as whites do, and for pretty nearly the same reasons. Negroes will also continue to migrate north, east and west, prompted by the same forces as whites are. But mass exodus from the south altogether, the recent phase of which has undoubtedly been accelerated by the cotton crisis, is bound to diminish considerably.

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PARTICULARLY so, when some of the later attendant features of industrialization begin to manifest themselves. Trade union organization, for instance, which, if it develops in the south along modern and militant lines, will give the Negro workers there, same as the whites, a certain feeling of independence and a weapon for struggle to protect their interests. Progressively closer contact with organized white workers, consequent upon industrialization, will certainly give the Negro worker a deeper feeling of self-confidence and a larger sense of power against his exploiters than he has at present. Which by itself will make the south look more desirable in the eyes of the Negroe masses than it does now.

ALSO cultural opportunities are bound to increase for the Negro masses in the south with the development there of a modern labor movement. The entire ideological level of the masses will be raised to a higher plane and most of the medieval features of the typical south will disappear as a result of the development and intensification of the class struggle and the building up of labor and farmer organizations. These struggles are also bound to produce econnomic opportunities in the matter of employment, wages, and working conditions generally at least as good, or bad, as in other sections of the country. Thus the present urge among the Negroes from the south elsewhere will inevitably be weakened to a very low point and migration will assume more or less normal proportions.

This is one reason why one cannot bank the solution of the Negro problem on mass migration from the south. But there is also another reason, and here we come to—

* * *

SECOND, the mere leaving of the south and taking up residence in another section of the country solves only part of the problem even for those who migrate. Because immediately as they set foot on new territory they are confronted with innumerable new problems. Suffice it to enumerate only the following: employment, wages, residence, union affiliation, education for the children, recreation, etc. These are no small matters as every Negro who has migrated from the south can testify, Negro life in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh or Philadelphia may be more interesting, and the problems different there than in the south, but the difficulties of life in the former are no less than in the latter.

Undoutedly these questions are being given serious thought by the Negroes and Negro organizations. But the question is, how correct is this thinking and what is its effectiveness? In other words, what basic approach is being made toward the solution of these questions?

FOR it must be understood that the task of finding employment, the question of wages, residence, union affiliation, etc., in cities like Chicago, Pittsburgh or New York, present to the Negro an entirely different aspect than they do to the white worker. In the attempt to solve his difficulties, the Negro comes up against the entire proposition which is known as the Negro problem. Hence, the approach toward the solution of these difficulties must be made in a basic and radical manner. Every one of these questions must be considered in the light of the entire Negro situation, north, east, south ad west, and policies formulated in accordance with it. There is no shorter or simpler way of handling effectively these questions.

* * *

THERE are two dangers which the Negro masses must particularly guard against at present. One is the danger of adopting the attitude that

mass migration from the south will do the job for them. The second danger, closely connected with the first one, is to accept and look upon the new Negro centers in the north, east and west as the haven of deliverance and liberty towards which the hopes, ambitions and aspirations of every Negro must be directed.

To fall into the first danger is to become fatalistic and passive. It is to make the fate of the Negro masses depend upon something which, by itself is neither good nor bad, and which cannot under any circumstances solve the Negro problem. To fall into the second danger is to ignore and neglect the suffering and the struggles of the basic part of the Negro race—the Negro masses of the south—as well as overlook the vital practical tasks of the Negro masses in these same new centers.

What is the correct approach?

The correct approach to the pro[illegible] for themselves, decreed [illegible] mer Old Age Pension law was unc[illegible] stitutional. Therefore the change the Constitution is necessary. Orga[illegible]ized labor in Pennsylvania has su[illegible]ported Old Age Pensions for ma[illegible] years; James H. Maurer, preside[illegible] of the Pennsylvania Federation Labor is chairman of the State O[illegible] Age Pension Commission.

Sought by Mellon.

The Mellon-Grundy outfit, fearin[illegible] to put this measure before the peopl[illegible] fought it desperately. Governo[illegible] Fisher was their willing tool, and b[illegible] a campaign full of falsehoods an[illegible] bullying tactics, they defeated th[illegible] measure.

If the governor had shown half a[illegible] much fight in favor of his "Clea[illegible] Election" bills, as he exhibited in hi[illegible] attack on the Pension bill, he coul[illegible] probably have won. Instead, h[illegible] meekly accepted the amendment[illegible] which machine politicians inserted and the Election Laws have been im[illegible] proved but little.

The Homsher bills, which aimed to saddle the republican machine on the state for all time by practically precluding independent political action, failed to pass. The machine politicians seemed to figure that, having succeeded in knocking down and hogtying the state's voters, it was going a little too strong to kick 'em in the face.

Says "New White Man" Will Kill American Prejudices

Writer Believes That Hope for Better Race Relationship Lies in Elimination of Ignorant Superstitions

By DEVER ALLEN
[In The World Tomorrow]

A hushed, rapt audience leans forward to watch in fascination the lips and gestures of an eloquent speaker. It is Sept. 18, 1895.

He is a Colored men. He raises his right hand with the fingers spread apart and utters a sentence which arouses his white hearers to intense enthusiasm. From that moment, seven months after the death of Frederick Douglass, this humble Negro becomes in the eyes of the American people the leader of his Race.

That man was Booker T. Washington. And what he said was this: "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

This conception of race relations was never accepted by the leaders of the Negro Race in the North, not even in Washington's lifetime. He has been dead 12 years. Those years have witnessed the great part of the World war; our participation in it; the return of thousands of Colored troops from overseas; the great post-war migration of Negroes to the North; the introduction and perpetual postponement of the Dyer anti-lynching bill; the recent organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—a history-making accomplishment; and, in general, a literary and artistic renaissance among our cultured Negro citizens. The emergence, in short, of the vocal, the irresistible, the "new" Negro. The new Negro, whose soul, no less than his forerunner's, to use a phrase from Langston Hughes, "has grown deep like the rivers," but who more vigorously asserts as in Countee Cullen's line, "We shall not always plant while others reap."

The new Negro, to be sure! The old Negro, emancipated though he was from chattel slavery, has lived in bondage none the less, and only now is he commencing to throw off his yoke.

But what of the white man? Despite the legend of the Civil war, he has allowed himself to be sold by his desire for dominance into a spiritual slavery. His back is bent beneath the burden of his own weighty superstitions, the load of his self-created fears. His dreams of the future are haunted by dire demons: loss of supremacy, reduction of economic gain, racial intermarriage. And exactly as the ignorant slaves of the South found their way to some famed dream interpreter, these modern bondmen have besought their scientists, so-called, to conjure Nordic strains, and cast the spell of psychological tests in order to free their dreams from goblins. But voodooism and medicine men, whether old style or new, can lure for long none but the ignorant and dull. It is because thus far we whites have not yet had our spiritual renaissance that we pay any heed to oracles who bolster up our prejudices. The white man in our time is still the old white man, holding his hand aloft with the fingers widely spread, and mouthing still the old taboos.

The new white man will soon become articulate. Even now he is trying to find his voice. The new Negro could come first, because his burdens, insufferable, had been laid on his back by other hands. The old white man, however, has lived these many years in thraldom to his own obsessions, and it will take much time to snap the thongs that bind him to his prejudices. Yet one by one they burst. And there will come in time the white man's renaissance, expressing itself perhaps in a new dedication to the art of living, and ushering in the new white man to lead his race from bondage.

THE "NEW WHITE MAN" WILL BE HEARD

The new white man will have to burst the bonds of ignorance. Last month following an address I had made at a forum, a man who had taken exception to my remarks on social equality approached me and declared that whatever came, he could never approve of social equality "because of the principle of the thing." "What principle?" I inquired. Whereupon he evaded every query I propounded, admitting that he knew nothing about Negroes personally or as a racial group, had studied the question not at all, but nevertheless was sure that social equality went counter to his "principles." The experience is so typical as to be almost banal. The new white man will not allow himself to be deterred by lazy generalities from widening the horizons of human fellowship. He will be aware of Negro achievement and cultural contributions. He will know so many Negroes personally, if he has the good fortune to deserve their friendship, that the experience of association alone will render him immune to the foolish phrases of traditionalism which often do, alas, get by as "principles."

The new white man will burst the bonds of supersition. "Negros," often say uncultured whites, "are superstitious." And that, of course, is true of some, but as a fact, the superstitious Negro is excusable, since he is usually uneducated. But what can be said in defense of the comparatively well educated whites who carry around in their heads superstitions about other races which are as unrelated to scientific fact as the "science" of phrenology? What of the tales to bulwark white esteem which are passed about behind hands raised to hide the lips—the ugly jests, the myths, insinuations which are to Negroes only the vilest of lies, but to the whites who hear them, and the young whites in particular, the most insidious of poisons? The new white man will never hesitate to meet these whispers, no matter how distasteful it may be to drag them into the open. He will scotch them and the basic one on which they rest, the general faith in white supremacy.

LABOR THE ROOT OF RACE TROUBLE

The new white man will burst the bonds of economic dependency.

When our country was new and cheap labor could not be had because land was free to all, slavery was the easy road for those who had to lean on the exploitation of others for their profit. Indentured labor was another contemporary escape from justice on a smaller scale. Freedom from chattel slavery brought by no means to all Colored people freedom from economic exploitation. Negro labor today is "cheap" labor, and many a white-owned industry exhibits the profits that it does simply because it lives in a state of dependency on Colored labor. The new white man will not fail to attack this extremely practical aspect of the race question; for without freedom to compete for his bread and butter (since we live as yet in a competitive society) what can mere physical freedom amount to? In the ranks of white labor, which for the most part refuses to admit the Colored worker, will some day yet be heard the voice of the new white man, crying out the sound principle of all-inclusive labor solidarity.

The new white man will burst the bonds of fear. For underneath all else that stands between the races is the white man's age-long jealousy for his dominant position. The Ku Klux Klan, the post-war wave of Nordicism, were built up largely on the fear among the white "superiors" that some day if the "rising tide of color" were not checked, the pale-skinned despot would be jeopardized. It is the same fear, reflected from a different facet, which underlies the intermarriage bugaboo. You can't even mention social equality, as a rule, without being forced to discuss intermarriage in the self-same breath. It is frequently useless to point out the vast extent to which miscegenation goes on outside of wedlock, and the patent fact that social equality, by safeguarding the status of the Colored woman, will tend to decrease racial mixture while slightly increasing intermarriage. The cautious may console themselves with this: that custom being what it is in the life of man, by the time when there is any wholesale intermarriage, there will be on the part of society a wholesale sanction of it. The mores can be changed; but you cannot change them fast.

It cannot be denied, of course, that economic divisions have grown up, to some extent, within the Colored Race itself in the United States, and that within this minority caste group, though subject to all the psychological influences of discrimination against it, even color lines have been drawn at times between those of darker and lighter skins.

Is there any way of settling this question short of complete justice, complete equality, complete freedom for friendship? I know of none. It is because of this increasingly apparent fact that I am compelled to realize every now and then afresh the audacious radicalism of Jesus' conception of human relations. Into a world regimented along racial, national, and religious divisions, He thrust the drastic concept of the Father-God and the man-brotherhood, all, every person, "of one blood" with all the others. It is He—not to disparage Lincoln—who was the Great Emancipator, for in his method there was nothing self-defeating, yet there were no limitations to his goal of fellowship. Equality to Him was no mere sweeping away of barriers; it was a highly positive, creative, completely normal atmosphere in which could develop after the normal fashion the insatiate reach of human personalities for others.

And that is why today, anthing short of His thoroughgoing principles is insufficient. For nothing affects the situation very much unless the new Negro and the new white man can begin to live, right now, the new life that will some day be the rule between the races. When hands are clasped as a symbol of victory over ignorance, superstition, greed, and fear, the widespread fingers—symbols, instead, of perpetual separatism—fall very naturally together. Why not clasp hands so firmly that they stay together always?

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

The Colored Brother

By H. L. Mencken.

MOST of the educated Negroes of my acquaintance seem to be convinced that the social attentions now being lavished upon their race in New York represent only a transient fad, and that in a short time the colored lion will be out in the cold again. I doubt it. The plain fact is that New York—or, at all events, Manhattan—has got to be so cosmopolitan a town that all its old social distinction and prejudices are in decay and can never be revived. There is no longer any formal Society there in the usual American sense. Any one who is presentable may go anywhere. Some of the current Aframerican pets are highly presentable; others are surely not. The latter, no doubt, will soon return to the Harlem whence they came, but the former will survive.

The New York of today, indeed, is far too worldly wise to accord much authority to caste artificialities. It long ago admitted and embraced the Jews, and so far as I have been able to observe, it suffers from no regrets. In all circles, high or low, the Jews who get in are among the most amusing people to be encountered. They lack altogether the dull conventionality of the so-called Anglo-Saxon. They do not take life too seriously, and now that the old bars against them are down, they have ceased even to take themselves seriously. Their presence in large numbers helps to make New York the most diverting of all American cities. It is noisy, blatant and uncomfortable, but it is certainly not a bore.

The colored brethren, now that they go everywhere, add a great deal to its charm. They turn out, in the main, to be dignified, well-mannered, and amusing fellows, and not at all over-impressed by their new triumphs. Their wives, in many cases, are very good looking. Male and female, they seem to say, "Take us or leave us," at the same time favoring one another with wise winks behind the door. My belief is that New York, having taken them in, will be very loath to lose them. True enough, those admitted constitute only a small minority of their race. But that fact is of no significance. It will be time enough to invite Pullman porters, colored preachers and witch doctors to dinner when white Turkish bath rubbers, orthodox rabbis and chiropractors are invited.

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The acceptance of the educated Negro socially removes his last ground for complaint against his fate in the republic, and leaves him exposed to the same criteria of judgment that apply to everyone else. It will be interesting to see what he makes of himself. Hitherto he has derived very considerable advantages from the fact that he was an outcast: it seemed a marvel if he made himself heard of at all. But hereafter he will have to produce the goods or shut up.

So far, it seems to me, his accomplishments have been very modest. Even in those fields wherein his opportunities for years past have been precisely equal to the white man's, he has done little of solid value. I point, for example, to the field of music. It may be, as they say, that the Negroes invented ragtime, and jazz after it, but certainly it would be absurd to say that they have surpassed or even equaled the whites in writing the new music. The best jazz of today is not composed by black men, but by Jews—and I mean best in every sense. Why did the Negro composers wait for George Gershwin to do his "Rhapsody in Blue?" Why, indeed, did they wait for Paul Whiteman to make jazz a serious matter?

The spiritual is another musical form that the Negroes are supposed to have invented. Passing over its obvious origin in the Methodist camp meeting hymn, let us admit that theory. But where is the Negro composer who is writing spirituals today—I mean good ones? If he exists he is not heard of. Certainly there is plenty of opportunity here—and it has been permitted to go to waste. The spiritual as it comes down to us traditionally, could be considerably improved. It might be developed into something resembling a cantata. It might be given instrumental support. But no Negro composer has ever made any serious effort to work out its possibilities. It remains naïve and crude, like hoe cake.

* *

The Negro poets, by the same token, have done very little to justify the excessive hospitality with which they have been received. Put all their work together and it is not worth much more than any one of a dozen of the epitaphs in "The Spoon River Anthology." A Negro poet, James Weldon Johnson, has lately published a book of Negro sermons in a sort of free verse, and one of them, "Go Down, Death!" is a genuinely eloquent and moving poem. But no other Negro has ever written anything even half so good. There are plenty of poets in the race, and many of them show a considerable facility, but the best of them, when all is said and done, remain second rate.

In prose there is the same tale to tell. No Negro novelist has ever written a novel even remotely comparable to such things as "Babbitt" and "Jurgen." No Negro writing short stories rises above the level of the white hacks. There is here no prejudice to overcome, and, so far as I know, there never has been. I have been intimately familiar with the American magazines for twenty years and also know something about book publishing. I know of no magazine of decent standing that bars Negro writers, and I know of no publisher who refuses to publish them. On the contrary, they are welcomed eagerly everywhere. But they produce little that is worth printing.

Even the Negro publicists make a sorry showing considering their opportunities. It is seldom, indeed, that one of them turns out an article or a book of any genuine value. Even on the subject of their race's wrongs, they do not write as well, taking one with another, as the white scriveners who tackle the same subject. All the really first rate books written by American Negroes since the civil war could be ranged on a shelf a foot long. Here is a field in which race prejudice counts for nothing. Yet the colored brother has done little in it save cultivate weeds. Is it because, until recently, he has lacked the necessary educational equipment? Bosh! First rate books are not the product of education, else school superintendents would write them. There are hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the United States with far more education than Dreiser ever had, or Sherwood Anderson, or Carl Sandburg.

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Thus it is apparent that the Negro still has a heavy grade ahead of him and will gain little from going over his latest hurdle, save a chance to show what is really in him. I am not altogether sure that his prospects in the fine arts are as good as his more optimistic partisans seem to think. He has shown that he can do respectable work, but he has certainly not shown that he can do genuinely distinguished work. In the field of music, especially, I am full of doubts. The Negro, like the Bavarian, has a natural love of music, but like the Bavarian again he may be able to make only music that is third rate.

It may be that he has ventured into the arts too soon—that they can flourish only in a house more solid and stable than the one he is just moving into. It may be that his greatest successes during the next generation or two will be made, not in the arts, but in business. There he seems to be making very rapid progress, and it is no longer factitious and transitory. Booker T. Washington, whose memory is not venerated by the Negro intellectuals, was probably wiser than they think. He saw that the Negroes would have to have a sound economic underpinning if they were ever to rise to cultural equality with the whites. The fine arts are frequently enriched by poor men, but they never flourish in a poor society.

Now the Negroes begin to pile up wealth, and their business barons become their principal leaders. It is, I think, a sign of genuine progress if only because it reduces the colored pastor to a minor place. He has led the race since the civil war and he has made a dreadful botch of it. His influence today, though it is fast declining, is still for the bad. Those Negroes who follow him remain ignorant and ridiculous: nothing comes out of them save moans. With Booker T. Babbitt in the saddle, they will at least have a leader who is a realist and a man of sense. He may not make them noble, but he will at least make them safe.

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H. L. MENCKEN has weighed us in the balance and found us wanting. There are those who will say that this makes no difference, that Mr. Mencken being a radical his opinions are unsound and lack critical value. But there are others who will agree that Mencken, like G. B. Shaw has a true grasp on the essentials of things, and that his rasping criticism, is good for the soul, like the Greek katharis. In the Baltimore Evening Sun of July 16, Mr. Mencken devotes his attention to the New Negro and his contribution to the world, and decides in the headline that "Booker T. Babbit is the Best Leader for the Colored Race."

Booker T. Babbit is good. For as Sinclair Lewis' Babbit represents all that is commonplace and solid in the white group, so Booker T. Washington represents all that is commonplace and solid in our own group. The combination is a stroke of genius.

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MR. MENCKEN does not think that the social prestige of the New York Negro is a transient fad. "The plain fact is that Manhattan has got to be so cosmopolitan a town that all its old social distinctions and prejudices are in decay and can never be revived. Anyone who is presentable may go anywhere. Some of the current Aframerican pets are highly presentable; others are surely not. The latter, no doubt, will soon return to the Harlem from whence they came, but the former will survive." "* * * The colored brethren now that they go everywhere add a great deal to its charm. * * * My belief is that New York, having taken them in will be very loath to lose them.' And then the writer makes, what so few white people make—social distinctions within the race.

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BUT that is not the main point of Mr. Mencken's article. The kernel in the nut is to be found in the sentences: "The acceptance of the educated Negro socially removes his last ground for complaint against his fate in the republic and leaves him exposed to the same criteria of judgment that apply to everyone else. * * * Hereafter he will have to produce the goods or shut up."

Now this is just exactly what every intelligent, far-seeing, clear-headed, unimpassioned, unprejudiced Negro wants—just criticism according to the single standard of achievement..

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APPLYING this then, Mr. Mencken arrives at the following conclusions: The Negroes invented rag-time and jazz, but the "best jazz of today is not composed by black men, but by Jews George Gershwin composed the "Rhapsody in Blue" and Paul Whiteman has made jazz a serious matter. The Negroes invented the spiritual, but no Negro composer has ever made any serious effort to work out its possibilities.

The Negro poets have not made good, in spite of the "excessive hospitality" with which they have been received. "The best of them, when all is said and done, remain second-rate."

"No Negro novelist has ever written a novel even remotely comparable to such things as 'Babbit' or 'Jurgen'. No Negro writing short stories rises above the level of the white hacks."

Mr. Mencken has been intimately familiar with white magazines and publishers for twenty years, and knows that no magazine of decent standing bars Negro writers, nor will any publisher refuse to publish them if they write anything worth printing.

"Even on the subjects of their race's wrongs they do not write as well as the white scriveners who tackle the same subject." And this is not due to lack of education, for says the author, "There are hundreds and thousands of Negroes in the United States with far more education than Dreiser ever had, or Sherwood Anderson or Carl Sandburg."

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WHICH brings us to the Booker T. Babbit idea. Negroes need a stronger, sounder economic underpinning than they now have. Booker Washington knew that. "The fine arts are frequently enriched by poor men, but they never flourish in a poor society."

Then Mr. Mencken pays his respects to the colored pastor whose influence upon the race he depreciates. And there, in a nutshell is the cold, searching criticism of the New Negro by one of his best friends.

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WE may expect a howl over this article from Dan to Beersheba by Negro writers and Negro newspapers—and when the howl has subsided, let us all sit down together upon the cool green grass and thank God for our friends—who like us well enough to tell us the truth about ourselves.

ARE WE SECOND RATERS?

We are second-raters even in those things that we do best, so declares H. L. Mencken, well known publicist, whose articles are syndicated all over the nation. Mencken wrote last Sunday in an extremely interesting column, provocative of both thought and argument that even tho the black Americans have equal opportunities with the white people in certain fields of endeavor that nothing of "solid value had emanated from them." He contends that Jews produce better ragtime music and syncopation than we do and shows that "Negroes waited for George Gershwin to compose his "Rhapsody in Blue" and did wait for Paul Whiteman to make jazz a serious matter." He continues that the spirituals could be improved as they were handed down traditionally. They might be developed into something resembling cantatas but "no Negro composer has made any serious effort to work out new possibilities." Mencken then asserts that our novels are mediocre and low-leveled and on the same plane of the work of the white hacks. He then calls attention to the work of our publicists and declares that we suffer sadly by comparison and very seldom turn out any articles or books of genuine value. He concludes that we are going into arts before we have laid a strong enough economic background. Poverty does not support art and we must have business and wealth before we can show substantial cultural advancement. This newspaper is in solemn accord with Mr. Mencken.

Many of us have known for sometime that we are not all that we were cracked up to be. We knew that all of the braggadocia that had become evident because of the so-called "phenomenal progress" that has been made since the emancipation has been anachronistic, silly and misleading. We knew that vicious and illiterate propagandists had lullabied us into a drowsy security. We knew that some of the progress that we have been praised for did not issue spontaneously but was veritably whipped out of us. We have appreciated the fact that black Americans were calling too many "dictators from the ploughs.' We knew that it was incumbent to swing away from the emotions and impulses into the realm of thought and action. It was for that reason that we criticized the National Association for the Advancement of Certain People for neglecting the economics of the race while encouragement was given to singers and poets in the form of medals. We, in the editorial sense, have long felt that our race would do well to turn its periscopes and X-rays upon itself. Mr. Mencken has told us without apologizing that we were second-raters in literature and in the fine arts, that field where some have felt that we were "gems of the purest ray serene." Mr. Mencken is right and right beyond the proverbial shadow of reasonable doubt when he facetiously avows that we need more "Booker T. Babbitts.

Mr. Booker T. Babbit would, in our estimation, be a black "butter and egg man." Booker T. Washington emphasized the idea of business development and Babbitt, creation of the novelist, Sinclair Lewis, who wrote "Main Street," Elmer Gantry and Babbitt, is a business man par excellent, a factor in the economic, social and political affairs of his community. Babbitts and Booker Ts make it possible for fine poets, fine composers, illustrious writers, thinkers and scholars. Like Archimedes they make places in the world for us to stand. We are second-raters in the fine arts of America and the Americans are second raters in the fine arts of the world. We are second raters but our white brothers are first raters in oil, steel, cotton, cars and corn while we black Americans figure in as so much machinery. A lot of work to do. Mencken has set us on the right track. Pile up wealth.

FORD'S RETRACTION

AFTER several years of steady propaganda against Jews through his Dearborn Independent, and greatly increasing thereby the wave of Anti-Semitism in this country, Mr. Henry Ford has retracted everything. He has also retracted all of the charges made against Aaron Sapiro, the organizer of farm co-operatives, and settled the case out of court. Several reasons are advanced for this sudden change of front. Some think that the billionaire automobile manufacturer has his eye on the Presidency while others think that fear of economic reprisals on the part of the Jews was largely instrumental in causing the retraction. Whatever the cause, there is no uncertainty about the retraction, and it is attribute to the economic power of this small group of three million people.

One wonders whether Mr. Ford or anyone else of great wealth and power would have retracted a similar vilification of the Negroes. It is hard to imagine it. And why? For the simple reason that the ten million Negroes possess only a fraction of the economic power and influence wielded by the three million Jews. True, Negroes have not one-tenth of the opportunities possessed by Jews in this country, and for every obstacle confronting Jews there are a hundred facing Negroes, but if our group possessed as large a percentage of the nation's economic wealth as do the Jews, there would be a marked change in the attitude of the nation toward us.

In this Ford case, great economic power in the hands of an intelligent minority and the ability and determination to use it, was too powerful a weapon for even America's richest man to ignore. The moral is obvious. It is not the righteousness of your cause that defeats your enemies, but the force, economic or physical, that you can bring to bear on them.

Now this is just exactly what every intelligent, far-seeing, clear-headed, unimpassioned, unprejudiced Negro wants—just criticism according to the single standard of achievement..

* * * * * * * * *

APPLYING this then, Mr. Mencken arrives at the following conclusions: The Negroes invented rag-time and jazz, but the "best jazz of today is not composed by black men, but by Jews George Gershwin composed the "Rhapsody in Blue" and Paul Whiteman has made jazz a serious matter. The Negroes invented the spiritual, but no Negro composer has ever made any serious effort to work out its possibilities.

The Negro poets have not made good, in spite of the "excessive hospitality" with which they have been received. "The best of them, when all is said and done, remain second-rate."

"No Negro novelist has ever written a novel even remotely comparable to such things as 'Babbit' or 'Jurgen'. No Negro writing short stories rises above the level of the white hacks."

Mr. Mencken has been intimately familiar with white magazines and publishers for twenty years, and knows that no magazine of decent standing bars Negro writers, nor will any publisher refuse to publish them if they write anything worth printing.

"Even on the subjects of their race's wrongs they do not write as well as the white scriveners who tackle the same subject." And this is not due to lack of education, for says the author, "There are hundreds and thousands of Negroes in the United States with far more education than Dreiser ever had, or Sherwood Anderson or Carl Sandburg."

* * * * * * * * *

WHICH brings us to the Booker T. Babbit idea. Negroes need a stronger, sounder economic underpinning than they now have. Booker Washington knew that. "The fine arts are frequently enriched by poor men, but they never flourish in a poor society."

Then Mr. Mencken pays his respects to the colored pastor whose influence upon the race he depreciates. And there, in a nutshell is the cold, searching criticism of the New Negro by one of his best friends.

* * * * * * * * *

WE may expect a howl over this article from Dan to Beersheba by Negro writers and Negro newspapers—and when the howl has subsided, let us all sit down together upon the cool green grass and thank God for our friends—who like us well enough to tell us the truth about ourselves.

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Race Problem - 1927

United States.

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL

A Statement to the Forum Magazine Concerning Southern Race Prejudice.

In the June issue of that interesting and independent magazine, The Forum, the editors admitted an article on "The Pathology of Race Prejudice," by Edward Franklin Frazier, colored, then head of the school of social service for this city. The editors of The Forum, through an article and column and through other media, found that the Frazier article was strongly offensive to southern readers. In their characteristic spirit of fairness they wired me for an answer to the Frazier article and cordially granted the privilege to The Constitution to reproduce it, as follows:

* * * *

Race Prejudice in the South.

(Mr. Sam W. Small, Washington editor of "The Atlanta Constitution," makes answer to Edward Franklin Frazier, author of "The Pathology of Race Prejudice" in the June Forum.)

Editor of The Forum:

That there is race prejudice against the negro among the southern people needs neither confession nor apology. It has existed since the negro came among us and will persist while whites and negroes dwell side by side in a southern environment. Pathology can not diagnose it and psychology can not overcome it. And there is no indication of insanity in it, as was claimed by Edward Franklin Frazier in the June Forum. The psychogenesis of it is instinctive race repulsion and the function of it is the inhibition of inter-racial social equality. If one probes that prejudice anywhere from the Potomac to the Rio del Norte he will find the core is enmity to social equality. All else about it is husk.

Prior to the civil war and negro emancipation there existed in the south only the instinctive race repulsion already mentioned, accentuated by the relation of master and slave. There was no apprehension that the negro would develop a white equality complex. The white mass kept its solidarity by affinity and race pride; the negro mass lived, moved, and reacted under the control of the race that it accepted as superior and dominant. In those pre-war times we knew of social equality only through [illegible] stories brought back to us from the north, and they sounded abnormal and revolting.

After the civil war and emancipations underwent sudden and direful changes. The southern people realized that the bonds of interest and authority that had previously subsisted between the races were broken forever. Each race sensed the fact that thereafter it must be sufficient unto itself. Had they been left unagitated from without to find a modus vivendi, they would have found it early in terms of confidence, interdependence, and peace. But that adjustment was not permitted. Political readjusters, carpetbag cormorants, and religious communists descended from the north upon the negro. The methods they used to win his confidence, embitter him against the southern whites, and fire him with a rage to "put the black heel upon the white neck" are so historic as to make their recital here superfluous. The concrete effect of them is the main thing.

The experiences of that southern "reconstruction" era fixed all future relations between the races in the south. Since then "white supremacy" has become with us as cardinal a principle as any in science or religion. The casual observer or political thinker is apt to classify that principle as a political one only; but the warp of it is social in substance and strength. Constitutional, legal, and political equality of the races are now normal acceptances by the southern whites. But anything tending to set up any form of social equality of the races at once arouses elemental resistance and that resistance can be forced even unto blood.

The contention that race prejudice is the cause of negro disfranchisement in the southern states is wholly untenable. There is not in the constitution or the electoral laws of any state in the south a shred of discrimination against the negro as a voter.

The lynching in the south of more negroes than whites is preferred as proof of race prejudice having a psychosis of insanity. That theory is ridiculous. A lynching that would be an act of insanity would be a guiltless act; but a lynching is never anywhere an act of insanity. The writer, during a newspaper career of more than half a century, has witnessed and reported five mob lynchings in the south. Two of the victims were white and three were negroes. In each case, the mob pulsed with a common feeling of intolerable outrage and acted with the common purpose to execute an earned penalty without awaiting the leaden-footed operation of the community's legal machinery. Lynching anywhere in our country is criminal and indefensible. That more lynchings occur in the south than in other regions is true. The fact is obviously explicable. In the south more negroes commit crimes that incite mobs and the negroes that are lynched are executed because of their crimes, and not because of their color.

Again, the denouncers of race prejudice among southern whites might enlighten popular understanding by explaining this paradox, to wit: We are told that southern race prejudice "paces the floor and curses" when it is proposed to appropriate public money to negro schools, yet in the last quarter of a century white authorities in the south have quintupled appropriations to negro schools and the total annual allocations now run into nine large figures.

What is needed in a discussion of race prejudice in the south is not a pathological thesis, but practical investigation and an honest appraisal of facts. To a verdict so arrived at, the southern whites will frankly confess.

Often in reading the essays of those who assign to race prejudice all uncomfortable circumstances in which a negro may find himself in the south, one is moved to ask why no mention is ever made of race prejudice in the make-up of the negro. Has he none? Is his mind free from antipathy to the white race. Is it perfectly impartial in weighing the rights and relations of the two races! We in the south know. We have no illusions respecting that phase of the interracial problem.

The conclusion must be that, in the south at least, as long as white is white and black is not white, the race prejudice that preserves our system of civilization from social equality of the races will be adamantine.

SAM W. SMALL.

Frazier Loses His Job.

It may be interesting to our readers to know that the Atlanta colored managers of the school of social service, as soon as they learned the contents of the Frazier article, promptly called for his resignation. He gave it and immediately left the city for his former home in Baltimore. Arrived there he had his picture printed in the negro newspaper of that city, with the ludicrous and grossly false statement that he had been "run out of Atlanta by the Ku Klux Klan!"

Frazier's specialty, evidently, is extravagant fiction instead of pathology.

STATUS OF NEGRO MUST BE SETTLED AT BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION

Declares White Journalist at Rotarian Meeting.

(Pacific Coast News Bureau)

LODI, Calif., Aug. 29.—Because a meeting date of the local Rotarian Club composed of 70 leading white business men, fell on Aug. 4th, the anniversary of the passage of an act of Congress which gave President Lincoln the power to free the slaves, the entire program was given over to recalling this important step in American history.

Following Paul Brown of Stockton, who rendered a Negro song, J. R. Thompson, city editor of the Lodi Sentinel, addressed the Lodi Rotary Club, stating that, the status of the Negro in America must eventually settled at the bar of public opinion and in view of the tendency of colored races to revolt against the domination of the white man, it might be well for service clubs to study this problem with the view of securing a better understanding of both sides and establish some system whereby the two races may live side by side in America with as little friction as possible.

The speaker stated that there are three Negro problems—social, economic and political—and three groups of thought upon the subject. He related some of the incidents leading up to the Emancipation proclamation and said that more than 3,000,000 black men were liberated by President Lincoln on that important occasion. He continued:

"Let us consider the status of these people at that time. They had no property, they could not read and write, they were in a country whose leaders were hostile to any idea of equality. Since that time they have increased to more than 11,000,000, comprising one-tenth of the total population. They live largely in 12 southern states and own 600,000 homes and 930,000 farms comprising 22,000,000 acres of land. They conduct 60,000 business enterprises and their wealth is estimated at $1,500,000,000.

"They have 40,000 churches, 5,000,000 church members, 400 newspapers, 485 normal schools and colleges with 43,000 teachers and are now 80 per cent literate. Engineers, dentists, doctors, lawyers and all other professions are represented by the race.

"Northern opinion on the subject was well expressed by President Harding at Birmingham in 1921 when he said he stood for absolute political and economic equality of the two races under separate social development. The comments upon his address furnish the best insight into American opinion. His speech was lauded in the north, upheld by the conservative element of Negroes and denounced in the southern states by white newspapers and radical Negro publications."

The speaker also pointed out that mulattos or persons of mixed blood are decreasing and both from a practical standpoint and as expressed by the nation's leaders it is probable that the two races will remain socially independent. He concluded:

"Since the invention of machinery for the cotton fields have driven many Negroes into northern states, the greatest clashes and riots between the two peoples have occurred in the north. The south has partially solved its problem by segregation but have failed to give the Negro equal opportunity either in politics or in the economic struggle. The southerners rule with a velvet hand, but are determined to insist upon white superiority."

TIMES-DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

JUN 16 1927

"The Best Negroes in the World."

MARY LINA BLEDSOE'S reference in Collier's Weekly to the colored people of Richmond as "The Best Negroes in the World" is not necessarily an evidence of independent investigation by her: we here in Richmond, all of us, have been speaking of Richmond's negro population as "The Best Negroes in the World" for many years. And with each year that passes, even in these trying times, we who live in Richmond are more and more confirmed in our confident belief that they are indeed "The Best Negroes in the World."

They prove they are that on every possible occasion. Three such occasions, among a great number, suggest themselves: when the great convention of the Colored Elks was held here, the whole affair served as a lesson to the white people of every city in the United States in the conduct of huge conventions; when the final meeting of the Richmond Community Fund workers was held last year, the sight of that large assembly of men and women standing to honor the colored workers, who had far exceeded what they were asked to do, was of inspirational quality;

and, of less importance but of much significance, when there was talk of opening a negro theater on Broad Street, "The Best Negroes in the World" quietly but with determination and effectiveness opposed it.

These are but three of countless instances which have gone to prove, year after year, that Richmond is blessed in the fact that approximately one-third of its population numbers "The Best Negroes in the World." Now the time has come for the white people of Richmond to help "The Best Negroes in the World" in their effort to better their material welfare in an intensely practical and essential manner.

They have no hospital of their own. They are determined that they shall have one. They plan to build one at a cost of $200,000. They are giving $100,000 themselves, and will operate and maintain it themselves. And they ask those they call "Our White Friends of Richmond, Virginia," to give the other $100,000. Despite all the drives and campaigns and pleas, it is not to be credited that the white friends in Richmond of "The Best Negroes in the World" will be slow in contributing this comparatively small sum.

They have of their own a small hospital on Baker Street, which will be sold and from the sale of which the proceeds will be used for their new hospital. The Medical College of Virginia conducts the admirable St. Philip's Hospital; but that is overcrowded, and it is, naturally, restricted in numerous ways. They want a hospital of their own, in which their own schooled and capable physicians and surgeons may practice and in which all classes and groups of their own number may obtain—and pay for, according to their means—adequate professional treatment. They are entitled to such a hospital, because here—in the very capital of the Confederacy—they have earned the respect and sympathy and affection of their white friends by years of upright, industrious and pious and helpful living. They are entitled to it on their own account.

They are entitled to it, from a less altruistic viewpoint, because Richmond already is a conspicuous medical center and because it hopes to become one of the most noted medical centers of the United States. Yet when one of Richmond's prosperous negroes—and there are many of them—needs hospital treatment, he goes to Washington or Baltimore or some other city where satisfactory hospital facilities are available. Not only would such a hospital as is planned prevent the recurrence of this condition, but it would attract other prosperous negroes from many points in Virginia, in North and South Carolina from West Virginia and from other near-by States.

"The Best Negroes in the World" have bought the lot on which the hospital is to be built, adjoining the campus of Virginia Union University, and have paid for it—$12,000. They are giving $100,000 more and they will see to it that all operating expenses are paid. They are asking the white people of this rich old city to give only $100.00. Upon the response must depend the answer to this question: Are "The Best Negroes in the World" justified or merely courteous, in speaking of the white people of Richmond as—"Our White Friends."

CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO

(The most valiant effort of Senator Charles Sumner's Life.)

By KARL F. PHILLIPS, LL. D., Of the U. S. Supreme Court Bar

The innumerable distinctions and discriminations which southern states heaped upon the heads of the freed slaves, immediately following the Civil war, were so repulsive to militant abolitionist leaders, such as Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Congressman Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, that pressure was shortly thereafter exerted in Congress to secure for Negroes civil rights legislation which would enable them to enjoy full and equal rights the country over. Accordingly, on March 1, 1875, a bill known as the Civil Rights Bill otherwise entitled "An Act to Protect all Citizens in Their Civil and Legal Rights", was passed by Congress, and the fight was on to lift the Negro freedmen up to a civil plane of full equality. In the meantime, the valiant Sumner had died, having upon his faltering lips the words, "see to the civil rights bill! Don't let it fail. If my works were completed and my civil rights bill passed, no visitor could enter the door that would be more welcome than Death."

The Bill was in five sections, the first two of which provided as follows:

"All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to have full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land and water, theatres, and other places of public amusement subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous conditions of servitude. Any person who shall violate the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons by law, applicable to citizens of every race and color, and regardless of any previous condition of servitude, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of $500 to the person aggrieved thereby."

Section 3 of the bill outlined procedure in case of a violation of the provisions of the bill; section 4 related to service on grand or petit juries; and section 5 made cases arising under the bill reviewable by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the meanwhile the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution had been passed, having the effect, among other things, of reserving to the States their special rights as sovereign power over their citizens, and denying to the United States the license to infringe upon the rights of the States when exercised in accordance with the terms, spirit, and intent of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments.

It was inevitable that the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Bill should soon be brought to a test before the Supreme Court. The test came in the form of five cases known as the "Civil Rights Cases". Two of the cases were indictments for denying to persons of color the accommodations and privileges of an inn or hotel; two were for denying to Negroes the privileges and accommodations of theater; and one was an action brought in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Tennessee to recover the penalty of $500 given by the Act, based upon the refusal by a conductor in the employ of a railroad company to allow a colored passenger to ride in the latest-styled cars. The United States Supreme Court thereupon held the first and second sections of the Civil Rights Act to be unconstitutional enactments as applied to the several states, not being authorized either by Thirteenth or Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution.

It was also held that the Fourteenth Amendment was prohibitory upon the States only, and that the legislation authorized to be adopted by Congress for enforcing it was not direct legislation on the matters respecting which the States were prohibited from making or enforcing certain laws, or doing certain acts, but was corrective legislation.

Upon the decision of the Supreme Court in the Civil Rights Cases, and in a contemporaneous case involving separate educational facilities, the privilege of the States to make distinct separations between the races in the matter of schools, railway cars, and the like were recognized as lawful discriminations, upon which the States' Rights' "Jim Crow" enactments of today have become tremendously forceful in all States which desire to legislate upon the precedent of the Civil Rights decision.

The only real echo of the Sumner Civil Rights Bill is found in the State of New York, where the Levy measure prescribes full civil equality for all citizens. In two other states there are "gestures" on the statute books which theorize upon, but do not actually demand civil equality.

What would Sumner say, were he alive today?

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

INTO THE SECOND GENERATION

Dean Kelly Miller's Article on the Second Generation of College-Bred Negroes Provoked so Much Discussion That He Has Seen Fit to "Hit It" Again

Amsterdam News

2-2-27

New York, N.Y.

-By KELLY MILLER-

MY RECENT release on the second generation of college-bred Negroes has caused widespread comment. The destiny of the race is in their hands. Those of the older generation must decrease; they must increase. We can only occupy till they come. We must shortly hand over to them the great racial estates bequeathed by our more illiterate forbears. It is of highest racial concern that they appreciate the high responsibility that devolves upon them. I have said that they are afflicted with the eleemosynary complex. They must free themselves from the apron strings of philanthropy. A generation and a half is long enough to rely upon outside help.

DEAN KELLY MILLER.

The great political estate of formal equality has been vouchsafed as a bequest, and not achieved as a conquest. The passing generation has not been able to maintain it. We relied upon the Republican party to uphold us in our guaranteed rights. The party has failed us utterly. There is no human likelihood that the race will regain its pristine political prestige through the benevolence of the Republican party.

The generation now functioning has all but given up the ghost. The estate is about to be lost. Will the new generation now preparing for the stage of action possess the courage, the acumen and wise diplomacy to restore this rapidly vanishing political power? Or will it yield the struggle for want of courage and energy? Under the Federal Constitution, the Negro has every right of any other American citizen. Even the revised constitutions, on their face, are without racial discrimination.

The plain fact remains that the Negro is politically indifferent. Senator Blease stated the other day on the floor of the Senate that the Negroes in South Carolina do not vote because they have no political interest. This is practically true of the Negroes in Harlem. Notwithstanding the numerous modes of persuasion, so well known to the politician, not more than one legal voter in five in Harlem can be persuaded to qualify for that exalted function. Can this new Negro arouse the masses to the vital importance of functioning in the formation and control of the government under which it lives and by which it will be controlled?

This is the primary test of its capacity to cope with the situation by which it is confronted. For government is the controling agency in society. Those who do not participate in formulating and directing the government will always be at the mercy of those who do.

The fathers have built up and handed down a considerable property estate, mainly in the ownership of farm and city homes. Of the two the farm home is by far of greater importance. The farm home is of the nature of productive capital; the city home is but dead, inert, unproductive wealth. The only real, worthwhile capital which the race has yet accumulated consists of the quarter of a million farms, out of which more than a million Negroes direct their own activities and earn an independent living. Otherwise they are but hired hands receiving the pittance and doing the biddance of the white lord and master.

There is grave danger that under the prevalent tendency of the newer generation the race is losing its grip on this great agricultural estate in its mad rush after the glare and glamour of city life. What is gained in the city by no means offsets the loss sustained in the country. Several months ago I contributed an article to the Baltimore Manufacturers Record, entitled, "The Farm—the Negro's Best Chance."

If we take a comprehensive view of this wild rush cityward, we shall gain less racial comfort and satisfaction than we derive from first glance. We look in vain for the assuring indications that the race will reach the stage of economic and industrial self-sufficiently. It looks more likely that its permanent abiding place will be in the shade. The farm furnishes a place in the sun.

It is up to the incoming generation to command the industrial and economic life of the race as well as its political fortune. Will the graduates of Hampton and Tuskegee, as well as the output of the industrial departments of our colleges and universities, furnish wise industrial and economic leadership?

Our fathers built up a vast religious estate, comprising thirty thousand churches and four million members. This is the most marvelous achievement recorded to the credit of the race. This vast religious estate was built up by comparatively illiterate men. But here it stands a monument to their zeal and consecration. Be it said to the utter condemnation of the second generation that they are abandoning this great religious estate.

The great religious denominations form the only type of organization which Negro genius has built up and which holds vast numbers of the race to permanent adherence and persistent procedure. The race has never developed a political organization that has the binding force of a rope of sand or a coil of smoke.

The industrial organizations function but feebly in the economic equation of racial life. Benevolent and fraternal organizations whose main concern is with the sick and the dead thrive more flourishingly.

But after all that has been said that can be said, and all has been done that can be done, the outstanding fact remains that the Negro church is the one conspicuous concrete achievement on this continent. There are no Negro institutions in New York or Washington or Baltimore that stand out through the generations except the churches. There are several Negro churches in Harlem which cost a half million dollars. One searches the city in vain for any competitive individual or social properties. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., benefactions of philanthropy, are the nearest approach.

Thirty thousand pulpits must be filled during the next generation. The leading places in all of these denominations must be recruited. The college-bred Negro of this generation is neglecting his superlative opportunity for serving his day and generation. Last June thirteen hundred Negroes were graduated from colleges and universities. I seriously doubt whether half a hundred of them sought the high places of moral and spiritual guidance of the masses.

I am not uttering a word of despair. Somehow or other God always finds a way to look after His own. I have gone up and down this country from the Eastern to the Western as well as from the Northern to the Southern waters. I have spoken in Negro churches, and attended ministers' meetings in all parts of the land. I have been gratified beyond expectations to find that the greater pulpits are filled by men of native intelligence, innate leadership and resourcefulness acquired in the main from the performance of their ministerial duties rather than from formal schooling. They that do shall know is a social as well as a sacred law.

But this does not excuse the college Negro of the rising generation. For the most part they are seeking the sheltered and prepared places. The education of the race is mainly under control of the white race. They make the positions and set the pay.

The Negro teacher needs mainly to fit into the program. This is a very necessary and essential function. No discredit can be attached to those educated women and men who render this important racial service. But they are sheltered and shaded. They can do only what the white overlord authorizes them to do and say what he permits them to say. They cannot lead and direct the general life of the race. This must devolve upon men in independent positions who derive their support and authority from the people whom they serve. The minister speaks with the power and voice of the multitude whom he leads in righteousness.

The voice of the Negro is expressed through the pulpit and the press, the two conspicuous organs of public opinion growing out of and resting upon the people for whom they speak.

I suggest in our Greek Letter fraternities and sororities, too, in their local and grand assemblies, to give serious consideration to the claims of the ministry upon educated men.

I wish also to caution the new college generation that it is devoting too great a fraction of its energies to gaiety and frivolity. I have noticed the Negro doctors' convention, and from observation could not make certain whether it was a serious scientific gathering or an automobile show. The women in their merry frocks gather from all parts of the land enraptured with social festivities which all but drown the serious purpose of the gathering. Our fraternities and sororities are heading in the same direction.

I believe in play in its proper place and proportion. All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy and Jenny a stupid girl. But excessive frivolity in the midst of the grave responsibilities impending upon the rising generation might indicate a lack of serious comprehension of their duty to their race at this critical hour.

No, I am not a pessimist, nor a calamity howler. I would not discourage the young by belittling their achievements and attainments. But I deem it a solemn duty which the elder brother owes the younger to warn them against the danger of self-complaisant satisfaction.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

INTO THE SECOND GENERATION

Dean Kelly Miller's Article on the Second Generation of College-Bred Negroes Provoked so Much Discussion That He Has Seen Fit to "Hit It" Again

Amsterdam News

-By KELLY MILLER-

MY RECENT release on the second generation of college-bred Negroes has caused widespread comment. The destiny of the race is in their hands. Those of the older generation must decrease; they must increase. We can only occupy till they come! We must shortly hand over to them the great racial estates bequeathed by our more illiterate forbears. It is of highest racial concern that they appreciate the high responsibility that devolves upon them. I have said that they are afflicted with the eleemosynary complex. They must free themselves from the apron strings of philanthropy. A generation and a half is long enough to rely upon outside help.

DEAN KELLY MILLER.

The great political estate of formal equality has been vouchsafed as a bequest, and not achieved as a conquest. The passing generation has not been able to maintain it. We relied upon the Republican party to uphold us in our guaranteed rights. The party has failed us utterly. There is no human likelihood that the race will regain its pristine political ghost. The estate is about to be lost. Will the new generation now preparing for the stage of action possess the courage, the acumen and wise diplomacy to restore this rapidly vanishing political power? Or will it yield the struggle for want of courage and energy? Under the Federal Constitution, the Negro has every right of any other American citizen. Even the revised constitutions, on their face, are without racial discrimination.

The plain fact remains that the Negro is politically indifferent. Senator Blease stated the other day on the floor of the Senate that the Negroes in South Carolina do not vote because they have no political interest. This is practically true of the Negroes in Harlem. Notwithstanding the numerous modes of persuasion, so well known to the politician, not more than one legal voter in five in Harlem can be persuaded to qualify for that exalted function. Can this new Negro arouse the masses to the vital importance of functioning in the formation and control of the government under which it lives and by which it will be controlled?

This is the primary test of its capacity to cope with the situation by which it is confronted. For government is the controling agency in society. Those who do not participate in formulating and directing the government will always be at the mercy of those who do.

The fathers have built up and handed down a considerable property estate, mainly in the ownership of farm and city homes. Of the two the farm home is by far of greater importance. The farm home is of the nature of productive capital; the city home is but dead, inert, unproductive wealth. The only real, worthwhile capital which the race has yet accumulated consists of the quarter of a million farms, out of which more than a million Negroes direct their own activities and earn an independent living. Otherwise they are but hired hands receiving the pittance and doing the biddance of the white lord and master.

There is grave danger that under the prevalent tendency of the newer generation the race is losing its grip on this great agricultural estate in its mad rush after the glare and glamour of city life. What is gained in the city by no means offsets the loss sustained in the country. Several months ago I contributed an article to the Baltimore Manufacturers Record, entitled, "The Farm—the Negro's Best Chance."

If we take a comprehensive view of this wild rush cityward, we shall gain less racial comfort and satisfaction than we derive from first glance. We look in vain for the assuring indications that the race will reach the stage of economic and industrial self-sufficiently. It looks more likely that its permanent abiding place will be in the shade. The farm furnishes a place in the sun.

It is up to the incoming generation to command the industrial and economic life of the race as well as its political fortune. Will the graduates of Hampton and Tuskegee, as well as the output of the industrial departments of our colleges and universities, furnish wise industrial and economic leadership?

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N. Y. WORLD

JAN 19 1927

"Natives" and Niggers"

To the Editor of The World:

The time has arrived for plain speaking in reference to relations between Latin America and the United States.

Latin-Americans proudly resent interference in their domestic relations, the same as all civilized people. They welcome and protect American financial and scientific assistance, but would rather forego this help than permit this or any other country to dictate their conduct in their own country.

America makes a bad colonizer because her "spheres of influence" are always in charge of military or naval forces, not civil. And 90 per cent. of the personnel of the navy and army are Southerners who try to treat Latin-Americans the same as "Niggers" in their own country. On the other hand, civil authorities might be Northerners, with more sense and discretion.

Even in the Canal Zone, the Post Offices have signs reading "For Whites" and others "For Natives." The marines have stirred up enough trouble in Cuba (pitting natives against each other), in Hayti, Porto Rico, the Philippines and Mexico. They refuse to appreciate the natives' viewpoint.

The whole world to-day either hates or envies the United States, principally on account of the actions of some irresponsible travelers and her naval and military foreign establishments. (Even Canadians hold that America should have entered the war sooner.)

During the next three or four years it will behoove this country to either adopt a more conciliatory attitude in reference to the world at large and Latin America in particular, or else arm feverishly for the time when she will have a fight on her hands with not a single ally to assist her.

A LATIN-AMERICAN.

New York, Jan. 12.

WHITE FRIENDS DO NEGRO HARM SAYS TROTZKY

MOSCOW, FEB., (ANP.)—"IF whites join a Negro organization with the idea of 'sympathy' and 'benevolence' and 'to help the Negro' they will do more harm than good.

They will never do any good until they come in simply as equals and comrades and not as superiors looking down at the colored people," declared Leon Trotsky in an interview with William Pickens, field secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., and contributing editor of the Associated Negro Press, who is now touring Europe.

The interview was held at the Concession Committee Building Friday and while it was brief, due to the desire and determination to see the photoplay "Potemkin" on the part of Mr. Pickens, he was much pleased with the Russian leader's attitude and said: "Trotsky does not have the least conceit and is one of the most comradely world-characters I have met.

"He was sincere in his opinions and showed much interest in the race problem in America."

INCITING OF RACE PREJUDICE TO INFLUENCE JURIES DENOUNCED BY HIGH COURT

Appellate ourt Rules Justice Subversed If Prosecutor Incites Racial Bills In Jury; Pleas

Louisville News

(Pacific Coast News Bureau)

Sacramento, Calif. Feb. 3.—Reversing the recent judgement of the Stanislaus County court in the case of The People vs. Ernest Simon, in which Simon was convicted of setting fire to a building for the purpose of defrauding an insurance company, on the bround that the District Attorney stirred a racial prejudice against Simon, the Third District Court of Appeals severely denounced in an opinion recently made public, prosecuting attorneys who attempt to influence juries in criminal actions by inciting race prejudice.

Pleas Calculated To Inflame Prejudice

The opinion of the Court quoted the Prosecuting Attorney as remarking among other things: "There has, of course, grown up a suspicion in this county with reference to fires whenever a Jew has anything to do with it."

In the court's opinion there is "no escape from the conclusion that the remarks complained of were calculated to, and no doubt did, inflame and prejudice the minds of the jurors against the defendant because he happened to be a Jew. Such remarks should never be made in a court of justice by anyone, and, especially, should they not be made by a sworn officer of the law.

Race Prejudice Scored

"A District Attorney should remember that it is not his sole duty to convict and that to use his official position to obtain a verdict by appeal to race or religious prejudice, or other unfair means, is to bring his office and the courts into distress. If, indeed, the defendant be a Jew, it is no disgrace and should not be referred to at all. It should make absolutely no difference in a court whether the defendant is a Jew, an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German, a Chinaman, a Negro or an American, neither should it make any difference whether he be a millionaire or a pauper."

CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GA.

JAN 18 1927

Question of Negro To Settle Itself, Says English Critic

SUBJECT SIMILAR TO BRITAIN PROBLEM

(Editor's Note—Thomas Cadett, of The London Times, is the holder of the Walter Hines Page newspaper fellowship, and is spending a year in America under the terms of the fellowship. He has temporarily joined the staff of The Constitution Mr. Cadett has served on the staffs of The San Francisco Chronicle and The Chicago Daily News. The Constitution was selected, without its knowledge, as the representative southern newspaper on which he is to serve in getting a national acquaintance with American conditions.)

BY THOMAS CADETT.

My attention has, very rightly, been drawn to the fact that Decatur street is by no means "the hub of local colored life and enterprise"—an unfortunate and certainly erroneous phrase that appeared in my article on that thoroughfare.

There can, however, be no disputing the fact that the place certainly does represent a certain section or aspect of negro life, whatever the nationality of the shopkeepers in the area. Nevertheless, it should be understood that nothing more than a frail sketch of just one particular section was intended. With the energy and enterprise illustrated by Auburn avenue, any generalization based upon a glimpse of a less desirable neighborhood would be a rank injustice.

The progress of the negro in America since the abolition of slavery, the part he has yet to play in the history of the country, and the race problems of the present day are a fascinating study to one who has had any dealings with the British empire and its vast variety of colour and creed.

There is, of course, the fundamental difference, save in the case of South Africa, that our problems are imperial rather than domestic. Nevertheless, there are many similar features which call for the same treatment.

Race Progresses.

In so far as progress is concerned, the late Lord Bryce, formerly British ambassador to this country, stated the case fairly enough when he observed that the advance made by the American negro since freedom had been excelled by no other group in so short a time. And when the condition, speaking generally, of the slaves in respect of education and standard of living is compared with that of their forbears of today, the remark stands justified. The ever-increasing facilities for education are, indeed, in my opinion the most encouraging feature of the situation.

But there is education and there is an academic travesty of it; the one is as beneficial as the other is dangerous. The past rights and wrongs of the negro case have nothing to do with those of the present. The greatest debt owing to the negro, both from himself and from others, is development of his qualities in the right direction without involving the cruel folly of inculcating the erroneous idea that he has limitations neither of fact nor of temperament.

In other words, if he is taught to be himself at his best, something has been achieved; if he is taught to yearn for a station that he cannot adequately fill, there will be the mischief to pay. There is nothing reactionary in the idea, for it is one that applies to men of any nationality; the truest kind of democracy is the aristocracy of capability. But when all the theories of men's status have been propounded, there remain ethnological considerations that cannot in practice be ignored. Any large scale fusion between white and colored is unthinkable to the best elements of either side; and, in this connection, the black man has as much right to talk of the white menace—as the mulatto statistics show—as the white man has to reverse the phrase.

Care Necessary.

All this argues the necessity for extreme care, for the culture and amenities of the white man are indigestible for primitive races except in small doses, as we have learned in one or two red spots on the map. One thing, at least, is understood by every race in the world, and that is justice. Even justice untempered with mercy will arouse nothing but respect; and the negro at least has the right to that.

India has justice at our hands, whatever else she has not—so much so that it is by no means unusual for the native parties to an action to demand its trial before a white judge.

No Englishman in his senses has the right to condemn—apart from the golden rule of minding one's own business—the American attitude towards the negro, for the difficulties of the situation are too apparent to be ignored; nor, in spite of our reputation for hypocrisy, can we pretend to be perfect in all our dealings with other races. Anything that has been said here has been set down in a spirit of interest and sympathy with both sides.

Obviously the negro has a long way to travel along the road of advancement; at his best, he is equipped with an unfailing cheerfulness and a willingness to serve, as well as a deep personal loyalty, that will make the way more easy. Kindness he appreciates, weakness he despises, and becomes arrogant like the child he so often is. In the end, I suppose, like every other problem, that of the negro will settle itself if it receives neither too much interference nor too much neglect.

Race Problem – 1927
United States.

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

The Negro is having his day in the Supreme Court of the United States. Last week that august tribunal decided that the Fourteenth Amendment still has life in it and Negroes can vote in Texas Primaries and, by inference, in any other State or election. This week it refused to reverse itself in its decision of 1917 in the Louisville segregation case abolishing residential segregation. Also this week the Supreme Court granted a petition for a review of a Texas Federal Court decision enjoining Colored Shriners from the use of the name, Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. The white Shriners of Texas won an injunction from all teh Texas court keeping Coloroed Shriners from using the name, emblem, paraphenalia, etc., of that order. The Supreme Court agrees to hear the Colored people's side.

The question comes: Now that the Supreme Court has given these favorable decisions will Colored people affected by them use them to the fullest in securing their rights? Some years ago a number of Colored men from Oklahoma sued a railroad for refusing them sleeping and dining accommodations. The Supreme Court decided they were due no punitive damages since no one had tried to purchase a sleeper or had tried to get a meal on the diner and had been refused. But the court went out of its way to emphasize that in the matter of separate coaches, the law said equal accommodations and equal they must be. If only one Colored man wanted a sleeper one had to be provided for him as the law took no cognizance of whether many or few Colored people traveled.

But this sweeping statement from the Supreme Court was never followed up to its logical conclusion, which would have been eventually the abolishment of "jim crow" cars.

The Negro is having his day in court. It is hoped he will make the most of it.

APPRECIATION FOR CLARENCE DARROW

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of Washington of which Neval H. Thomas is the president, and Archibald S. Pinkett is the secretary, is deserving the unstinted praise of the people of Washington for bringing to this city Clarence Darrow who spoke so eloquently on last Monday night. That more than 8,000 people would attend a lecture in Washington, where oratory is not as rare as it is in some other parts of the country, speaks volumes for the appreciation had for Mr. Darrow. The people of the community owe a debt of obligation to the N. A. A. C. P. for having given them the opportunity to hear this militant defender of the rights of a proscribed race. Here is a man who makes no pretension to the religious belief of the blatant proponents of the religion espoused by the Ku Klux Klan but he exemplifies in his attitude toward the Negro the finest principles of the religion of the Man from Galilee.

Mr. Darrow is a radical and has no hesitancy at any time in speaking in the most forceful manner anywhere against wrong in high places.

It seemed to be quite fitting that the man, Neval Thomas, the president of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., should bring Mr. Darrow to Washington. Mr. Thomas is himself a radical and never hesitates to speak out against the wrongs done his people. Like Mr. Darrow, Mr. Thomas cannot be threatened, he cannot be coerced, he cannot be bribed nor can he be forced into doing that which is contrary to the principles for which he stands. Again we say the colored people of Washington are to be congratulated on having had the privilege of hearing Mr. Darrow and Mr. Thomas deserves the commendation of the people for having brought him here.

Senator Tom Heflin, also of Alabama 'Suh,' admits before the senate that he some years ago shot a black man on a Washington D. C. electric car and adds that upon his victim's recovery he thanked him for the rash act and avowed that he had been rendered a favor. The Senate heard him say it, the newspapers quoted him and he still basks around in the good graces of the American people. Helfin should not be held in esteem by the law-makers of the nation. He should be condemned by the press, reviled by the public and avoided by righteous men. Such a man is far removed from standards of civilized manhood.

Ben Davis Has Brain Storm

Head Of Press Association Sting By Criticism Of Meeting

Emits Volume Of Vituperation, Vilfication And Fabrication

The editor of The Louisville News has received an "open letter", entitled "The Ravings of An Ingrate and a Renegade" by the "Honorable" B. . Davis, editor of the Atlanta Independent and President of the National Negro Press Association. The gentleman from Georgia was stung to the quick because The Louisville News said the press association meeting was a waste of time and money to members who attended, that it did nothing and meant nothing, that valuable time was frittered away on non-essentials.

For this act of lese-majeste the editor of The Louisville News becomes the object of a vile screed of villification, vituperation and fabrication vomited by Blustering Ben. He adds the editor of The Louisville News "has not the 'guts'" to publish it in his paper. However that may be, the thing will not appear in The Louisville News but anyone curious enough may find it in Ben's paper or perhaps in some other sheet of that type. Omitting the epithets and ignoring the false statements in the "open letter" the following is taken from it as the best evidence of the kind of a man Blustering Ben is. He says, after enumerating a list of offenses, freely interspersed with ungentlemanly epithets, they "change our opinion from the status that you were possibly persecuted in Kentucky to the realization that you were properly prosecuted."

And there you have Blustering Ben Davis in a nutshell.

The Louisville News will not publish this asinine outburst of a man whose bump of ego has been punctured and these canine yelps of one

THE NEW WHITE MAN

HOLLYWOOD MIINISTER DECLARES A "NEW WHITE MAN" HAS BEEN BORN—WORKS WITH THE "NEGRO" NOT "FOR HIM"

Hollywood, Calif., June 1, 1927:—(Pacific Coast News Bureau)—Along with the birth of the "New Negro," a new Negro or new white man" also has been born, according to the Rev. Allan Hunter, pastor of the Mt. Holly Congregational Church, this city. Speaking on the "New White Man" before his large congregation, Mr. Hunter who is in his early thirties said: "The New White Man has nothing to do with sweeping generalities. Science knows nothing of superior and inferior races but a great deal of superior and inferior individuals. The old white man worked for Negroes but the new white man is working WITH Negroes."

On the same program Ralph Bunche, the A-Average University of California, Southern Branch, June graduate spoke on the "New Negro". According to Mr. Bunche there are no "new Negroes" in the strict sense of the word but the "old Negro" is merely aking advantage of his opportunities nd that achievement alone stands

NEW YORK
TELEGRAPH
JUN 17 1927

COURT RAP AT NEGROES KINDLES RACE HATRED

Louisiana Judge Says Blacks Look for Trouble.

Special Dispatch to The New York Telegram.

NEW ORLEANS, June 17.—Race hatred flared today following utterances by Judge White, of Harrison County.

In sentencing two negroes who killed a man who protested at being splashed with mud by an auto he said:—

"The negroes look for trouble. Men carry arms and women razors. Then when one commits a crime the entire negro populace tries to cover it up, while whites aid the police in delivering criminals to the law."

whose tail of vanity has been stepped upon, but for the benefit of readers who may see them elsewhere it publishes the editor's reply:

Mr. Ben Davis, Editor Atlanta Independent,
Atlanta, Ga.
My Dear Mr. Davis:

I received your "open letter" entitled "The Ravings of an Ingrate and Renegade." I sincerely hope you feel better after writing it. To harbor so much venom and spleen and poison in one's system is positively dangerous to one's health. You might have had a stroke or a blood vessel could have bursted, and whereas I do not think much of you and value you less than zero, there are others, no doubt, with whom you are 100 per cent and to whom you are dear, so I am glad you missed either calamnity and that you will have many years before you, and in the meantime you will learn you are only Ben Davis, just one of God's creatures. You suffer, my dear sir, from an exaggerated ego, your bump of vanity and self-conceit is far out of proportion to your actual value. I admit a man ought to value himself highly, but it is a very unwise and stupid man who puts himself so high he thinks he cannot be criticised nor dare anyone differ with him on various matters.

I have been taught not to answer a fool according to his folly, so I will not indulge any epithets or vie with you in villification, vituperation, fabrication or billingsgate. Two things I will reply to: You say the hundred dollars that Melvin J. Chisum gave to me (and he gave Mr. Cole the same amount) came from the National Negro Press Association. I do not think that is true as Mr. Chisum did not say or even hint any such thing. If it is true, why did you not, as President, correct us when we gave Mr. Chisum such fulsome praise for HIS gift? In fact Mr. Chisum told us he wanted to make fellow editors ashamed that they had given nothing in this crisis. Before coming to the press meeting I wrote Mr. Chism and insisted that he not make any appeal for funds for us. At the meeting I, myself, in a talk made it emphatic that no donation be given us, that we did not need it and did not want it. I told the association the N. A. A. C. P. had paid the legal expenses amounting to $500 on the ground that that organization felt this case meant much to the Negro press. That six men, including yourself, insisted on giving five dollars each or $30, half of which went to Mr. Cole, assuredly would not make me think the Negro Press Assocation did anything constructive or meant anything, when I sat there and looked and listened, mostly at you I am sorry to say, and know that it did nothing. So your declaration that the association gave me $130 is untrue but characteristic of Blustering Ben. As far as your saying the action of the Kentucky Courts in frining me for alleged libel of a judge is just and fair and deserving, you only emphasize your own narrowness and littleness—as does the rest of your letter.

No, I will not run your "letter" in The Louisville News; first, because I do not want to degrade its columns with that kind of filth, and second, because I do not want the people of Louisville to see what kind of a man the President of the Negro Press Association is. Others may run it—here in Louisville even—you may run it in your columns, for that sort of stuff may make you a "big Negro" in Georgia. But in Kentucky it would only serve to reflect discreditably on the association.

Your "open letter" is the best evidence of your unfitness for the office of Presidency in any body of intelligent, earnest men who want to do something worth-while. Perhaps my personal reference to you overstepped the bounds of propriety, if that is so I apologize as I have no wish to be unkind to any man. My justification for that, if did wrong, is that in writing the article the figure of Blustering Ben kept obtruding itself in my vision. As for the rest, the article was true and more than one man agreed with me before we left that the Negro press meeting in Chicago was a waste of time and money—it did nothing, said nothing, **meant nothing!**

The reflection is on us all, but the crticism seems to have stung the monumental egotism of Blustering Ben and started flowing a vile screed he calls, "The Ravings of an Ingrate and Renegade."

Come on to Louisville, Kentucky will welcome the Negro press and if the association cannot inspire Louisville, Louisville may inspire the Negro press. Come on to Louisville, come with a program. Come like men and not like boys passing applesauce to each other when there is real work, great work to be done.

You commend us to the Master. Thanks very much, but we are afraid the recommendation of a man whose heart could indite such a letter will not go very far with the Master. At least, we forgive you because we have seen egotism, vanity and conceit explode before. The possessor of such an iordinate degree of these elements is not responsible for what he says.

Goodbye, Ben, and good luck. Hope to see you in Louisville in 1928

Sincerely,

WILLIAM WARLEY.

A SOUTHERN SAMBO

When Clifton Richardson, editor of the Houston Informer, scored and reviled one W. L. Davis, acting principal of one of the schools in Texas, for defending the unsavory conditions of that school Davis sued the editor and has been awarded a judgment of seven hundred and fifty dollars. Davis brought his suit in the Texas courts and tried it before a jury of white Texans. Davis is said to be a tool of these bourbon southerners and is best described in ordinary prevailing vernacular as an "Uncle Tom."

His victory is to be expected but it should not be allowed to set any precedent because the rapidly rising press of the black people will be muzzled and emasculated if these "pussillanimous pussyfooting" characters are permitted to whisper their honied words into the ears of the southern white folks. Whenever the legal machinery of the south is set in motion we are in for trouble unless the higher courts of the land are appealed to. Richardson should be supported by the N. A. A. C. P. in his fight for justice and his case is just as important as the recent Nixon "white primary" Texas law. This case should summon up all of the powerful resources of the press and the public. The time has arrived in the history of our development when schemers, talebearers and traitors should be excoriated and exposed. This is no time for the perpetuation of venal political bootlickers like Davis. Richardson should not be forced to carry the cross alone. The integrity of the press and its independence should not be hampered by the chicanery and duplicity of southern "Sambo-Gambians."

negro boy who wins first prize in a poetry contest, there one who is setting to music the spirituels of his people, but innumerable others who cannot read, write or cipher."

EXAMINER
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
MAY 28 1927

NEGRO CABIN MYTH BLASTED

The little log cabin of the sunny south isn't what it's pictured in song and story. It's unsanitary and breeds immorality, nor all the honeysuckles 'round the door, nor even the mellow guitar twanged on the low door-stoop, can make it aught else.

Slavery, moreover, still flourishes.

And that's according to one of the race made famous by "Mammy" songs. Mrs. H. L. McCrorey, mission worker among the colored race in Charlotte, South Carolina, tore down the pretty fallacies surrounding the plantation cabin, and the emancipation proclamation in her talk yesterday afternoon before a gathering of Presbyterian women in the First Congregational church.

"In many places in the South, virtual slavery still exists," she declared. "Plantation owners go into the courts, pay the fees for negroes accused of misdemeanors, and take those negroes to their plantations to work out the debt. Through one pretext or another, they keep them there for years.

"Ignorance is the great curse of the black man. Here we have a

Race Problem - 1927
United States.

KELLY MILLER DEFEATS CALVERTON IN DEBATE

NEW YORK CITY, May 5—The keenly-awaited debate between Dean Kelly Miller, of Howard University, and V. F. Calverton, white, editor of the "Modern Quarterly," was held from 3 to 5 o'clock Sunday afternoon at the Community Church, Thirty-fourth Street and Park Avenue. The subject, "Does Orthodox Christianity Handicap Negro Progress," was warmly discussed by the two learned scholars for nearly two hours, Professor Miller taking the negative, saying Christianity does not handicap Negro progress, and Mr. Calverton taking the affirmative, saying it does. Charles S. Johnson, editor of "Opportunity Magazine," presided.

It was very evident from the applause during and at the end of the discussion that Professor Miller scored a signal victory over his opponent. While the several hundred people very generously applauded both speakers, it was clear the audience favored Professor Miller. Mr. Johnson stated that there would be no judges, but the audience would be left to decide for itself which speaker won.

Mr. Calverton, an experienced lecturer and author of "The Newer Spirit" and "Sex Expression in Literature" pointed out Christianity had its foundation in myths, cruelties and barbarities of all descriptions, and that the Negro's intellectual and social life have been held in check by Christian influences. Professor Miller countered by saying all the Negro has came from Christian sources, including his freedom from slavery, his education since slavery, and the greater part of his material wealth, as is evidenced by the worth of the Negro church.

The debate marked the first of a series to be conducted under the auspices of the "Messenger Magazine," and was directed by George S. Schuyler and Abram L. Harris, two of the editors of the publication. Several white people were in the audience.

Race Prejudice in the North

By Ella Albert Brown
(For Preston News Service)

Very broad and unusually fair is the editorial, "Race Prejudice in the North," which appears in "The Christian Century" for May 12 ,1927. This article shows that there are fair minded Nordics in this country, who are willing to shift some for themselves as a race. To quote: "Race prejudice seems in fact to be a universal vice, universal at least among Nordic peoples which is manifested in varying degrees of intensity according to the degree of provocation given by the social circumstances." From this we would glean that race prejudice is an inherent trait of the Nordic, exhibited against those who are in any way different from themselves, either in color, religion, or social and economic conditions. The superiority complex and the "holier than thou" attitude of the Nordic takes its vengeance alike on those weaker in numbers, advantages and opportunities than themselves. Prejudice against the Jews is on the wane because they are advancing in wealth and opportunity. The economic condition of the Jew is improving, which raises his social status, leaving only religion as the chief barrier bteween himself and his Nordic brother,—and even this barrier is being bemoved through greater religious tolerance on the part of fair minded Christians. When the Negro race is able to improve itself economically and thereby rise in the social scale, gain wealth, education, with the power that goes along with these, his color will be forgotten, and with the disappearance of this barrier the Negro Problem will no longer exist.

Reverting to the original article the writer gives some of the causes for the spread of race prejudice in the north. The tremendous migration of the southern Negroes into the industrial centers of the north, has tended to "increase an insignificant racial minority until it becomes a significant one, and all the social phenomena which characterize southern life begin to appear in the northern areas," hence race riots have occured in Chicago, Detroit, the same as in the extreme south.

With this influx of the Negro into northern cities the housing situation becomes the crux of the race problem. The Negro "must overcome not only the ostracism of white neighborhoods, but the discriminatory practices of the banks." With the usual overcrowding in colored sections, there is the high rent problem. "Negroes pay from two to three times as much rent as white people for the same accomomdations." "If the Negro decides to avoid conflict with white neighbors and move into a Negro subdivision, he is expploited by real estate people who sell him plots of ground without a single civic facility, such as sidewalks, sewers and waters connections."

The police and the general public declare "the Negro is a natural criminal", and attribute this criminality "to racial rather than to social and economic causes," but "bad housing, overcrowding, irregular employment, lack of recreational facilities, and some anti-social habits imported from the south, and illiteracy help to keep the Negro crime rate high." The Negro obviously suffers handicaps in securing employment and the condition is especially bad for Negro women.

The important matter of education is a rather bright spot for the Negroes in the north. Here, "the first real chance to better their lot is the opportunity for a decent education." Because the inadequate school facilities of the south, the children of these immigrants are "three or more years retarded," but the northern school system is doing much for these children.

While the church is spoken of as "the most important social institution in the life of the Negro, it is found to be lacking in facilities for their social life, and educational program. Some of the white denominations have helped in erecting buildings for the Negroes, but what has been given "is infinitesimal compared either with their foreign or their home mission contribution."

Gleanings

RACE PREJUDICE IN THE NORTH

(The Christian Century)

It is a gentle conceit of northern people that race prejudice is a vice peculiar to the south. The tremendous migration of southern Negroes into the industrial centers of the north is rapidly dispelling this illusion. Increase an insignificant racial minority until it becomes a significant one and all the social phenomena which characterize southern life begin to appear in the northern areas. Race prejudice seems in fact to be a universal vice—universal at least among Nordic peoples—which is manifested in varying degrees of intensity according to the degree of provocation given by the social circumstances. Chicago had its race riot a few years ago. In the summer of 1925 Detroit suffered from a series of clashes between the races. The Detroit race report which grew out of these difficulties has just been published. It is not as pretentious as the Chicago report, for its presents the findings of a survey lasting only four months and made under the auspices of the mayor's race committee. This committee, consisting of six white and six colored leaders of the community, was organized by the mayor shortly after the riots and has been functioning for over a year.

The Detroit report adds some rather interesting data to the study of race conditions in northern industrial areas and makes some recommendations which may prove helpful to students of race relations. The report reveals the Negro population of this most prosperous of cities to be in a miserable state. The number of Negroes in the city has grown from 10,000 in 1914 to 85,000 in 1926—an increase which surpasses the ratio of increase of the city as a whole though the city holds the record for the last census period. This rapid influx has resulted in the usual overcrowding and high rents. The committee estimates that Negroes pay from two to three times as much rent as white people pay for the same accomodations. Overcrowded as the colored sections are they can only be expanded at the peril of conflict. If the Negroes decide to avoid conflict with white neighbors and move into a Negro subdivision, he is exploited by real estate dealers, who sell him lots which are mere plots of ground without a single civic facility, such as sidewalks, sewers and water connections. The subdivision is probably outside the city limits and there is not enough prestige in the community to make the facilities of the city available for the sec-

The housing situation is the crux of the race problem in every city. If the more fortunate Negro decides to escape the filth and squalor of the Negro tenement district and to build his own home, he must overcome, not only the ostracism of the white neighborhoods, but the discrimnatory practices of the banks. The Detroit report declares restriction of credit on the part of the banks to be almost universal. Without particular malice but with a calous indifference to the social consequences of their actions, the bank officials simply assume that all Negroes are shiftless as the few with whom at some time or other, they may have had dealings. The tendency to universalize and generalize upon the basis of a few experiences is incidentally one of the greatest difficulties in all group relations. The man in another group is always typical and the man in our own group is unique.

Bad housing, overcrowding, irregular employment, lack of recreaitonal facilities, some antisocial habitis imported from the south, and illiteracy help to keep the Negro crime rate high. The Detroit report shows a Negro crime rate three times as high as the city average. This crimnality is easily attributed to racial rather than to social and economic causes. The Uegro is a natural criminal, declares the general public and the police. In a period of eighteen month asscording to the Detroit report, the police of that city kiled 24 colored criminals and alleged criminals. Not a policeman was brought to trial for any one

(Continued next week)

NEWS
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
MAY 20 1927

The Negro and the South

We dou.. if d... s a magazine in America as acutely controversial as the Forum. It has gone even beyond the Nation, and has far outstripped the poor old sober-sided New Republic. The Forum bristles with controversy. One of its issues would fail of its purpose if it failed to contain at least one article so stupidly foolish as to provoke bitter debate.

The particular irritant in the June number is a rather high and mighty attempt to look down on the south for its attitude toward the nagro. The title of the article is "The Pathology of Race Prejudice," and it was written by a Mr. Edward Franklin Frazier. Who he is is not explained, and his article reveals

what he is without need of further comment. His theme is that the southern attitude toward the negro is "a form of insanity;" that, wherever the colored man is concerned, the Southern white man forgets all his ideas of truth, justice, honor, duty and observance of law. Mr. Frazier terms this alleged psychological attitude "the negro-complex" and proceeds to treat it in the usual ultra-modern Freudian fashion. Here is an example of what he has to say:

> Moreover, just as in the insane any pertinent stimulus may arouse the whole complex, so any idea connected with the negro causes the whole negro-complex to be projected into consciousness. Its presence there means that all thinking is determined by the complex. For example, a white woman who addresses a colored man as mister is immediately asked whether she would want a negro to marry her sister and must listen to a catalog of his sins. How else than as the somnambulism of the insane and almost insane are we to account for the behavior of a member of a school board who jumps up and paces the floor, cursing and accusing negroes, the instant the question of appropriating money for negro schools is raised? Likewise, the negro-complex obtrudes itself on all planes of thought. Health programs are slighted because it is argued negroes will increase; the selective draft is opposed because the negro will be armed; woman suffrage is fought because colored women will vote. In many other cases the behavior of white people toward life in general is less consciously and less overtly influenced by the negro-complex. Bitter memories quite often furnish its emotional basis while the complex itself is elaborated by ideas received from the social environment.

The amazing thing about most of these high-toned northern intellectuals who look with such scorn on the south is that they go off half cocked. They don't know what they are talking about. They build up for themselves straw men which they take a great delight in constantly knocking down.

The south is far from perfect in its treatment of the negro. But it is far from treating him as these northern highbrows, these Freudulent philanderers, would have us believe. The Forum writer refers to "the behavior of a member of a school board who jumps up and paces the floor, cursing and accusing negroes, the instant the question of appropriating money for negro schools is raised." Mr. Frazier should make a trip to Tennessee and take a look at some of the school buildings which are now being used by them, and others that are now being built for the children of the colored race. Right here in Chattanooga we could show him a number of structures which are splendid educational plants. In Nashville he could visit a fine state college for the colored race. In Knoxville and Memphis he could see splendid schools for the colored children. He could see similar sights all through the south.

If he cared to do a little investigation of financial facts he would discover that in the Southern states more money is today being spent for the education of negro children than was spent in 1890 for the education of all children in the south. This is not such a bad record. It could be considerably worse.

The South is not a rich section, as rich sections go. It has not the ready supply of free and easy cash which New York and Massachusetts are so easily able to supply. Southern people still have to sweat for the money; they have to work hard for the dollars the tax gatherer gets. They are not frothing at the mouth at negro education—they are doing their very best to get the funds to give the negroes a real chance.

One reads also that "health programs are slighted because of fears of negroes being advanced." North Carolina and Tennessee are spending money in the increasing hundreds of thousands on their health departments and they are taking white and black alike. The same can be said of other sections. The charge is too absurd to be raised.

Mr. Frazier seems singularly ill informed about woman suffrage. He would have us believe that in the South it "is fought because colored women will vote." Apparently, he is ignorant of the fact that a southern state—our own state of Tennessee—was the thirty-sixth and the essential final one to ratify the nineteenth amendment so that American women could vote. Tennessee was "the perfect thirty-six."

It is perhaps possible to make this general observation that in the north the negro may fare better as a race; but he fares better as an individual here in the South.

It is perhaps too obtrusive to call attention to the most conspicuous race riots of recent years: those of Chicago, Springfield and East St. Louis, of New Jersey and New York. The north today has become more intolerant of the negro in the mass than are the people of the Southern states. There is a mote in the Northern eye.

We do not wish to be understood as defending economic or legal or political discriminations against the colored race. We believe that a negro in the same position and doing the same work with the same competence of a white man is entitled to the same pay. We believe that negroes who meet an educational test are as much entitled to vote as white men who can meet the same test. We believe that there must be no creed or color or race in the eyes of the law, and that the negro is entitled to exact and even-handed justice, with a plenitude of mercy as well.

But we cannot help being irritated by such ridiculous rot as this Forum piece. Of course, it is printed purely to bring protest; the magazine lives under the heat of hot talk. As to Mr. Frazier's article—there is not a great deal of difference in the spelling of Freud and fraud.

Courts Our Bulwark Says 83 Yr. Old Moorfield Storey To Association Delegates

Two Race Victories In Supreme Court This Year Evidence Of Protection

INDIANAPOLIS. —Moorfield Storey, of Boston, former President of the American Bar Association, and National President of the N. A. A. C. P., in a message read at the opening mass meeting of the 18th Annual Conference, here Wednesday night, called attention to two victories of the Association won this year before the U. S. Supreme Court as evidencing the protection given to the Negro in the courts of the land.

Mr. Storey, who was secretary to Senator Charles during Reconstruction, could not make the journey from Boston to Indianapolis, because of his advanced age of 83 years, and sent a message to be read.

New Orleans

"We have had fresh evidence this year," said the message, "that the principles on which our liberty rests will be upheld by our courts. The Supreme Court of New Orleans and the Supreme Court of Louisiana to overrule the Supreme Court of the United States and maintain a segregation ordinance was a pitiful failure when its advocates came before the court.

"The attempt of Texas to exclude colored Democrats from Democratic caucuses failed as soon as it came to the bar of the Supreme court and the door was opened so that colored voters can take part in the government under which they live, and now it is for them to use their power.

Negroes Should Us Vote

"Voters count. People who cannot or do not vote do not count in making the laws under which we live, and it is encouraging to see that some of the political contestants in the South are beginning to realize that the colored vote is a force which can be used and which is large enough to carry many elections. Sooner or later there will be white men as anxious to bring out and use the colored vote as they have been to suppress it."

Aiken, S. C. "Plague Spot"

Referring to lynching in the South and particularly to the lynching in Aiken, South Carolina, Mr. Storey's message said:

"The proud old State of South Carolina found its Governor, its courts, its leading journals powerless to enforce the law against a group of well-known men in Aiken, who had murdered three Negroes charged with crime, of whom one had been acquitted, and two others were relieved from conviction by the Supreme Court and granted a new trial. The New York World, after investigation by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, day after day published the facts, the evidence was convincing. But the grand jury closed their ears and obstinately refused to indict the murderers. The country cannot tolerate plague spots like this and every man who values his country's honor must do all that in him lies to end them."

Asks Protection Of Negro In U. S.

Criticising the sending of fleets and soldiers to protect Americans abroad, while American Negroes were not safeguarded in their fundamental citizenship rights in their own country, Mr. Storey's message said:

"Citizens whom the United States drafts into her armies, whom she taxes, on whom she imposes all obligations of citizens, are certainly in their own homes entitled to protection against outrage. We are spending hundreds of millions and employing thousands of officers to punish men for selling, carrying or drinking liquor, beer and wine, and not a cent to punish men for cruel murder, not an officer to enforce the rights of twelve millions of American citizens.

"The President without consulting Congress and without power under the Constitution taxes us all and sends our soldiers as police to preserve order in Nicaragua, but finds no power to punish murder in our own States.

"The Constitutional Amendments won by four years of Civil War which secure the fundamental rights of our own citizens are treated as dead letters with the result that 86,341 votes elect 8 representatives in the South while it takes 592,246 to elect the same number in the North. The white voter loses his own rights when he ceases to protect the rights of his colored brothers".

Peonage Disclosed By Floods

Mr. Storey in his message also alluded to the peonage conditions disclosed by the Mississippi River flood as existing on delta plantations.

"The floods in the South have brought out how nearly slaves are the colored workers on Southern plantations," said the message. "These conditions cannot last. Our duty is to bring out the truth and make our fellow-citizens realize what barbarism thrives under beneficient laws which we do not enforce.

"Be of good cheer, my friends, stand together, fight on in the courts and in public meetings. Look back on what we have won since 1865, and look forward with fresh courage to the future with assured faith that victory awaits us."

Race Problem – 1927

United States

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH WHITE PEOPLE?

They crowd about a casket, women fainting, men tramping each other, to see the face of a foreigner, Roman Catholic, Italian, theatre actor, a man who married and divorced women, who spent thousands of dollars, but not for religion, moral reforms, or for charity, or any other utilitarian purpose. They seem bent upon a mission to make a hero of, shall we say a libertine? The late P. T. Barnum had such people in mind when he said, "the American people like to be fooled." Judge said, "What fools these mortals be." White people, considering their chances to know ysomething, to do something worth while, and to be somebody of real type and nobility, do some very strange things.

Most people credit ex-president Elliot of Harvard as perhaps the leading educator; he was denominated "America's first citizen." Mr. Roosevelt said: "The one man I envy is president Elliot." We Baptist lift our hats, knowing at the same time Mr. Elliot was a Unitarian in religion, and that means in this day and time a negation of Christianity and a merely sociological kind of association.

A representative of the Pope of Rome comes to America and the governor of New York and the mayors of New York City and Chicago, respectively kneel in public places and kiss the foreigner's finger ring!

A Greek Catholic Queen visits the United States and lo, white people again scrape and bow, salute and sputter!

We might go on to recite volumes of queer doings, including lynchings, robberies, murders, suicides, underworld activities, corruption in high places, libertinism and general heathen and paganism—enacted by white people of the United States.

As we write see what their daily papers are revealing in dirty divorce suits. And read of obscenity in theatres, magazines, dance halls, and the wholesale abandon to vice, and the wave, rather flood, of crime sweeping the land.

Answering our own caption, we may say there is a whole lot the matter with the white people.

However, we would be as unfair and unjust as are certain white people were we to include all white people in the sorry catalogue. Everybody knows that there are millions of white people who are ashamed of the doings mentioned and whose character and conduct are the glory of America. May their tribe increase.

FORTUNATE KELLY MILLER NOT MADE PRESIDENT OF HOWARD

By E. B. Henderson

What a fortune for Howard University and the large group of colored American that Prof. Kelly Miller was not elected president. His latest pessimistic eruption in the Current History magazine indicates that he is becoming positively dangerous as a Negro publicist and propagandist. The Klan will probably utilize his article among its moronic following about as they used the utterances of Marcus Garvey. The article to many will seem but a recitation of facts, but it's many Millerized interpretations and wrong statements are harmful. For instance, to consider the killed white man in the Sweet case an innocent by-stander is like calling members of any lynching mob innocent. The answer to the sentiment of the article is well given by Mr. Seligman, a white man, in the same magazine, entitled, "A Protest Against Ghetto Conditions." How unfortunate that a man who has suffered most because of segregation, except that he has made a good living by capitalizing it, should defend it, and a white man should write opposing it for the best interests of the colored people here.

Much weekly release from the facile pen of Prof. Miller is entertaining reading for those who like ideas sugar coated with thick verbiage, but it is mostly read by us. Writing for a fee for capitalistic journalism to subtlely justify policies that make it easier to keep the masses hating each other is another thing. Race hatred and denominational christianity are the two powerful wedges used. Segregation, and teaching that rewards should be looked for in heaven are parts of the scheme.

Either Prof. Miller is becoming soured or failing to get fame in fence straddling on all issues decides now to fall over on the side of reactionary interests. Living by Howard University surrounded by his colored friends represents a soul satisfying situation for the Howard professor, but how about the frontier colored man on the border line with the enemy who is making it possible for the Negro Ghetto district to extend onto the avenues, into the electric lights, the good paved streets, better schools, light, air and some of the good things yet possible?

Prof. Miller does say that many of us profit by virtue of segregation and that we don't make a supreme sacrifice and leave our jobs of administering to our own sick, teaching our own children in separate schools, preaching to them and drawing our money by such service. No, and neither did many millions of Americans leave the country when we entered the various wars. Thousands and millions thought as did Bryan and Wilson that we had no place in the struggle and should be too proud to fight, just before we all were entered in the last war. Against segregation we should maintain an antagonistic attitude. We need not be loyal to every tyrant or every cause but we can be loyal to ourselves and the best interests of generations of people to come just as many of our foreparents living a slaves kept a non-servile and rebellion attitude towards slavery, even though they may have lived worse had they been free men.

RACIAL DIFFERENTIATIONS

Washington, March 7.—According to George A. R. Gilfillan, of Philadelphia, "The Negro, the Occidental and the Oriental are representative of distinct racial and national types. Each has some faculty more accentuated than the other; each is necessary to the other; the sum total of the faculties representing the allied resources of mankind. To divide these resources by purely racial alliances would have but one result, the complete collapse of every uplifting and civilizing agency in existence. To attain unity it is necessary for each to give to the others some of its rights and privileges as well as to make constant efforts for the common welfare. The presence of the Negro in America indicates an obligation on the part of the white race to share its accomplishments with the colored.

"On their side the white peoples must meet that growth in a spirit of confidence and cooperation. Every bit of their experience must be used to help shape and build evenly the newly forming racial character. In this as in all other efforts at mutual aid and improvement the first step is the removing of all thought or suggestion of aloofness, suspicion and lack of altruistic motives from the minds of those in whose hands the leadership rests."

Edwards Flays Racial Hatred

Jersey City—Playing sectionalism and inter-racial hatreds as enemies of true Americanism, Senator Edward I. Edwards of New Jersey, today had declared the time had arrived for " absolute freedom of thought and equality before the law."

"If our state and national governments would insist upon this American principle for all citizens there would be no place in our daily lives for sheeted mobs, sectional uprising or a prejudiced press," Edwards declared.

He spoke before the Steuben Society in tribute to the memory of Baron Steuben, revolutionary war hero.

"Racial hatreds have no more right to find lodgement in this land of the free than has bolshevism or anarchy," said Senator Edwars. "All are equally subversive of every principle of liberty and independence for which Washington and Steuben served and suffered at Valley Forge.

"Sectionalism dwarfs social, economic and religious progress. Interracial hatreds are a reversion to barbarism and the slavish mob rule of prehistoric times. America wants none of it if she does not wish to forfeit everything won with the blood of our revolutionary heroes.

"No discrimination whatever should be tolerated, and as long as I am in public life, every ounce of my influence will be directed toward securing a square deal for every one. In this way and in this way only can democracy and self-rule survive."

—Flint American.

Senator Edward I. Edwards, in these immortal utterances, proves himself to be a true American—he represents the reincarnation of Lincoln, Lovejoy and Garrison. Speaking the mind of God, his words are eternal truths. Whether white American will ever accept this gospel, time must tell, but repent with bitterness and confess to whether soon or late , America must the truth of this doctrine.—(Fed)

Disfranchisement Specter Rises in 69th Congress

Washington, D. C., March 11.—From the beginning to the ending of the second session of the 69th congress, the question of the disfranchisement of the Race in the South was continually under discussion.

In the 37-hour filibuster conducted by Senators David A. Reed of Pennsylvania and George H. Moses, of New Hampshire, against the resolution of Senator James A. Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, proposing to extend the life of the committee investigating senatorial campaign expenditures and enlarge its authority, a demand for an investigation of the "unconstitutional suppression" of the Race vote in southern states was the specter with which the Pennsylvania Reed sought to frighten inconsistent Democrats into opposing a further investigation by the slush-fund committee.

Is the primary an integral part of the election and the process of election, so that it is within the right of the congress to regulate it and of the senate to investigate it?

Charges Suppression

That is the question Senator Reed of Pennsylvania put to individual Democratic senators from southern states after reciting election returns in their states to show that the Race vote had been suppressed.

If the primary is a part of the election, the federal Constitution applies to it, Senator Reed of Pennsylvania contended, and practices in a primary which violate the 14th amendment cannot be sanctioned.

Taking the state of Texas as an example of one of the places that might be investigated with profit to determine what methods are adopted, legal or illegal on their face, to eliminate from a share in the suffrage practically half of the population. Senator Reed of Pennsylvania declared that the state statute relating to primary elections in that state clearly "contravenes the spirit of the 14th amendment."

Senator Earle B. Mayfield, Democrat, of Texas, said that "in the last election for president that statute was in force, and only white men were permitted to vote in your primary, and you never held a general election in 12 counties in Texas. So, in those counties, no black man got a chance to vote at either time. Did you have a general election at which he could vote?"

Cites Alabama Returns

Another illustration Senator Reed of Pennsylvania gave was the state of Alabama. In Marengo county, according to the last census, there were 12,360 of our people more than 21 years of age and yet in the presidential election of 1924, he said, there were cast for president Coolidge only 17 votes. Senator Reed proposed that the senate "find out how it can be that the presidential candidate of the Republican party can receive only 17 votes out of 12,360 black people of voting age."

In the last senatorial election the Republican candidate for United States senator from Alabama received only 14 votes in the city of Montgomery, Senator Reed pointed out. Montgomery has a population of 43,000 persons. Among them are 19,800 of our people.

Senator Reed cited the following figures from the presidential election of 1924, to show the extent of disfranchisement in the state of Alabama:

Bullock county, 8,840 Race adults, 8 votes for President Coolidge; Choctaw county, 4,949 adults, 19 votes for President Coolidge; Greene county, 7,057 adults, 5 votes for President Coolidge; Hale county, 8,346 adults, 23 votes for President Coolidge; Lowndes county, 9,818 adults, 5 votes for President Coolidge; Monroe county, 6,796 adults, 22 votes for President Coolidge; Perry county, 8,203 adults, 24 votes for President Coolidge; Pike county, 6,579 adults, 29 votes for President Coolidge; Russell county, 8,816 adults, 14 votes for President Coolidge; Tallapoosa county, 4,282 adults, 1 vote for President Coolidge.

"I have been trying to ascertain," said Senator Reed, "the percentage of the qualified Negroes who have participated in the election, who have enjoyed the suffrage that we have guaranteed to them after a somewhat long and arduous war and two constitutional amendments. The calculation of the percentage in Tallapoosa county, Alabama, is difficult, but it comes to 1-43 of 1 per cent, assuming that the one Republican who uprose at the election in 1924 was black. If he was white, then the percentage is smaller.

Heflin Talks

The Race does not qualify to vote in Alabama for two reasons, according to Senator Thomas J. Heflin, Democrat, of that state. "We have an educational qualification and a poll-tax qualification, and the Negro will not pay his poll-tax in advance," he said.

Senator Reed of Pennsylvania had figures only from the county of Crittenden in Arkansas. In the presidential election of 1924 only 77 votes were cast for President Coolidge. Crittenden county has 13,343 adults of our Race. One-half of 1 per cent of the persons that would reasonably be expected to vote for the Republican candidate voted, said Senator Reed.

The explanation of Senator Thomas H. Caraway, Democrat, of Arkansas, of this low Republican vote was that our people will not vote anywhere without pay, and that white Republicans in Arkansas put the money into their pockets that was sent into that state. He added that the only white Republicans in Arkansas are office holders.

In Union Parish, Louisiana, which has a population of 19,621 persons, only 7 votes were cast for President Coolidge in 1924.

In Tate county, Mississippi, which has a population of 19,636 persons, only 7 votes were cast for President Coolidge in 1924.

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Edwards Flays Racial Hatred

Jersey City—Flaying sectionalism and inter-racial hatereds as enemies of true Americanism, Senator Edward I. Edwards of New Jersey, today had declared the time had arrived for " absolute freedom of thought and equality before the law."

"If our state and national governments would insist upon this American principle for all citizens there would be no place in our daily lives for sheeted mobs, sectional uprising or a prejudiced press," Edwards declared.

He spoke before the Steuben Society in tribute to the memory of Baron Steuben, revolutionary war hero.

"Racial hatreds have no more right to find lodgement in this land of the free than has bolshevism or anarchy," said Senator Edwars. "All are equally subversive of every principle of liberty and independence for which Washington and Steuben served and suffered at Valley Forge.

"Sectionalism dwarfs social, economic and religious progress. Interracial hatreds are a reversion to barbarism and the slavish mob rule of prehistoric times. America wants none of it if she does not wish to forfeit everything won with the blood of our revolutionary heroes.

"No discrimination whatever should be tolerated, and as long as I am in public life, every ounce of my influence will be directed toward securing a square deal for every one. In this way and in this way only can democracy and self-rule survive."

—Flint American.

Senator Edwardi Edwards, in these immortal utterances, proves himself to be a true American—he represents the reincarnation of Lincoln, Lovejoy and Garrison. Speaking the mind of God, his words are eternal truths. Whether white American will ever accept this gospel, time must tell, but repent with bitterness and confess to whether soon or late, America must the truth of this doctrine.—(Ted)

Disfranchisement Specter Rises in 69th Congress

Washington, D. C., March 11.—From the beginning to the ending of the second session of the 69th congress, the question of the disfranchisement of the Race in the South was continually under discussion.

In the 37-hour filibuster conducted by Senators David A. Reed of Pennsylvania and George H. Moses, of New Hampshire, against the resolution of Senator James A. Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, proposing to extend the life of the committee investigating senatorial campaign expenditures and enlarge its authority, a demand for an investigation of the "unconstitutional suppression" of the Race vote in southern states was the specter with which the Pennsylvania Reed sought to frighten inconsistent Democrats into opposing a further investigation by the slush-fund committee.

Is the primary an integral part of the election and the process of election, so that it is within the right of the congress to regulate it and of the senate to investigate it?

Charges Suppression

That is the question Senator Reed of Pennsylvania put to individual Democratic senators from southern states after reciting election returns in their states to show that the Race vote had been suppressed.

If the primary is a part of the election, the federal Constitution applies to it, Senator Reed of Pennsylvania contended, and practices in a primary which violate the 14th amendment cannot be sanctioned.

Taking the state of Texas as an example of one of the places that might be investigated with profit to determine what methods are adopted, legal or illegal on their face, to eliminate from a share in the suffrage practically half of the population. Senator Reed of Pennsylvania declared that the state statute relating to primary elections in that state clearly "contravenes the spirit of the 14th amendment."

Senator Earle B. Mayfield, Democrat, of Texas, said that "in the last election for president that statute was in force, and only white men were permitted to vote in your primary, and you never held a general election in 12 counties in Texas. So, in those counties, no black man got a chance to vote at either time. Did you have a general election at which he could vote?"

Cites Alabama Returns

Another illustration Senator Reed of Pennsylvania gave was the state of Alabama. In Marengo county, according to the last census, there were 12,360 of our people more than 21 years of age and yet in the presidential election of 1924, he said, there were cast for president Coolidge only 17 votes. Senator Reed proposed that the senate "find out how it can be that the presidential candidate of the Republican party can receive only 17 votes out of 12,360 black people of voting age."

In the last senatorial election the Republican candidate for United States senator from Alabama received only 14 votes in the city of Montgomery, Senator Reed pointed out. Montgomery has a population of 43,000 persons. Among them are 19,800 of our people.

Senator Reed cited the following figures from the presidential election of 1924, to show the extent of disfranchisement in the state of Alabama:

Bullock county, 8,840 Race adults, 8 votes for President Coolidge; Choctaw county, 4,949 adults, 19 votes for President Coolidge; Greene county, 7,057 adults, 5 votes for President Coolidge; Hale county, 8,346 adults, 23 votes for President Coolidge; Lowndes county, 9,818 adults, 5 votes for President Coolidge; Monroe county, 6,796 adults, 22 votes for President Coolidge; Perry county, 8,203 adults, 24 votes for President Coolidge; Pike county, 6,579 adults, 29 votes for President Coolidge; Russell county, 8,816 adults, 14 votes for President Coolidge; Tallapoosa county, 4,282 adults, 1 vote for President Coolidge.

"I have been trying to ascertain," said Senator Reed, "the percentage of the qualified Negroes who have participated in the election, who have enjoyed the suffrage that we have guaranteed to them after a somewhat long and arduous war and two constitutional amendments. The calculation of the percentage in Tallapoosa county, Alabama, is difficult, but it comes to 1-43 of 1 per cent, assuming that the one Republican who uprose at the election in 1924 was black. If he was white, then the percentage is smaller.

Heflin Talks

The Race does not qualify to vote in Alabama for two reasons, according to Senator Thomas J. Heflin, Democrat, of that state. "We have an educational qualification and a poll-tax qualification, and the Negro will not pay his poll-tax in advance," he said.

Senator Reed of Pennsylvania had figures only from the county of Crittenden in Arkansas. In the presidential election of 1924 only 77 votes were cast for President Coolidge. Crittenden county has 13,343 adults of our Race. One-half of 1 per cent of the persons that would reasonably be expected to vote for the Republican candidate voted, said Senator Reed.

The explanation of Senator Thomas H. Caraway, Democrat, of Arkansas, of this low Republican vote was that our people will not vote anywhere without pay, and that white Republicans in Arkansas put the money into their pockets that was sent into that state. He added that the only white Republicans in Arkansas are office holders.

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Religion, he described, as the great driving power and dynamic of life. "Have you got it in your life as you go out?" he asked.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

HERALD
SYRACUSE, N. Y.
SEP 25 1927

The Dark American

What the Colored Race Now Needs Is a Realistic Stock-Taking, and Unsentimental Self-Analysis. It Is Still Handicapped by Folkways That Are Archaic and Barbarous. Mencken Maintains

By Henry L. Mencken

SOME time ago, writing in this place, I permitted myself the observation that the Afro-American, despite his rapid and laudable emergence from neglect and oppression among us, had yet to do anything, as an artist, of serious importance. A roar naturally followed, and I was at once bombarded with proofs of his high attainments. These proofs I have now examined patiently and at great length. They induce me to modify my doctrine in only one particular. When I said that no colored composer had ever done anything to dignify and develop the music of the race I forgot Prof. R. Nathaniel Dett, of the great Afro-American house of learning at Hampton, Va. I should have remembered Dr. Dett's anthem, "Listen to the Lambs," a genuinely original and moving piece of work. He has done other anthems and motets, but that, I think, is his best. It is dated 1914.

But Dr. Dett remains almost sui generis. The other colored composers have done a great deal to popularize the music of their race, but they have done very little to develop it. It remains, in their hands, simple folksong. It is not Negroes but Jews who have turned it to more ambitious uses. In much the same way it is white novelists and dramatists, and not Negroes, who have best utilized the Negro as a dramatic figure. The imaginative authors of the race all seem to be hampered by a propaganda purpose. They are so intent upon depicting the Negro as the hero of a moral melodrama that they fail to show him as a human being. This fault is spread all over the work of such men as Walter F. White; it tends to conceal their very real talents. White's hero, in "The Fire in the Flint," perhaps the most successful Negro novel yet written, is a symbol rather than a man. One longs for him to do something weak and human. If he broke into a hoedown now and then he would be greatly improved. And it would be a relief to see him sit down to a hearty meal of Virginia ham, chitlings, cabbage sprouts, hominy-cakes and corn-pone, with a beaker of country buttermilk to wash it down.

AS I HAVE said, my late animadversions brought forth protest, but it should be added that they also got some support. The Negro is, despite their generally solemn and humorless mien, do not lack critics of their own race and some of those critics, notably George S. Schuyler, of the Pittsburg Courier, are extremely realistic. It is their aim to break up the self-satisfaction which now afflicts the race, not only in the esthetic department but all along the line. They are tartly critical of the Negro Babbitt, who now begins to roar precisely like a white Rotarian, and they are by no means blind to the excessive faults of the dark holy clerk, or colored pastor.

This worthy man, it seems to me, is now the most dangerous enemy, at least within their own ranks, that the colored brethren have to face. He is, in the main, magnificently uneducated, and mixed with his somewhat theatrical piety there is a large adulteration of bald self-seeking. The kind of religion he preaches was exactly suited to the needs of the Negroes while they remained slaves, and perhaps it was also of some use to them during the first 50 years of freedom, but today it falls far behind their aspirations. Its one aim seems to be to stir up the emotions, and its effects are indistinguishable from those of the frantic whooping of such political evangelists as Marcus Garvey.

Worse, its upkeep is very expensive. The Negroes everywhere have too many churchs, and keep themselves poor supporting them. In my own town of Baltimore, when the late war gave them ready money, they wasted most of it buying abandoned white churches. The higher the steeple the more they were willing to pay for it. As a result they were stripped bare and led into debt, and a bit later on, when a chance offered to set up a badly needed hospital for their people, they had a hard time raising the money. Much the same thing happened in other towns. In proportion to their incomes the Negroes probably spend more money upon religious enterprises than any other group among us, and a great deal of what is left is wasted upon tin-pot fraternal orders.

THIS habit not only dissipates their money; it also exposes them to imprudent and disastrous leadership. The Negroes of America, despite the great progress that they have made of late years, still face very serious difficulties, and need enlightened and sagacious leaders. But nearly everywhere the men who might develop into such leaders are held in suspicion, and the masses of the blacks follow mountebanks, clerical and lay. Some of the colored clergy, to be sure, are men of sense, but not many. The average is an ignoramus. The theology that he trumpets comes out of the swamps of Mississippi, and his personal culture remains on a pork chop level. It is seldom that he enjoys the respect of the neighboring whites. They see few signs of intelligence in him, and very often they have serious doubts of his integrity.

The lay leaders of the average Negro community are almost as bad. They are, as a rule, not the principal professional and business men of the race, but the principal Elks, Odd Fellows, and Nazarene Fishermen. The lower classes of blacks, like the lower classes of whites, greatly delight in gaudy ceremonials, and any man who appears among them wearing a sword and a plume is pretty sure to be admired. The fact opens the way for the profitable functioning of a vast horde of pompous charlatans, who consume the money of the race and dissipate its energies upon simian buffooneries. Debauched by such zanies, its members neglect those leaders who seek to improve its economic status, and, in particular, to organize its workers and deliver them from the exploitation to which they are now exposed.

What the support of their grotesque fraternal orders costs the Negroes of the United States annually I don't know, but the total must be immense. They get nothing out of the expenditure, not even rational amusement. The money goes mainly to sharp fellows who live by making monkeys of the ignorant. The rest, in large part, is expended upon insurance schemes that are badly organized, and frequently come to grief. So long as the majority of Negroes solemnly prance around in the trappings of such nonsensical societies, the general culture of the race will remain on a level with that of the whites who belong to the Klan.

HITHERTO its natural leaders have been so busy trying to get rid of its disbilities that they have had no time to give attention to its defects. Such men as Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Dr. Kelly Miller, James Welden Johnson, William Pickens and Major Robert R. Moton have fought a magnificent fight, and many of the goals they have sought are now won. The position of the American Negro is obviously better today than it was 20 years ago, or even 10 years ago. Many of the doors that used to be closed to him are now open. Many of the doors that used to be closed to him are now open. When he shows ability it is quickly recognized. And very often he shows it, not only in the arts, but also in business.

What the race now needs is a realistic stock-taking, an unsentimental self-analysis. It is still handicapped by folk-ways that are archaic and barbarous. It needs to reorganize its religious ideas, to get rid of its lingering childishness, and, above all, to deliver itself from the exploitation of frauds and mountebanks. Garvey is now pining in the Federal hoosegow at Atlanta, but multitudes of lesser Garveys, clerical and lay, yet operate upon the black proletariat. If they are ever disposed of, it will have to be by a critical movement within the race itself. Fortunately, such a movement seems to be taking shape. Led by the Schuyler aforesaid, a number of young colored intellectuals address themselves to flaying the follies of their people. They are no more popular than a Dr. John R. Neal is popular in Tennessee, but the bellowing against them does not seem to dismay them.

In the long run, I believe, they will be heard. For what they say cannot be dismissed as the slanders of alien witnesses, as the present mild remarks, no doubt, will be dismissed. They are as self-consciously colored men as Garvey himself. The difference is that they are not trying to sell something, and that they have a civilized respect for cold facts.

NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL

SEP 10 1927

From the Negro's Point of View

THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR

BY CHANDLER OWEN.

(Editor of the Messenger, a magazine published in the interest of colored people.)

Two weeks ago Dr. Glenn Frank discussed the "Falling Tide of Color." In a remarkably interpretative article he showed that the colored population was increasing, but the increase in white population was so much more rapid that unless some change took place the white world, now greatly outnumbered by the colored world, would ere long be in the numerical forefront. With the usual caution about prophecy characteristic of the trained scientist, Dr. Frank stated that his estimate was based upon conditions continuing as they are.

About the same time, Dr. Frank was penning his article, another scientist with the conceded command of more knowledge on this particular question than any man in America if not in the world, published an article in the September American Mercury entitled "Life, Death and the Negro." I refer to Dr. Louis I. Dublin statistician for the Metropolitan Insurance company, which has issued policies on the lives of one-fifth of the American Negroes. In a splendid thesis dealing with the available data on the Negro from 1619 to 1927, he says:

"The pessimism which prevailed thirty and more years ago with regard to his future is now no longer even remotely justified. The doleful prophecies of those who saw the race problem solved through his extinction have been absolutely discredited by recent events. A race which lives in many areas under what are still rather primitive conditions of sanitation is today enjoying an expectation of life of forty-six years, which is equal to that of white Americans only thirty years ago. In comparison with a death rate of thirty-five to forty per 1,000 in reconstruction days, the Negro mortality is now only about seventeen per 1,000—a death rate about the same as the rate for a number of European countries before the world war.

"The recent gains in the average length of life are entirely commensurate with those of the white population. This fact alone holds out great promise for the future of the Negro in America."

As so distinguished an authority as Dr. Dublin states, "The recent gains in the average length of life (of the Negro) are entirely commensurate with those of the white population"—the tide of color statistics may have to be somewhat modified in bringing them up to date.

The First Reader

—"Harlem" 15 Years Ago—

Carl Van Vechten has performed a couple of graceful gestures. He has acknowledged a debt to one of the source books of "Nigger Heaven," persuaded Mr. Knopf to include it in his Blue Jade Library of reprints (although it is not, in spirit, a Blue Jade book) and contributed a laudatory introduction to it. "The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man" appears to-day, fifteen years after its anonymous publication, with the first acknowledgment of its author, who is James Weldon Johnson. Mr. Johnson is an acknowledged Negro. An ex-colored man is a fair-skinned Negro who has crossed the line and passes for a white man. Somewhere in "Nigger Heaven," during a discussion of race, one of the characters observes that there are 10,000 such Negroes in New York. Walter White's "Flight" is the story of a fair Negress, with French blood in her veins, who marries a wealthy white Babbitt, a despiser of Negroes. Finally, hurt in what we might call her ancestral pride, she leaves him and turns her face to Harlem. In "Nigger Heaven" and in this "Autobiography" white prejudice and the closing of economic opportunities to acknowledged Negroes are cited as justifications of the system of "passing."

"The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man" is not an autobiography in the generally understood sense. It is an autobiography mainly of Mr. Johnson's mental attitude and feeling. To Mr. Van Vechten it reads "like a composite autobiography of the Negro race in the United States in modern times." Being no authority on the Negro I hesitate to state that I do not think so. At the time of original publication, says Mr. Van Vechten, it "stood almost alone as an inclusive survey of racial accomplishments and traits, as an interpretation of the feelings of the Negro toward the white man and toward the members of his own race."

And Mr. Johnson may also regard himself as a prophet justified during the event. In 1912 he boldly asserted that ragtime music was one of the American Negro's chief contributions, the other three being the Uncle Remus stories, collected by Joel Chandler Harris; the jubilee songs, popularized by the Fisk Singers, and the cake-walk. His hero—the ostensible autobiographer—is shown devoting himself to the collection of spirituals among the Southern backwoods Negroes. He determines also to use his knowledge of classical music to bring to a higher point of development the ragtime he hears at the "Club," thus foreseeing, says Mr. Van Vechten, the creation of Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue." And about thirteen years before there was anything like an all-Negro revue the ostensible autobiographer tells of Negro comedians at the "Club," asserting that the time would come "when they would compel the public to recognize that they could do something more than grin and cut pigeonwings."

* * *

But for most of us justified prophecy about the American Negro is not sufficient to bring us knocking at the door of this book. A book bearing the title of "The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man" should have human interest. You don't have to be an advocate of anything to be able to read and enjoy "The Woolings of Jezebel Pettyfer." But you can't expect James Weldon Johnson to be a Haldane Macfall. The autobiography lacks unity and sustained interest. It is narrative tract and bald report in one. Yet the account of the lynching is quite as exciting as the melodramatic shooting of the white woman by her dark paramour, and the discussion in the Pullman smoking car between the Texan and the Northern Civil War veteran is interesting, if elementary. I wish that Mr. Johnson had made more of an imaginative effort in picturing the life and the state of mind of a Negro *after* he has passed. Mr. Johnson seems to be somewhat perfunctory with his character from the time he makes the great decision. The best parts of "The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man" deal with the colored man!

There was no Harlem in those days. When our hero comes to New York he lodges in a house on 27th Street, west of Sixth Avenue. The gambling house where for a time he supports himself shooting craps, and the "Club," in which his ragtime playing brings him to the attention of the rich and generous patron who takes him to Europe, are nearby. "My New York was limited to ten blocks; the boundaries were Sixth Avenue from 23d to 33d Street, with the cross streets one block to the west." Vaudeville performers, sporting men, idlers, jockeys and gamblers seem to be the sole representatives of the Negro race in our hero's segment of New York. The autobiographer meets many intelligent young Negroes resembling the hero of "Nigger Heaven" who desert their serious ambitions and hopes and yield to the seductions of an irresponsible night life, "the gaslight life."

It is in Atlanta that our Negro discovers the race of which he is a member—the lower strata and their dialect. "Lawd a mussy!" "G'wan, man!" "Bless ma soul!" "Look heah, chile!" were not expressions familiar to him. Up in Connecticut, to which his white father had sent him and his mother from the South, he had not been aware of any distinction between himself and his white chums until a teacher had taken the trouble to point it out to him. Upon the death of his mother he goes to Atlanta to enroll in the Negro university. On the streets he sees and hears his brothers-in-color:

"The unkempt appearance, the shambling, slouching gait and loud talk and laughter of these people aroused in me a feeling of almost repulsion. . . . These people talked and laughed without restraint. In fact, they talked straight from their lungs and laughed from the pits of their stomachs. . . . I have since learned that the ability to laugh heartily is, in part, the salvation of the American Negro; it does much to keep him from going the way of the Indian."

This is a suggestion fruitful for the student of races. For better or for worse, the Negro is learning other things besides laughter.

HARRY SALPETER

Southerner Bitterly Assails Race Hatred

The November issue of the new magazine "Plain Talk' by Howard Snyder, a white man living in Mississippi, under the title "The South Bungles the Negro Problem." Mr. Snyder declares that one of the greatest injustices the South does the colored man is to see him as a class and not as an individual.

"Let an individual in the South have but a sixteenth or thirty-second part of colored blood in his veins," writes Mr. Snyder, "and it matters not how straight his hair, how clear his skin, how clean his morals, how brilliant his intellect—he is nevertheless to the Southern public just a 'nigger' and on the same level with the half-civilized brute who beats his woman and boasts of twenty illegitimate children.

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[illegible] burst out laughing. [illegible] some of them think of the white peopl [illegible] it's getting so now that you get 1 [illegible] white men and 100 colored men ar [illegible] wager that 50 colored men will [illegible] tired before 10 white men. And wh [illegible] Because they work for cheaper wage Naturally, the white people have [illegible] starve.

Now, little "White Woman," let white folks know who you are.

HONEST TO GOODNESS WHITE WOMAN

NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL

SEP 10 1927

From the Negro's Point of View

THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR
BY CHANDLER OWEN.
(Editor of the Messenger, a magazine published in the interest of colored people.)

Two weeks ago Dr. Glenn Frank discussed the "Falling Tide of Color." In a remarkably interpretative article he showed that the colored population was increasing, but the increase in white population was so much more rapid that unless some change took place the white world, now greatly outnumbered by the colored world, would ere long be in the numerical forefront. With the usual caution about prophecy characteristic of the trained scientist, Dr. Frank stated that his estimate was based upon conditions continuing as they are.

About the same time, Dr. Frank was penning his article, another scientist with the conceded command of more knowledge on this particular question than any man in America if not in the world, published an article in the September American Mercury entitled "Life, Death and the Negro." I refer to Dr. Louis I. Dublin statistician for the Metropolitan Insurance company, which has issued policies on the lives of one-fifth of the American Negroes. In a splendid thesis dealing with the available data on the Negro from 1619 to 1927, he says:

"The pessimism which prevailed thirty and more years ago with regard to his future is now no longer even remotely justified. The doleful prophecies of those who saw the race problem solved through his extinction have been absolutely discredited by recent events. A race which lives in many areas under what are still rather primitive conditions of sanitation is today enjoying an expectation of life of forty-six years, which is equal to that of white Americans only thirty years ago. In comparison with a death rate of thirty-five to forty per 1,000 in reconstruction days, the Negro mortality is now only about seventeen per 1,000—a death rate about the same as the rate for a number of European countries before the world war.

"The recent gains in the average length of life are entirely commensurate with those of the white population. This fact alone holds out great promise for the future of the Negro in America."

It is so distinguished an author- ity as Dr. Dublin states, "The recent gains in the average length of life (of the Negro) are entirely commensurate with those of the white population"—the tide of color statistics may have to be somewhat modified in bringing them up to date.

The First Reader
"Harlem" 15 Years Ago

Carl Van Vechten has performed a couple of graceful gestures. He has acknowledged a debt to one of the source books of "Nigger Heaven," persuaded Mr. Knopf to include it in his Blue Jade Library of reprints (although it is not, in spirit, a Blue Jade book) and contributed a laudatory introduction to it. "The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man" appears to-day, fifteen years after its anonymous publication, with the first acknowledgment of its author, who is James Weldon Johnson. Mr. Johnson is an acknowledged Negro.

An ex-colored man is a fair-skinned Negro who has crossed the line and passes for a white man. Somewhere in "Nigger Heaven," during a discussion of race, one of the characters observes that there are 10,000 such Negroes in New York. Walter White's "Flight" is the story of a fair Negress, with French blood in her veins, who marries a wealthy white Babbitt, a despiser of Negroes. Finally, hurt in what we might call her ancestral pride, she leaves him and turns her face to Harlem. In "Nigger Heaven" and in this "Autobiography" white prejudice and the closing of economic opportunities to acknowledged Negroes are cited as justifications of the system of "passing."

"The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man" is not an autobiography in the generally understood sense. It is an autobiography mainly of Mr. Johnson's mental attitude and feeling. To Mr. Van Vechten it reads "like a composite autobiography of the Negro race in the United States in modern times." Being no authority on the Negro I hesitate to state that I do not think so. At the time of original publication, says Mr. Van Vechten, it stood almost alone as an inclusive survey of racial accomplishments and traits, as an interpretation of the feelings of the Negro toward the white man and toward the members of his own race."

And Mr. Johnson may also regard himself as a prophet justified during the event. In 1912 he boldly asserted that ragtime music was one of the American Negro's chief contributions, the other three being the Uncle Remus stories, collected by Joel Chandler Harris; the jubilee songs, popularized by the Fisk Singers, and the cake-walk. His hero—the ostensible autobiographer—is shown devoting himself to the collection of spirituals among the Southern backwoods Negroes. He determines also to use his knowledge of classical music to bring to a higher point of development the ragtime he hears at the "Club," thus foreseeing, says Mr. Van Vechten, the creation of Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue." And about thirteen years before there was anything like an all-Negro revue the ostensible autobiographer tells of Negro comedians at the "Club," asserting that the time would come "when they would compel the public to recognize that they could do something more than grin and cut pigeonwings."

* * *

But for most of us justified prophecy about the American Negro is not sufficient to bring us knocking at the door of this book. A book bearing the title of "The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man" should have human interest. You don't have to be an advocate of anything to be able to read and enjoy "The Woolings of Jezebel Pettyfer." But you can't expect James Weldon Johnson to be a Haldane Macfall. The autobiography lacks unity and sustained interest. It is narrative tract and bald report in one. Yet the account of the lynching is quite as exciting as the melodramatic shooting of the white woman by her dark paramour, and the discussion in the Pullman smoking car between the Texan and the Northern Civil War veteran is interesting, if elementary. I wish that Mr. Johnson had made more of an imaginative effort in picturing the life and the state of mind of a Negro *after* he has passed. Mr. Johnson seems to be somewhat perfunctory with his character from the time he makes the great decision. The best parts of "The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man" deal with the colored man!

There was no Harlem in those days. When our hero comes to New York he lodges in a house on 27th Street, west of Sixth Avenue. The gambling house where for a time he supports himself shooting craps, and the "Club," in which his ragtime playing brings him to the attention of the rich and generous patron who takes him to Europe, are nearby. "My New York was limited to ten blocks; the boundaries were Sixth Avenue from 23d to 33d Street, with the cross streets one block to the west." Vaudeville performers, sporting men, idlers, jockeys and gamblers seem to be the sole representatives of the Negro race in our hero's segment of New York. The autobiographer meets many intelligent young Negroes resembling the hero of "Nigger Heaven" who desert their serious ambitions and hopes and yield to the seductions of an irresponsible night life, "the gaslight life."

It is in Atlanta that our Negro discovers the race of which he is a member—the lower strata and their dialect. "Lawd a mussy!" "G'wan, man!" "Bless ma soul!" "Look heah, chile!" were not expressions familiar to him. Up in Connecticut, to which his white father had sent him and his mother from the South, he had not been aware of any distinction between himself and his white chums until a teacher had taken the trouble to point it out to him. Upon the death of his mother he goes to Atlanta to enroll in the Negro university. On the streets he sees and hears his brothers-in-color:

"The unkempt appearance, the shambling, slouching gait and loud talk and laughter of these people aroused in me a feeling of almost repulsion. . . . These people talked and laughed without restraint. In fact, they talked straight from their lungs and laughed from the pits of their stomachs. . . . I have since learned that the ability to laugh heartily is, in part, the salvation of the American Negro; it does much to keep him from going the way of the Indian."

This is a suggestion fruitful for the student of races. For better or for worse, the Negro is learning other things besides laughter.

HARRY SALPETER

Southerner Bitterly Assails Race Hatred

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Race Problem - 1927
United States

PLEAD FOR AMERICAN NEGRO

Congress of Oppressed Nations Denounces "Abuses" Here.

BRUSSELS, Feb. 15 (AP).—American "imperialism" and treatment of the negro were among the most vigorously denounced of many alleged abuses mentioned in a final volley of resolutions which have been adopted by the Congress of Oppressed Nations in session here.

Richard Moore, an American negro, presented one resolution which stated that 12,000,000 negroes in the United States, guaranteed equal rights under the Constitution, are denied full and equal participation in the life of the nation. This oppression is greater in the Southern States, where the spirit of chattel slavery still predominates."

Among the resolutions was one saying that Haiti has been crushed by the American marines there and the people enslaved, while Latin America was declared not to be guilty of oppressing the negro. The congress urged that a general organization and cooperation be hastened to fight imperialism, oppression and race prejudice.

ASK EQUALITY FOR NEGRO.

Speakers at Youth Conference Discuss Aspects of Problem.

"Youth and the Negro Problem" was the subject of the first session yesterday of a "Douglas-Lincoln Memorial Conference," held at International House, 500 Riverside Drive, under the joint auspices of the American section of the World Youth Alliance, the Intercollegiate Club of New York City, made up of groups of negro students, and the Young People's Fellowship, composed of members of the parish of St. Philip's Protestant Church, 134th Street and Seventh Avenue. More than 200 young men and women, both white and colored, attended the conference and took part in a forum discussion of various aspects of the negro problem. A. P. Dill, managing editor of The Crisis, was Chairman. Among the speakers were Devere Allen, editor of The World Tomorrow, and Alain Locke,

PENSACOLA, FLA. Journal
MAR 26 1927

Negroes to Observe Health Week Progra

Negroes of Pensacola and other Florida cities during the week of March 27-April 2 will observe National Negro Health week, in cooperation with the United States Public Health service, and the various local health organizations.

DARROW LEAVES MOBILE SEETHING OVER ADDRESSES

(By Leased Wire to The Constitution and The Chicago Tribune.)

Mobile, Ala., March 8.—Clarence Darrow was on his way to Chicago tonight while Mobile seethed with indignation over speeches in which the attorney assailed alleged mistreatment of negroes in the south.

Mr. Darrow cut short his rest at a Mobile bay resort on advice from county authorities that sentiment against him was steadily growing.

Mr. Darrow left with his wife at noon Monday, telling friends he would stop in Chattanooga, Tenn., for four days before proceeding to Chicago.

After the attorney had lectured Sunday night at a negro school private detectives and plain clothes men escorted him to his vacation residence and stood guard while the Darrows prepared for a hurried departure.

Mr. Darrow first drew the anger of the district a fortnight ago when he spoke at the negro industrial school at Daphne, Ala., on "Crime, Its Causes, and Treatment," in which he attacked negro lynchings.

Sentiment became stronger when Darrow repeated his address at the negro organic school in Fairhope.

COURANT
HARTFORD, CONN.

FEB 19 1927

Negroes Ask Removal Of Racial Bans

Assembly Committee Hears Bill to Provide Equal Rights For All Races, Creeds, Colors

Nearly 100 colored people spent an hour and a half yesterday explaining to the judiciary committee of the Legislature the discrimination practiced against them in Connecticut which they seek to correct by adoption of a bill which would provide equal rights for all races, creeds and colors in places of public accommodation, resort or amusement.

J. H. Peeker of New Haven said the people of his race felt the measure was one of "right and simple justice," which would be for the welfare of the state and country. The negroes were not asking special legislation but an endorsement of the fundamental law of the country, he said.

Harry G. Tolliver, colored a New Haven alderman, who drew the bill, said that conditions in Connecticut, as far as discrimination is concerned, were getting worse and there was real need for the legislation. The discrimination against negroes in employment, which he admitted was beyond the power of the Legislature to alter, was keeping the negro, he said to his moral and physical detriment. All the negroes wanted was equal opportunity, he said, rather than their present oppression which amouted to slavery.

Spellacy for Bill.

"Believing as I do in equal rights for all and special privileges for none, I am in favor of this measure," Thomas J. Spellacy of Hartford told the committee. William Chisholm of Saybrook, colored, said the group was weak financially and numerically and had to depend on the state for protection. Mrs Sadie Harrison of New London, colored, argued that as American citizens the negroes were entitled to the protection granted in the bill, although she considered it pathetic that any group of citizens should have to plead against discrimination.

Howard P. Drew of Hartford, colored, said a theater here advertised that it does not want negroes and in one instance had sent an employee to ask a negro captain in the army reserve corps, who had stopped to look at posters in front of the theater, to move on. Mrs. Mary S. Weidman, Hartford representative, favored the bill, saying she had not given the matter much thought until, on attending the State Theater here, she had seen two negroes denied admittance and then compared these negroes with the persons whom she saw inside the theater.

Robeson and Hayes Barred.

F. G. Allison, of Hartford, colored, told the committee that members of his race were denied admittance to one of the most excellent playhouses in the state. Paul Robeson, negro actor, had been denied lodging at a Hartford hotel when he was here with a theatrical production, he said, although accommodations were offered other members of the company who were more fair in appearance. Roland Hayes, negro tenor, has to stay with friends when he comes to Hartford, he said.

John S. Taylor, colored, Hartford, said the negroes had stood between the republican party and political adversity in Hartford, and as a race, had "shed enough blood and tears" in defense of this country to float a superdreadnought."

Legislators Endorse Bill.

The bill was endorsed by Senator Frederick L. Ford of New Haven, who introduced it, Senator Edward W. Goss, Waterbury, Senator Joseph V. Esposito, New Haven, Representative Edith V. Cook, New Haven, Representative Harvey L. Thompson, Glastonbury, and Representative L. Eugene Winter, Columbia, Secretary of the State Francis A. Pallotti, Alderman Patrick DePasqualle, Hartford, and Howard Bradstreet, Hartford, representing the interracial committee of the Hartford Council of Churches.

Among those who attended the hearing to express their sentiments for the bill as a means of preventing discrimination against them were Charles E. Morehead, New Britain, Mary T. Seymour, Hartford, S. M. Johnson, Hartford, George A. Lawes, Danbury, Elizabeth Green, New London, S. T. Eldredge, Hartford, Ruth M. Banks, Hartford, W. M. Hicks, Hartford, Mary M. Johnson, Hartford, Samuel E. Robinson, New London, W. A. Woods, Hartford, I. B. Walters, New London, Mary P. Thompson, New Britain, Oscar West, Bethel, Rev. James A. Wright, Hartford, and W. B. Riley, Bethel.

Road Houses Included.

Road houses and airdromes are among the places where discrimination would be prohibited under the bill, the places of public accommodation, resort or amusement being defined in the bill as including "inns, taverns, road houses, hotels, whether conducted for the entertainment of transient guests or for the accommodation of those seeking health, recreation or rest, any restaurants or eating houses, or any place where food is sold for consumption on the premises, ice cream parlors, confectioneries, soda fountains, and all stores where ice cream, ice and fruit preparations or their derivatives, or where beverages of any kind are retailed for consumption on the premises, drug stores, dispensaries, clinics, hospitals, bathhouses, barber shops, theaters, motion pictures houses, airdomes, roof gardens, music halls, race courses, skating rinks, amusement and recreationary parks, fairs, bowling alleys, gymnasiums, shooting galleries, billiard and pool parlors, public libraries, kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, high schools, academies, colleges and universities, extension courses, garages, and all public conveyances operated on land or water, as well as the stations and terminals thereof."

SOCIAL EQUALITY IS NECESSARY

NEW YORK.— Devere Allen, editor of the "World Tomorrow" and Dr. Alaine L. Locke speaking at the International House last week on "Race Relations", agreed that absolute social equality is necessary.

Allen admitted that social equality will bring about an increase of marriage because love in its truest sense knows no bounds.

"But what of it?" he said.

Dr. Locke advocated a little more intermarriage and a little less miscegenation.

Booker T. Washington's doctrine that the races should act as the hand but in all things social as separate as the fingers, he termed antiquated doctrine.

A ONE-SIDED AFFAIR

We are often confronted with a situation in which an entirely one sided affair greets us. Under analysis, they usually show little foresight or sympathy in those who are responsible for their operation. We are informed that a certain new theater built for entirely Negro patronage is owned and controlled by parties who absolutely refused to use Negro labor in the construction. We would like to remind those parties that the Negro is in the market for labor as well as amusement and that their patronage of Negro labor may not be a condition precedent to the patronage of this theater's business, but the rule should work one way as well as the other. Perhaps, these interests feel that, in building a Negro theater, they are under no obligation to use Negro labor. That is true; and, regarding the fact that the city is full of theaters that do not emphasize their attitude in this kind of matter, it is a mighty good thing for the Negro to feel that he can better afford to patronize those businesses that are milder in their policy and more considerate toward them in the means of their livelihood.

An enterprise started for entirely Negro patronage and the absolute refusal to use such Negro labor as can be supplied for its needs in construction are not compatible with the spirit of most Birmingham business ventures. The Negro in Birmingham must work in order to have money to patronize any of its amusement houses. If a policy like this should prevail to any extent, there could not be any reason why those who pursue it should not be pointed out and made to feel that it has a double meaning.

Certainly, this attiude is prompted by the feeling that it can be done and

the Negroes will not resent it.

If conditions make it so that one can not be altogether fair, he can be consistent and when he does not show a disposition to be either fair or consistent, he is wrong in spirit and ought to be let alone or gotten right.

There is too much of this feeling that a Negro will forget an unfair deal and gobble up any old bait thrown out for disgruntled suckers. There is also too much evidence of things that prompt this feeling in those who fish for them.

But experienced fishermen do not stop fishing for suckers until they quit biting. If the attitude of such management is correctly reported, their policy should be amended or they should expect retaliation.

THE CONSPIRACY IN LITERATURE AGAINST THE NEGRO

By Drusilla Dunjee Houston

Department of Research in Negro History of The Associated Negro Press

In most modern books there seems to be preconcerted understanding to calumniate and disgust the world with abominable pictures of the ruined Ethiopian, ruined by the African slave trade of four hundred years, in which the white nations hunted the African because he was the most highly esteemed as a slave and to fill the coffers of the European families of today that stand first in financial affairs.

There seems to be a world wide conspiracy to conceal the facts that prove the greatness of the Negro race before the run of the slave trade. So successful has it been that the average Negro of today thinks that he sprang from jungle ancestors. This suppression of truth has made world crimes against dark people easily possible. The race is held in low estimation because of this hidden truth, that race genius must uncover.

Though today more favored races seem at the apex of human accomplishment in earlier ages the wheel of destiny carried upward races that now seem hopelessly under. To wipe away the black stain of the slave trade, modern literature has represented the slave trader as having trafficked in depraved human beings. Today the lower types of the Aryan race look upon them as creatures fit only for spoilation, to fill the coffers of the colonial renegade who could not succeed at home. Were Ethiopian nature understood these crimes would cease.

Because of world ignorance that the black race was the mother of the greater modern nations and the germ of their civilization it has been easy to stifle the life of ruined and defenseless black peoples. This spoilation of the weak, returned in counterstroke from which it was impossible to escape in the World War. Belgium reaped in identical measure and kind, what her lower types had meted out to the defenseless people of the Congo. Nations must reap what they sow.

This criminal injustice is not the nature or intention of the better men of the civilized nations, but we are uninformed about alien peoples. We are narrow and provincial in our views. The hatred of the races springs out of misunderstanding. The men of the world who have traveled and read and thought upon ethnological problems are the men who have the cultivated instincts of human brotherhood. Shall England, France, Germany, and America suffer farther because we have not taught the unthinking among us that we must pay a still heavier toll for a continued measure of injustice to weaker peoples.

In this retribution, innocent must suffer with the guilty, we with them, for it is in our power as Negroes to search out the truth and inform and curb the selfish. Christ said: "The truth shall make you free." The question looms large in the mind of every thinking white man today, whether Ethiopians are worthy of equal opportunity. Let us settle forever out of time's irrefutable evidence, whether if they gave us the chance, we would treat them as they have treated us. There need be no conjecturing; for the archives of the past hold the facts. The history of the Cushite Ethiopian down through the ages is one of the most thrilling as well as tragic of time's age old stories. It is most incredible that its rich treasure for developing our understanding has been so long veiled.

DES MOINES
IOWA

FEB 3 1927

NEGRO BISHOP APPLAUDED ON RACE PROBLEM

Robert E. Jones Gives Frank Talk at Methodist Men's Council.

A thousand Methodist ministers district superintendents and laymen from over Iowa, heard and applauded Bishop Robert E. Jones of New Orleans, outstanding Negro leader, in the opening address of the Methodist Men's Council this morning at the First Methodist church.

The bishop who was elevated to the episcopacy seven years ago in Des Moines, talked on "Methodism and the Negro Race." He handled his subject "without gloves" and called a spade a spade. He was interrupted constantly by applause as he hammered home the point that the "acid test of Christianity of America is in its attitude toward its 12,000,000 Negro citizens."

"If I were a white man," shouted Bishop Jones, "I wouldn't shove a gun into a Negro's hands and send him out to fight for a country that refused to give him a square deal when he got back home."

Again the speaker drew vigorous hand claps when he said: "I am not concerned about the subject of white supremacy. But, I do say to you that no man who comes to the Negro as his superior can ever save his soul."

"I am a Negro and a 100 per cent American," continued the bishop. "My great grandfather was a soldier in the revolution. My people are Americans through and through. We read your Bible, we say your prayers, we attend the same kind of churches—sometimes we wear your clothes. We don't want any intermixture of races. We are particularly satisfied with our own group life.

"I plead for a removal of the superiority complex which the white race shows toward the Negro. It is said the Negro soon forgets his wrongs. Thank God, that is true. However, don't think that injustice does not rankle in the heart of the Negro. If I want to strike a popular chord in a southern Negro audience, just let me damn you folks. I tell you, you are playing with dynamite if the whites shove aside 12,000,000 Negroes and fail to accord them justice."

Raps Flunkyism.

The bishop provoked a laugh when he took a dig at "flunkyism." He mentioned the bowing and kowtowing when Queen Marie visited America. He stressed that it is easy for men to be gracious to their superiors and even to their equals, but that the real test of character is attitude toward a person or race which he considers inferior. He ended with an appeal for a new baptism of real brotherhood.

"The Race Problem in American Life," was discussed just before the noon hour by Will Winston Alexander of Atlanta, Ga., executive secretary of the commission on inter-racial co-operation. He proved his claim to being a real Methodist by recounting how his great-great-grandmother bathed the feet of Bishop Francis Asbury, first Methodist bishop in America. He compared the race questions of Mohammedan lands, India, South Africa with the one in the United States and proposed steps for a solution grounded in Christianity.

WHITE SUPERIORITY

We reprint on this page an idiotorial from a recent issue of "The Yellow Jacket," an anti-Catholic, anti-American, anti-everything sheet published in Monrovian Falls, N. C., in which an attempt is made to prove through history that there is such a thing as inherent white superiority. The person who preaches this sermon takes as his subject an article from New York describing some of the activities in that city, where men and women of all races are seeking an amicable settlement of this American nightmare of race troubles by teaching facts instead of fancies.

And the idiotor of "The Yellow Jacket" (which, by the way, is classed as an insect) takes the case of Cleopatra as representing the fact that the race to which she belonged is incapable of ruling. He cites as his evidence some of the blackest chapters in her career. And for his information, and to prove to him that it's the bunk, we could easily call his attention to other queens whose reigns could not be pointed out with any particular degree of pride, even to one so devoid of honesty as he evidently is. Let him look into his own history at the life of the Anglo-Saxon, Mary, queen of Scots, who married her cousin in secret, had him slain, and in three days after his death married his murderer. Let him follow her more closely through one of the most dissolute reigns ever recorded in anybody's history. Or if he is not satisfied, let him look into French history at the reigns of the Louises, no one of whom has ever been accused of having dark blood. Let him go further back to Rome at the time of the Caesars. Let him jump to Greece, still further back, if he is seeking dissipations, orgies and evidences of an unfitness to rule.

He need not stop even there. He can look into the history of the Medicis in Italy; at the Hohenzollerns in Germany, and back to his beloved Anglo-Saxon country at Elizabeth, the "Virgin" queen; her father, Henry VIII, of eight wives fame. Let him study his own history and he will find that Cleopatra was a pretty fair sample of the ruling class, no matter what the race.

"The Yellow Jacket" is simply on the wrong trail. It represents a class that has been on the wrong trail for centuries, and is too dumb to recognize its mistake. Or, rather than admit its error, goes blindly on like a mad dog, snapping at everything that crosses its vision. One of these days it will run itself out. They all do in time, and the world will move blithely on, forgetful that such obstructions as "The Yellow Jacket" ever existed. That always happens where brutality and ignorance seek to obstruct justice, decency and progress.

Race Problem - 1927
United States.

LINCOLN-DOUGLASS PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT, CALVIN COOLIDGE

Presented In White House Audience, Feb. 14, 1927, Douglass Day, By National Lincoln-Douglass United Race Conference

Washington, D. C., February 14, 1927.

THE PRESIDENT:—

—SEGREGATON—

At a general Lincoln-Douglass race conference held on the evening of February 12th, by represntativs from many of our National Organizations, we were deputized to present to you this petition against the segregation of many colored employees in the Federal Civil Service.

That this segregation is based upon race and color is immediately understood when it is set forth that none of the other racial elements under your administration are subject to this indignity. Under our form of government, the title of citizen is the highest and most honorable title that any American can bear and to which, under our constitutional system, there can be no qualifying application. Special privilege and titles of nobility are forbidden by the fundamental law of the land and when, at the close of the Civil War, the great reconstruction acts were passed, the Federal Government was bound to abolish any vestige of discrimination in any of its departments, based upon color or creed.

Many of your subordinate officials are attempting to perpetuate an official caste system, bsed upon color, and in violation of the constitutional rights of colored men and women. You have the power to abolish this discrimination and we respectfully request that we may hope for an early administration act in this direction. The les of your office will show in what departments this segregation exists.

—LYNCHING—

We respectfully request that, in view of the recent atricious lynchings of Colored persons in the state of South Carolina and in other states of the South, a special message be sent to the Congress of the United States recommending the enactment of the Dyer anti-lynching bill.

—DISFRANCHISEMENT—

The spirit of Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator, and Frederick Douglass, the Abolitionist, whose birth anniversaries these race organizations have been celebrated inspires us to respectfully request of you that the Attorney General of the United States, with the National means at his command, investigate the whole subject of Disfranchisement of persons of color in the States of the South to the end that yo umay be accurately informed of this grave peril to the peace and perpetuity oi our government. The slavery oi unlettered men and women brought on the catastrophe of the great Civil War; the disfranchisement of millions of educated people of color who pay taxes; who are drafted in our wars; who perform their shae of the work of the world, cannot end in but another catastrophe.

Rev. Geo. Frazier Miller, Chairman; A. S. Pinkert, Secretary; Naval H. Thomas, Rev. W. H. Jernigan, Rev. Thomas S. Harten, N. Y.; William Munroe Trotter, Massachusetts; Maurice W. Spencer, Thomas H. R. Clarke, James L. Neill, and others.

INCONSISTENCY

It is reported that Clarence Darrow, noted criminal lawyer, was the recipient of a bouquet of carnations, the gift of the Board of Bishops of the A. M. E. Zion church when they discovered that the famous lawyer was aboard the same train occupied by the Bishops. This gift was an acknowledgment of the gratitude the race had for one of its stanch defenders. The Bishops were little concerned in the personal opinions held by the famous lawyer relative to things Scriptural. But this little appreciation shown by these eminent gentlemen of the cloth seems to have aroused the fire of certain white clergymen who hold that Darrow is an agnostic. The editor of the Richmond Christian Advance, organ of the M. E. Church, South, lets out a wail on the unseemly conduct of these representatives of Christianity but these same clergymen denied the brotherhood of man when these same Christians of color saw fit to sit with them in a national convention of Christian workers. Darrow, regardless of his belief comes nearer practicing the teachings of the lowly One than do many of the clergymen. To deny the brotherhood of man certainly denies the fatherhood of God. Men like Darrow and the immortal Ingersoll no doubt were influenced in their attitude and became skeptical of the God of the white clergymen by reason of the manner in which these gentlemen made practical application of their belief towards their brethren of other races.—Arkansas Survey.

Bishop W. T. Vernon, formerly Registrar of the Treasury and more recently elevated to the bishopric of his church, has showed his appreciation of the trust placed in him by the public by his recent utterances in which he said to have openly espoused segregation and discrimination. These charges, until denied and disproved, will be a challenge to the sincerity and honesty of this gentleman. Unlike Clarence Darrow, it seems that the Bishop does not have the courage of his convictions but shapes his thoughts and beliefs to please the crowd he is addressing. If he won the admiration and applause of the effete Nordics by such a ridiculous statement as has been attributed to him, it is an insult and a slur for which he must answer to God and the people.

PICKENS SAYS SEX IS CRUX OF THE RACIAL PROGRAMS

New York, Feb. 18—William Pickens, Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was the speaker at the last dinner, in the Cafe Boulevard, of the "Sunrise Club", taking for his subject "Sex the Crux of American Race-Relations Problems."

About 150 people attended the dinner and frank discussion followed Mr. Pickens' address, in which he maintained that the cry of "race purity" was raised as an excuse for economic exploitation by a stronger group of a weaker group, in case, the Negro. Mr. Pickens based his address on the following four theses:

"1. That the sex cry is always associated with economic greed and is loudest wherever the robbery and the oppression are the worst.

"2. That race or color antagonism is not "instinctive,' as is evidenced by little children and by the relationships of the dominant race to its servants from among the dominate race.

"3. That there are no biological barriers between any two of the so-called human 'races.'

4. That while sex,' or 'racial integrity', is very convenient publicity material for the leaders of American of the smallest causes, among even the alleged causes of this most barbarous lynchings, sex-attack is in fact one form of repression."

AN INGRATE

The most striking example of a downright ingrate coming to our attention in the last few years is Bill Warley, editor of the Louisville News, Louisville, Kentucky. An ingrate is described among the best authorities as an unthankful individual, who would hand you a stone for bread, and who would spit in your face for rendering him a service. Ingratitude is defined to be the basest of sin. There is no sin greater than ingratitude and no sinner meaner and more thankless than the ingrate.

Bill Warley, as Mel Chisum calls him, has been holding himself out as a martyr to free speech and free press. At the time his trouble arose in Kentucky, he was not a member of the association and is only a member now by the grace of Mel Chisum, field secretary, who, on his annual visit to the newspapers, called on Editors Cole and Warley in Louisville and gave them $100 apiece to help them out; money that had come into his hands as field secretary. Editor Cole was a member of the association and is still a member and to show the public to what depth ingratitude can debase a man, let me recite just how Bob Warley got to Chicago. Mel Chisum paid his way, his hotel bill and his taxi fare while in Chicago. In short, covered all of his expenses to and from the meeting, in addition to giving him $100 while in his city. Mr. Chisum had him to stand up in the association and let the members see one of the brave men who was fighting for freedom of the press in Kentucky. The association raised $30, turned it over to him to be used to take his case to the Supreme Court. But in spite of the $100 Chisum gave him and money to cover all expenses incurred by reason of the convention, including his membership fee and a $30 collection taken up in the association, this ingrate returns home and writes an article attacking the association, saying it was the worst meeting in the history of the association—that nothing constructive was done and that the time in attending the meeting was

wasted and lost. The officers of the meeting were referred to as two cliques. In fact, the meeting was denounced by the beneficciary of its charity, as a selfish, bungling mess of egotism by this ungrateful dependent.

Here is a man convicted for libel in his home state, comes to a convention, who put up approximately $100, more or less, to keep him out of prison, and he goes home and commits the same crime against the association and its members that he was convicted of in Kentucky. He committed criminal libel in Kentucky and a jury of his peers found him guilty; he committed criminal libel against the members of the association, but the association will cover his sins with a mantle of charity rather than to mete out to him the justice that was meted to him in Kentucky. The conduct of William Warley, editor of the Louisville News, justifies the judgment he received in the Kentucky court. The time attending the meeting was thrown away, he says, and the meeting was the worst in the history of the association, yet he received $130 in cash and whatever his railroad fare to and from Louisville to Chicago, hotel and taxi bill and possibly other moneys through the big heart of Mel Jack Chisum. But Bill Warley is an ingrate and that settles it.

NEVAL THOMAS SAYS OXLEY MADE "UNCLE TOM" SPEECH

To the Editor of The Eagle:

I feel constrained to request space in your influential columns for an exposure of Mr. Lawrence Oxley formerly from Boston where his wife and children now reside then for a short time residing here in Washington then leaving us suddenly and now living in North Carolina. A National convention of Quakers convened here last week and wanted to hear from Negroes' lips what the race wanted how it is suffering and how the noble Quakers themselves could help us. They are a magnificent and influential body of Christian people who asked us to tell the whole truth and they made beautiful talks themselves of the love their ancestors bore for us and how they wanted to continue that holy service.

This man Oxley made a veritable "Uncle Tom" speech. He said that colored people got justice in North Carolina; that whites were working together with the blacks; that he himself had suffered more in Boston than he had in North Carolina; and many other things that made North Carolina an ideal commonwealth. Had it not been for others of us on the program who told the truth about our perilous situation in this country that noble band would have gone away thinking that we were getting along all right that there was nothing for them to do, thus losing to us the helpful service of this great force in the life of the nation and the world.

Think of eulogizing the benighted state of North Carolina, although it is ahead of the rest of the bourbon South. It is the land of the Jim Crow car, even in municipal and state traffic, with all of its inequities and humiliations. It is the land of disfranchisement and pollution of the ballot box where they even gerrymandered the congressional districts to drive the last black man from the halls of the Congress where he had played an intelligent and noble part. It is the land where they won't even address a black man or black woman as "Mr." or "Mrs." It is the land that sent Col. Clarence Sherrill to the nation's capitol as superintendent of all of the nation's buildings and grounds. He brought all of his North Carolina ideas with him and put in the most widespread and industrious segregation scheme in the history of our capital. He even placed signs on Eastern Morn in the largest and most beautiful of our public parks, restricting Negroes to the inferior and outlying portions, but we threatened to take them down and go to jail for it, and down they came. There are now living in Washington among its best citizens of any race black men and women who were driven out of that state in the savage riots in Wilmington. It is the reactionary commonwealth that holds us as a serf class in this 20th century wave of democracy, not even letting us hold a single office in the whole state, in spite of its intelligent, aspiring and even wealthy Negro population. Yet this and more is Mr. Oxley's Utopia, that he spoke of in such terms of endearment. It will help him when he shows this complaint to his white "friends" down there, and when he tells them how he upheld their tyranny in the North, and how he has kept the Quaker of sacred tradition from "meddling" in North Carolina; but it will tell the colored people that he is still running true to form.

NEVAL H. THOMAS.

Believes Race War May Bring on New Dark Age

Berlin, Germany, Feb. 18.—Count Hermann Keyserling, noted German philosopher and scholar, recently in a lecture at Vienna declared that the world is facing a new dark age, a struggle between eastern and western civilization.

The author of the book, "Marriage," which is being read the world over, declared that he has fears regarding the darker races of the world. He thinks that the white races reached their heights during the World war, since which the dark races have been rapidly rising.

Discuss "Nigger Heaven" At Boston Club

BOSTON, MASS.—Carl Van Vechten, author of "Nigger Heaven", discussed the background of Harlem life at the Twentieth Century Club here this week, where he was the guest of honor, Miss Crystal Byrd, introducing Mr. Van Vechten, related a number of personal experiences of the Negro in the white world.

COLORED EDITORS LATE, SO INSULL TALKS ON DELAYS

Having waited for two hours Friday night for the meeting to start, Samuel Insull told the members of the National Negro Press association at 3140 Indiana avenue that the most serious handicap of the colored race is its tendency to procrastinate.

"If St. Peter uses the white man's time table the Negro will never get to the land beyond," he told them.

Not only thriftless of their time, but thriftless of health, personal property, and money, Mr. Insull called them.

Dr. Herman Bundesen, commissioner of health, followed Mr. Insull with a plea for the colored people to watch diet to avoid anaemia, have better resistanace against pneumonia, and protect children from rickets. He explained vitamins A, B, C, and D, and urged a quart of milk a day.

Prejudiced N. C. White Daily Would Have Jim Crow Signs All Over National Capital

(From Greensboro, N. C. Daily Record

Perhaps in no other city of the East are there so many Negroes of the desperate and vicious type as may be found in Washington, the seat of the country's government.

They are not only insolent, but not a few have manifested violent and murderous tendencies in recent years.

We have come to attribute the recurrence of crimes by Negroes against white women in that city to the fact that it has become a city of refuge for Negro desperadoes who have fled the South and sought a haven there because they fancy they are safer.

No Race Lines

Then, too, the government of the District of Columbia makes fewer racial distinctions or discriminations than the southern States, with the result that many who seek greater license and tolerance flock to that city. Social equality of a sort prevails there, for many of the whites in the government service or residing in the city hail from States which make no social or racial discriminaton. Emboldened by this lowering of the racitl bars, many of these are inclined to demand enforced equality from all whites, or from many of them.

Fugitives

Altogether, many of the criminal element, fugitives from justice from southern states, find Washington a city of refuge, believing that it is more difficult to extradite them from the District than from another State. But in addition to these, many of the "uppish" or offensive type of Negroes also remove to Washington in the expectation that they will be accorded more privileges and win a larger social recognition than some times overpasses State lines.

Fight Segregation

Only a few days ago a group of Negroes employed in the government service memorialized the president in a protest against the segregation of such employes in their work, virtually demanding instead that they be associated in their day's work with white employes, including many white women. Dissatisfied with this association with their own race, they nevertheless seek to force white persons to share an association in which they themselves are discontented.

Although accorded just as good and comfortable quarters as the whites, they insist upon being permitted to work side by side with the white employes doing similar or the same work. Such a demand can only be explained on the theory that they prefer to be associated with whites rather than to be limited in association by segregation with their own race, and that in protesting against racial segregation they admit objection to association with their own race.

Lack Of Pride

This attitude emphasizes the lack of racial pride, which has been a great handicap to the Negro since emancipation.

Washington and the District have no laws forbidding miscegenation, and in this way many Negroes who have attained some success in their occupations and with it considerable means are hopeful that their sons may intermarry with the white women and that their daughters may take white men as husbands.

Fred Douglass

The late Frederick Douglass and his white wife were all too familiar figures in Washington a generation ago. Within the memory of many of us who are not yet old, Negro senators and representatives were not unusual. Operation of the federal laws tends to permit larger license to the Negro residents than they are accorded at home, or certainly the average Negro who removes to Washington so anticipates.

The capital city is made up of a polyglot population in the sense that they come from all the States wherein varying views and ideas prevail, not only as to politics, but also as to social problems, and many of them bring with them their prejudices and hatreds.

Inferiority

But the basic fact we desire to emphasize is that those Negroes who insist upon the right to work with or to associate with whites, whether the latter are willing or unwilling, admit inferiority by just such an attitude. If they prefer association with whites to that limited in practice to their own race, how may they reasonably expect a similar unwillingness to be associated with Negroes whom some of their own race protest against being segregated or associated with? The aspiration which seeks to compel the commingling of Negroes and whites in government employ is in effect an admission that the Negroes prefer white association to that exclusively with their own race. How then can they consistently object to white employes feeling and asserting a similar preference for association with their own race?

Race Problem-1927
United States.

"No Quicker For a Negro"

IF THE Negroes do not know William H. Phelps, they should seek to become acquainted with him and all other white men of his type. He is the big-souled editor of one of the Methodist Christian Advocates, *The Michigan*. He does not pose as a specialist in defense of Negro rights; in fact, he is no stage player at all. He is a rugged character, of strict integrity, who believes tremendously in personal uprightness and Christian social justice, and strives with voice and pen to build society according to such ideals.

He lives in Detroit. That city has a new ordinance to the effect that the policemen may shoot on the spot any citizen who fails to do so when commanded by the officer to "halt." With crime conditions obtaining as they do in the great cities of the country and in Detroit in particular, it would appear that such an order is amply justified and generally approved for the security of society against the multiplying gang of footpads, bootleggers, and other parasites on the community. To such a law there appears no valid objection.

Dr. Phelps, with commendable insight into the implications of such a law, points out some of the possibilities of abuse in its application. "It has brought a practical sort of capital punishment to Detroit; only, instead of being administered by the courts, it is to be administered by the police, and quickly on the spot, by the hair-trigger method," he says. And he thinks this power of capital punishment had better be resident in the courts of the State and the city. For, "The courts rarely err, the police are more apt to do injustice, and the mob is often misled."

The admonition of Editor Phelps is timely and should receive serious consideration by the Detroit authorities. Such a law is likely to prove extremely harmful to Detroit's Negro population at this time. Because of recent occurrences in that city there is not, on part of a certain element of the white population, even some of the policemen, the best feeling toward the large and rapidly increasing Negro population. There is among that same class a positive displeasure over the fact even that so many Negroes are crowding into Detroit. Because the statutes of Michigan allow it, and the laws of human nature demand it, these Negro citizens are expecting and requesting the same civic and political privileges as all other citizens enjoy. Strange to say, such an attitude keeps in the bosom of this type of white citizen a sustained spirit of resentment. There exists therefore a mob mind against the Negro of which the average policeman is the definite exponent and official tool of expression.

It is a law of motion that bodies move along the line of least resistance and, as Dr. Phelps so aptly reminds, "*in Detroit, and elsewhere, that means the Negro.*" Therefore the Negro is likeliest to suffer the extreme consequences of the ordinance. Outrages heaped generally upon this race are due, thinks Dr. Phelps, to the fact that other folks are generally "ignorant of the real [illegible] of this race that is rising by a daily miracle from [illegible]vel, but making the slope more rapidly than any other race in all history." We hope our colleague is accurate in his designation of the cause of this prejudice which multiplies the possibility of danger in administering this law against Negroes. For with some people it seems that it is *the consciousness of the fact of the Negroes' rise rather than ignorance thereof* which begets prejudice against him and makes him the butt of injustice and repression at the hands of a certain notorious element of whites.

Besides, there is the accumulation of prejudice as the resultant of the social custom under the old adage, "Practice makes perfect." The practice of prejudice begets prejudice. The psychology of mental states is that they gather momentum with frequent repetition. The most effective natural antidote to human prejudice is cultivation of the will not to practice it. As Dr. Phelps reminds Detroit, for those who see constantly the criminal class of Negroes, "it is easy to get the working philosophy that a dead Negro is the only safe one." This leaf out of that editor's experience with crime conditions in Detroit is valuable for the whole range of race contacts: "We stood one day in utter amazement before the pen in Detroit's jail," says he, "where a bunch of Negroes were herded. Our sympathy for the police went up several notches. But—that does not justify the all too frequent report in the paper that 'a Negro, acting suspiciously, was shot last night by the police.'" Certainly not; any more than one standing before a similar den of white gunmen and thugs, such as comprise the denizens of the ghettos of the great cities of our country would conclude, from that sight, that every suspicious looking and queerly acting white citizen passing on a dark thoroughfare in the community, if therefore shot, was justly shot by the police. There is already many an unmarked grave, there is already many an uncounted body of Negro victims who have come to their end unjustly because they perchance acted "suspiciously" and paid the "penalty" of an unquenchable prejudice harbored in the bosom of some minion of the law who did not like Negroes.

This article is not an attempt at maudlin sentiment. It is not designed to awaken in any quarter misplaced sympathy for the Negro. He is not more angelic or less devilish than other human beings, nor do we know of any human group less devilish and more angelic than he. Negroes, like all other human groups, fall into the categories of "good, better, best," or "bad, worse, worst." Accordingly they should suffer whatever penalties are justly meted out by society in its effort of social control just as, and to the same extent as, does any other group of citizens. All that is asked or wanted for him and by him is that officers, in the discharge of their public duties, shall assume toward Negro citizens an attitude of social justice, without special favor or without partisan prejudice, so that in Detroit and in every other community of this land, as Editor Phelps pleads, "*No revolver must speak any quicker for a Negro than for a white man.*"

Race Prejudice Is Assailed By Jersey Senator

JERSEY CITY, N. J., April 7.—(By A. N. P. A.) United States Senator Edwards, in speaking to a mixed audience here Sunday, declared that the time had come for "absolute freedom of thought and equality before the law" and assailed and flayed sectionalism and race prejudice as enemies of true Americanism.

The Senator from New Jersey flayed these evils in unequivocable terms and won the applause of the large number of citizens who believe as he does that the Negro is a citizen of the United States and as such deserves all of the rights accorded to other Americans.

WHITE ATTORNEY MAKES STIRRING APPEAL IN DEFENSE OF NEGRO RACE

Maurice Sugar, Candidate For Justice of Peace, Thrills Detroit With Address on "The Inequalities of the Law."

DENOUNCES DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES

Perhaps the most remarkable address on the "Inequalities of the Law" ever heard in Detroit, was delivered Monday night, Feb. 21, at the ElMoshe Club, a Jewish organization, by Hon. Maurice Sugar, a local representative of the Detroit Federation of Labor, who is a candidate for Justice of the Peace. The following extracts from Mr. Sugar's address, relative to the inequalities of the Law as affecting the Negro, reveal clearly qualities of this fearless champion of human rights. He says:

One of the most striking inequalities of the law appears in its application to the Negro. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution forbids discrimination in the franchise on account of color. It is in the Constitution, the fundamental law of the land. Yet in great sections of this country the Negro is disfranchised. It is accomplished by intimidation, terrorizatoin and violence; by the action of local election officials; by the establishment of "white primaries;" by economic pressure; "Stay away from the polls or lose your job!" Talk about your "scraps of paper!" What about the constitution?

The Fourteenth Amendment was intended primarily as a protection to the Negro race. It provides that no state shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." And yet throughout the country the Negroes are segregated in their living quarters, in restaurants and in theaters. Every time you see a Negro climb into the balcony of a movie house in this city you are a witness to a dastardly, vicious evidence of the hypocrisy of our boasted racial equality. And if you are built like I am, the sight will cut like a knife into your soul, annd your being will burn with the fire of bitter resentment.

There is a law on the statute books of this state making it a crime to discriminate against Negroes in restaurants, theaters and public places. It is violated every day in this city, openly and violently. What is done about it? Nothing.

Negroes are lynched by the score, without regard to their guilt or innocence of the charge made against them—indeed, usually before their guilt or innocence could possibly be established. And in most of the cases which have been investigated, it has been shown that the tortured victims were innocent. Lynching is against the law, you know. What is done about it. Nothing.

In August, 1919, when the National Association for the Advanceement of Colored People sent its secretary, Mr. John R. Shillady, to Austin, Texas, to see the Attorney General concernng the activities of the local branch of the organization, he was brutally attacked, and beaten into a bloody annd bruised mass of helplessness. He was a white man. Who beat him. A judge and two constables.

What was done about it? I will tell you what was done about it. Governor Hobby wrote to the Association: Your organization can contribute more to the advancement of both races by keeping your representatives and their propaganda out of this state than in any other way."

Yes, the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted primarily as a protection to the Negro race. Let us see how it has worked out in the courts. Up to the year 1911, this amendment was invoked in 55 cases in the United States Supreme Court. In 39 of these cases the "persons" whose rights were involved were private corporations. And in only 3 cases were the civil rights of Negroes involved. And in only 1 case, which involved the rights of Negroes in jury cases, has this amendment acted to secure personal rights.

Let us get back to Detroit. We need not leave our own city in the search for illustrations.

It has been said that one half of the world does not know how the other half lives. Well, I say to you that 99 per cent of the population of this city does not know what the other 1 per cent is doing. You are intelligent men. You think you know what is going on in this city. Let me give you a few illustrations.

Two patrolmen entered the place of business of a Negro, Mr. Roland Hicks. They had no search warrant. A friend of Mr. Hicks, by name of Bertram Johnson, protested this invasion of law. He was set upon by the officers. He resisted. He was shot to death, although, after the first shot, he made no effort to give battle. There can be no doubt that Mr. Johnson died because of his color.

Gertrude Russian resented the unwarranted interference by officers when she sought to do some shopping notwithstanding the illegal interference by the police officer. She was brutally beaten. She was placed under arrest, and then, while she was under arrest in automobile, she was shot. Then three officers drove the car around the corner of Beaubien and Winder, and completed the job by shooting her to death. Brave, heroic defenders of the white man's "superiority!"

Lillie Smith was riding home on a truck with her husband. An officer says the tail light was out. What a dastardly offense! And he says they were speeding in this truck! So the law was upheld, and justice done, and this lady shown her position in society, by a bullet which ended her life. The tortures of her death agony were combined with the throes of child birth; a child was born as she died.

William Alridge was shot only last month as he stood before an officer with his hands in the air. He was punished by death for being a Negro! A week later the officer was discharged from the force—for being drunk, a more serious offense.

These are merely illustrations. In the past 2 years, 96 Negroes have been slain by police officers of the city of Detroit!

They talk of capital punishment! We have it now, for Negroes, and without accusation, without trial, without chance to defend themselves. But it is kept secret. It would not do to make it public. Better to continue killing Negroes than to stir up resentment and invite retribution!

What an ignorant, prejudice, vicious view of this awful condition!

Is there no hope what will remove this rank discrimination, this vicious compulsion of social inequality, this brutal killing of our fellowmen? Some say it will remain as long as color exist. Science says that such a conclusion is ridiculous. The white can establish no claim to superiority, either physiologically, or biologically, or psychologically, or anthropologically. The only thing that supports him in his claim is his egotism. That must be destroyed.

How will it be destroyed? It will be destroyed by the great working masses of the people, white and black combined. The autocrat of industry and of finance holds in his right hand the throat of the white worker, and in his left the throat of the black worker. He is gradually choking them to death. But he has not yet choked quite enough. And when he has squeezed a little more, you will see the white worker and the black worker join together, combined their great powers, and strike a desperate blow for freedom, and the fight that liberates them from the clutches of their common exploiter will make their cause a common cause. And the common cause will make them brothers. And these brothers will know no color annd no race; they will have learned that color and race are artificial barries erected to keep them apart. They will have learneed that they are both human, with the same appetites, the same loves, the same yearnings and the same aspirations and ideals."

Among the many prominent and fair-minded citizens who are endorsing Mr. Sugar in his candidacy for Justice of the Peace are Judge Ira Jayne, Judge Jefferies and Judge Frank Murphy.

The following letter from Judge Frank Murphy is significant:

Feb. 18, 1927.

Mr. Samuel B. Keene, Chairman,
Maurice Sugar Campaign Committee
Detroit.

Dear Mr. Keene:

Maurice Sugar is regarded by all who know him as a genuinely sincere, able and courageous man. In my humble opinion, he is singularly well qualified for the position of Justice of the Peace by reason of his legal abilities, sensitiveness of fine ethical considerations, and this uncommon grasp of the economic aspect of problems appearing in the administration of the Justice Court. Free from pomp and austerity, he would no doubt give the same careful thought to the countless small claims prosecuted as he would to the ones involving larger amounts.

Yours sincerely,
FANK MURPHY

PRESS
BINGHAMTON, N. Y.
JUN 8 1927

Race Prejudice Psychoanalyzed

Race prejudice looks suspiciously like a form of insanity, in the opinion of E. Franklin Frazier, director of the Atlanta School of Social Work, a Negro who has made a special study of the psychology of this complicated subject. He publishes an article on it in the June issue of the Forum magazine which suggests that race prejudice is just another of old Doc Freud's much discussed complexes.

"We meet in the insane with a tendency on the part of the patient to identify everything that happens in this environment in terms of his particular delusion," writes the author of this startling theory. "In the case of those suffering from the Negro-complex we see the same tendency at work. Any recognition accorded the Negro, even in the North, is regarded as an attempt to give him 'social equality,' the personal connotations of which are familiar to most Americans. In the South, Negroes have been lynched for being suspected of such a belief. Misconstructions such as are implied in he Southern conception of social equality are so manifestly absurd that they bear close resemblance to the delusions of reference in the insane. Perhaps more justly to be classed as symptoms of insanity are those frequent hallucinations of white women who complain of attacks by Negroes when clearly no Negroes are involved. Hallucinations often represent unacceptable sexual desires which are projected when they can no longer be repressed. In the South a desire on the part of a white woman for a Negro that could no longer be repressed would most likely be projected—especially when such a desire is supposed to be as horrible as incest. It is not unlikely, therefore, that imaginary attacks by Negroes are often projected wishes.

"The following manifestation of race prejudice shows strikingly its pathological nature. Some years ago a mulatto went to a small Southern town to establish a school for Negroes. In order not to become persona non grata in the community, he approached the leading white residents for their approval of the enterprise. Upon his visit to one white woman he was invited into her parlor and treated with the usual courtesies shown visitors; but when this woman discovered later that he was colored, she chopped up the chair in which he had sat and, after pouring gasoline over the pieces, made a bonfire of them. The pathological nature of a delusion is shown by its being out of harmony with one's education and surroundings. For an Australian black fellow to show terror when he learns his wife has touched his blanket would not evince a pathological state of mind; whereas, it did indicate a pathological mental state for this woman to act as if some mysterious principle had entered the chair."

Race Problem-1927

United States.

Race Problem Will Be Solved By Tolerance and Patience, Says White Newspaper Editor

Louis I. Jaffe, of the Virginian-Pilot, Predicts For It A Happy Solution, But Declares Haste Must Be Made Slowly

"I think all of us who have had actual and extended experience with the factors that make up the sum of our racial difficulty will agree that the subject is not benefited by violent or ex cathedra pronouncements. We shall most surely and safely learn the secret of a happy adjustment by making haste slowly, by biting off a little wisdom at a time and assimilating it before hastening to another mouthful," declared Editor Louis I. Jaffe, of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot addressing a capacity audience in the Attucks Theatre Sunday afternoon. Mr. Jaffe predicted a happy solution of the race problem but declared that "the task of tempering this rivalry in the interest of finer brotherhood and a purer democracy, is one that will require careful experimenting, much wisdom and great patience."

"The ultimate and happiest goal may be shrouded in distant mists," asserted the editor, "but there are important nearer goals which are in sight and toward which we may work with every confidence of early attainment."

Meeting Under Auspices Grace Church

The meeting has held under auspices of the Men's Club of Grace Episcopal Church and was largely attended by leading colored citizens of Norfolk and the cities of Tidewater. In beginning his speech on "Some Thoughts On A Common Problem," Mr. Jaffe explained that he knew that he owed his invitation to address his audience "to some of the things the Virginian-Pilot has had to say on local, State and national complexities growing out of the bi-racial character of our population and that I am expected by this audience to say something more on the same general subject." He confessed that it would be simple enough for him to assert dogmatic judgments on just what is wrong with our racial arrangements, who is wrong and who is to blame for them and how they might be remedied, "but," said he, I hope I shall never so forget my obligation to fact and experience as to address myself to this troubled race problem of ours in any pontifical mood." Explaining that he disliked the term race problem, Mr. Jaffe said, "yet how else are we to characterize the relationship of two races, one light, one dark, who, though worshipping the same God and extolling a common brotherhood in Christ, are harrassed by so many reciprocal fears." The editor declared that the more he reflects upon the race problem the more certain he becomes that it will yield to "no short-order panacea." "I am impressed," said he, "with the fact that the greatest number of sure cures for our racial distemper emanate from those regions that are geographically farthest removed from the areas to which these cures are to be applied. It is almost safe to say that the degree of infallibility claimed for the solution of the race problem varies directly with the distance from the main seat of the trouble. The panaceas become simpler and more dogmatic as we move North, no doubt achieving their highest infallibility among the Eskimo intellectuals of the Arctic Circle."

Refers To New Spirit of Press

Editor Jaffe referred to the new spirit of fairness shown by the press toward the Negro; to the shortcomings of Southern cities in the matter of recreational facilities for their colored citizens, but stated that Norfolk is among the cities of the South that are sensing the unfairness of this situation and is moving to remedy it. Continuing he said:

"I think all of us who have had actual and extended experience with the factors that make up the sum of our racial difficulty will agree that the subject is not benefited by violent or ex cathedra pronouncements. We shall most surely and safely learn the secret of a happy adjustment by making haste slowly, by biting off a little wisdom at a time and assimilating it before hastening to another mouthful. If the difficulty were merely one of volitional group prejudice, as some of the most eminent Negro writers maintain, the prescription would be simple—educate both groups out of their acquired prejudice and prepare to celebrate the millenium. I have my serious doubts about this analysis. Prejudice, it seems to me, is not precisely the word to use in describing the origin of the fundamental conflict betwen sharply differentiated races. Prejudice means prejudgment and prejudgment implicates, however slightly, the faculties of thought and reason. But the real force behind the racial tension, it seems to me, is not the resultant of thought and reason but of blind, inherited instinct, sharpened by troubled experience—psychological and sociological imponderables that yield but slowly to the rationalizing processes. A better word than race prejudice, I suggest, is race bias—an innate, inherited racial slant, a structural characteristic rather than a superimposed malevolent decoration. I have taken time to draw this somewhat involved distinction because I think it is important for all of us concerned with bringing about a constantly improving relationship between the two races, to grasp firmly the idea that conflict and rivalry between the two sharply distinguished races is not peculiar to America, that it is common throughout the world and has been from the beginning of recorded history, that it proceeds not from arbitrary malice but from tragically inherited protective impulses, and that the task of tempering this rivalry in the interest of a finer brotherhood and a purer democracy, is one that will require careful experimenting, much wisdom and great patience. Understanding the real nature of the problem, we shall the less easily lose heart at the slowness with which it yields to solution.

Problem Viewed With Hope

"I would not have you believe from this that I view the outlook for racial adjustment pessimistically. On the contrary, I view it with confidence and with hope. The ultimate and happiest goal may be shrouded in distant mists, but there are important nearer goals which are in sight and toward which we may work with every confidence of early attainment. Great goals have already been attained. The greatest of them all, of course, was the Act of Emancipation—white America's bitter and belated atonement for its seventeenth and eighteenth century debauch in criminal avarice. Great things have already been done—by philanthropists who have put within reach of the Negro people the means of industrial, professional and liberal education; by States that have made provision, although none of them, as yet, adequately, for converting into a literate population a people hitherto unlettered; by your own teachers, preachers, doctors, journalists, artists, musicians, novelists, poets, critics, and business men who, in the face of poverty, limited opportunity and racial bias, have forged their way to real or comparative eminence and are laying the ground work for a Negro life in America that will ultimately comprehend within its own group all the cultural and spiritual enrichments. No race can be laid under the charge of inherent of irremedial intellectual inferiority, and no race need despair of its power of cultural growth, that can produce, taking only a few of the moderns, such exemplars as Stanley Braithwaite in poetry criticism, Dr. Du Bois, Alain Locke and Kelly Miller in the art of the critical essay, James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen and Claude McKay in poetry, Walter White and Jean Toomer in fiction and Henry Tanner in painting, and which is represented in music by such men as Roland Hayes and R. Nathaniel Dett. These are a few names that occur to me from my own personal knowledge and from my casual reading. How many more names could be mustered for this roll of honor by any well-informed person in this audience? The list takes no account of ministers, educators and editors. They belong in this heartening picture of a people's thrilling pilgrimage in search of the bread that feeds the spirit. I rejoice with you in the extraordinary progress that you have made in so short a time, religiously, economically, politically and culturally—a record of achievement which, considering the difficulties under which it has been compiled, is without parallel, I believe, in all human history.

Must Be Solved In The South

"Great things have been done and great things remain to be done—and by both races. The primary obligation unquestionably rests on the race that controls the machinery of government, the administration of justice and the organization of business and industry. In considering this obligation I think naturally in terms of the Southern States where most of America's colored people are domiciled and where, despite all the hard things that are said about us by the more belligerent of the Negro critics of the North, the races have a more understanding contact with each other than anywhere else in the United States and where, if anywhere in the United States, will be evolved the solution which we are seeking. That may seem a rash prophecy, but I believe it is a true one. I predicate it on the assumption that the South will continue to be the section containing the largest Negro population, and on the proposition that problems of racial contact are likely to be solved where the contact area is the largest and where, consequently, more effort, more intellectual outlay and more travail of experimentation, is likely to enter into the final solution. Here in the South, I venture to believe will be evolved the arrangements which will make for the happiness, security and respect of both races, each for itself and each for the other.

Negro's Economic Disability

"That is the end that we all look forward to. The steps to that end are not all easily discernible, but some of them, I believe, are plainly in view. The first and most important step is the amelioration of the Negro's economic disability—the gradual setting up of the principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that no discount on account of color shall be arbitrarily enforced against any one who, in the sweat of his face, renders material service or produces material wealth. I am not so naive as to think that this formula can ever be fully realized. The single standard in pay is a distant goal, but it is the standard toward which all economic teaching impels us and to which we are pointed by justice. I never traverse the streets inhabited by our Negro population without sensing its implied indictment of an economic system cruelly distorted. Wretched housing, squalid alleys, unkempt roadways, unclean pavements—there is something monstrously wrong with an economic system that makes these conditions so unfailingly and so exclusively, the reward of Negro labor. Partly, of course, the difficulty is with the Negro worker himself—his lack of skill, his inexperience in the art of organization, his precarious capital resources, perhaps, his improvidence, but partly it is due to the discriminations practiced against him by the great unions, to the heartless exploitation of him by the white employing world, and to a municipal policy that has failed to do justice to the colored population in the planning and carrying out of public improvements.

Mutual Interest of The Workers

"The conditions to which I have just alluded will not be corrected at once or even soon, but forces are already in play to undo them. The restriction of immigration, apparently a permanent American policy, is contributing directly and indirectly to the market value of the Negro's labor. The mobile elements of this labor are moving North and West to meet the labor deficits of those sections, leaving the labor that remains behind in livlier demand, and therefore, necessarily, better compensated. The steady industrialization of Southern cities is another corrective factor. The transfer from the personal service to the industrial employments makes for higher earnings, both for those who transfer and for those who do not. It is inevitable, I believe, that eventually the white workers of the South will realize that they cannot permanently hold the Negro

workman down in the economic gutter without staying there with him—that in the measure that the great body of Negro workers are underpaid, in approximately the same measure the wages of the great body of white workers must remain depressed thru the sheer necessity of meeeting potential Negro competition. By one device or another this competition may be arrested for a time, but not permanently. In the end, the work that is to be done, will under the laws of competition, gravitate to those who can do it most effectively and most cheaply.

Forces Making For Alleviation

"These are some of the broad and powerful forces that are making for the alleviation of the Negro's economic handicap. Other forces tending in the same direction, will, I believe, be set in motion by the Negroes themselves. The business men of the race, an increasingly numerous and resourceful body, will find means to put to successful use the surplus manpower of the race in enterprises of their own devising. The workers themselves, as their economic condition undergoes improvement and as a new, better-educated and more discerning generation takes the place of the one now on the decline, will know better how to husband their resources—will, I venture to predict, spend less on poor hair straighteners and more on good furniture, at the same time diverting to building and loan companies at least part, if not all, the vast wealth now being applied to the aggrandizement of secret orders and to the enrichment of burial societies.

Part Southern Cities Must Play

"The cities of the South have their important part to play too. They are under the most compelling moral obligation to make a fairer distribution of public improvements. It is a most encouraging sign of the times that a public opinion is making itself heard that demands these improvements for the neglected colored populations as a matter of right. Norfolk, I am glad to say, is one of the cities that is beginning to recognize the justice of this demand and is moving to meet it. It has but recently erected what is perhaps the finest colored high school in the whole State of Virginia. The Council has become sensitive, and properly so, to the discrimination that has been practiced against the colored people in the matter of parks and playgrounds and is planning as far as its resources will permit to make reparation. One of the great reproaches of this seaside community is the failure, up to the present time, to provide for the colored population an adequate beach resort. That reproach, I am informed on good authority, will not be permitted to stand much longer. The Council is at work on several plans from which should emerge this long-needed improvement. These are some of the things being done or in the process of accomplishment. The inventory is still a lamentably short one. Perhaps the most glaring deficit is the almost complete absence of playground facilities for colored children. Save for one or two school yards in the outlying districts, there does not exist in Norfolk today any public place in which a colored boy may throw a ball into the air, or in which colored boys may stage a baseball game, without an infraction of the city ordinances. The recital of this condition carries its own sufficient condemnation. Another facility that the colored community needs and which cannot be supplied by the colored population unaided, is a modern hospital and dispensary for its own undivided use. The preliminary condition of the securing of these essential facilities is the public certification of the need for them. The city at large realizes in a vague way that the colored population is under-supplied with these facilities that have come to be accepted as essential to a healthy urban existence, but it does not know the degree to which it is being starved. It seems to me that here is a great opportunity for a commission composed of eminent and thoughtful representatives of both races, who, acting jointly, would make it its business to ascertain the true state of affairs and keep it in public view. I have in mind the many interracial commissions that are today functioning in the Southern States, all of them patterned after the notable commission whose headquarters are in Atlanta, and strongly recommend the setting up of such an agency in the city of Norfolk. There would be no difficulty in finding in this city able, influential and public spirited men and women who would be glad to join equally responsible representatives of the Negro community, in an enterprise so clearly directed to the public good.

Many Other Aspects

"With this note on increased racial cooperation I may bring these scattered observations on our common problem to a close. I realize, of course, that the problem has many other aspects that would bear profitable discussion. There is, for example, the political aspect which, in our South country especially, is still a subject packed with dynamite. I might say in this connection that I believe the passing years will see a steady increase in the number of Negro voters. How large the increase will be, will depend, in large measure, on the Negro voters themselves—the intelligence of their approach to public affairs, the degree in which they hold themselves aloof from political compacts based on racial considerations alone, the extent to which they can employ their power at the polls without creating social complications that will cause the governing majority to react to the new development with the old alarm.

"I have not touched on such matters as lynching and the administration of justice, for I believe that in these fields things are rapidly on the mend. I look forward to the day, and most of us here this afternoon I predict, will live to see it, when we shall celebrate a year wholly free of lynchings, and to a still happier day when this form of savagery will be no more than a horrid memory. A last word may appropriately be said on the subject of the press. The newspapers of the country, those of the North no less than those of the South, are not yet living up to their duty in respect of interracial fairness. They have done valiant service in this cause and are continuing to do so, but they are still too prone to exploit Negro crime, too much disposed to give a racial identification to criminal acts charged against unidentified Negroes on insufficient evidence of probability, too indifferent to the demands of the self-respecting Negro world for the elimination of terms and usages that give it offense, too timid about giving space and attention to those aspects of Negro life that bear witness to its dignity and to its finer aspirations.

"Speaking for the newspaper which I have the honor to serve, I may say that we are giving serious thought to these shortcomings and trying to correct them. The same thing, I believe, can be said of most of our Southern contemporaries. It is the earnest desire of these newspapers, and Virginia, I am glad to say, has a large and increasing number of them, to administer their public trust fairly, honestly and liberally—to contribute to the Good Light which, in the fullness of time, will illumine this common problem of ours and bring us all into that Promised Land of fairness, justice and mutual respect which all sincere men and women of both races are seeking."

Mr. Jaffe was introduced by P. B. Young, editor of the Journal and Guide, who referred to him as a "true exponent of the New South." At the conclusion of his address the Virginian-Pilot editor was accorded an ovation seldom heard from a local audience. With overwhelming sincerity the audience prolonged its ovation for several minutes, a fact forcefully attesting its appreciation of Mr. Jaffe's speech and his work as editor of the local morning paper.

Attorney J. Thomas Newsome, of Newport News, also spoke. He was presented by Attorney J. M. Harrison. Music was rendered by Grace Church choir. The exercises were opened with prayer by Rev. C. P. Madison. Rev. B. W. Harris the rector, briefly explained the purpose of the meeting. Benediction was pronounced by Rev. R. S. Evans.

OUT-MENCKENING MENCKEN.

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On the other hand Mr. Schuyler finds that Negroes feel more kindly toward the whites of wealth and influence, because from this class they have obtained quite a few favors and largesses. "But," he adds, "they do not lose sight of the fact that in the face of a group crisis, such as a lynching or race riot, they cannot depend upon these upper class Nordics, who invariably desert when the mob heaves into sight, if indeed they do not join it." He then shows how the higher class of whites who control

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Disregarding its flippancies and cheap witticisms, Mr. Schuyler has written an article that could be read to advantage by every thinking white person in the United States. It contains more than a modicum of truth and effectively shatters various misconceptions on the relations of the two races. Plain speaking of this sort should lead to a better understanding on both sides.

Race Problem - 1927
United States.

Monroe, Ga., Walton

KELLY MILLER RUNNING TRUE TO FORM

Just now when the N. A. A. C. P., the Negro generally, the entire thinking people of the country, the Supreme Court, the Inter-Racial Commission and every agency that aims for the betterment, not only of the condition of the Negro, but the well-being of the nation in establishing a single standard of fairness and justice for all races, it seems that the least the Negro himself can do is to fall in line and help defend the position which his friends have taken. That no nation can exist wherein one portion of its population is set apart as a thing unclean, and bidden "Thus far shalt thou go—"

Therefore it is with shame and grief that The Eagle finds that one of our own race commits himself to the rightness of the policy of segregation. Dean Kelly Miller in the March number of Current History defends residential segregation as a necessity in our cities. He belittles the results of the Sweet case in Detroit. He feels that Supreme Court decisions leave the situation untouched. He would group Negroes, or any other race for that matter, in ghettos, because he feels they will be happier, and the white people will be better pleased. As to the ultimate and inevitable degeneration of these ghettos, he is silent.

Current History has given space to two points of view on residential segregation—thank God. And the exact opposite of Dean Miller's view is stated by Herbert Seligman. To the everlasting shame, pity and disgrace of our people, we must say that Mr. Seligman is a white man. Mr. Miller is a Negro. Here we have the anomaly of a Negro defending residential segregation and a white man condemning it. Mr. Seligman is associated with the N. A. A. C. P. In view of their Herculanean efforts to set aside this disgrace of America it is but natural that he should take issue with Mr. Miller. His refutation of the weak arguments, the unsound statements, the strained deductions of the Dean is masterly. His conclusion is one which any man with an ounce of manhood cannot but feel is inevitable.—"The Negro as an American citizen has no choice except to fight segregation to the last ditch. To accept it would be to brand himself as inferior and to accept permanent impairment of his status as a citizen."

And a white man had to tell a Negro this! How low must this race of ours have sunken when our so-called leaders and spokesmen must be reminded of their duty as men and citizens by a member of the other race.

There is no excuse, palliation, apology, alibi, explanation that Dean Kelly Miller can offer for this latest effusion. He has stultified his own manhood, and tried to lower the standard of twelve millions of his fellow men.

This is the man some misguided members of the race would have made president of Howard University. Had he been chosen instead of Howard continuing as a university it would have been a regular Uncle Tom's cabin.

THE LESSON MUST BE LEARNED.

From their own lips and from their press the well-thinking negroes of the South admit that they are better treated in the South than anywhere else on this continent. Some who have returned from states north of the Mason and Dixon line have told of horrible treatment that has, at different times and under different occasions, been dealt out to members of their race. Leaving that out of it, we believe the Southern white man and Southern negro can better understand each other and better solve their problems, without the aid of such fellows as Clarence Darrow, who just a few days ago, because of his utterances at Mobile, Ala., was informed by county authorities that sentiment was steadily increasing against him. Newspaper dispatches disclose the fact that he, in his speeches, "assailed mistreatment of negroes in the South." A dispatch from Mobile said: "After the attorney had lectured Sunday night at a negro school private detectives and plain clothes men escorted him to his vacation residence and stood guard while the Darrows prepared for a hurried departure." Just as it should have been. All such propagandists should have meted out to them the same treatment, for the sooner they learn, the better it will be.

PHILOSOPHY OF DARROW IS NEGROES' GOD

By Bishop E. D. W. Jones
In The Afro-American.

Jesus said, "He who is not against us is for us." Predicted upon this hypothesis Mr. Darrow is with Jesus, whether he confesses Him or not. God stands for love of man, for justice, for sellessness, for morals, for truth for the oppressed, for intellect, for humanity, for right, for fellowship and brotherhood. So does Mr. Darrow, and in these excellent virtues they are one.

When we find this conception freeing, ennobling and empowering life we know that we have the creating and developing forces of worthiest character. Edison who denies God, but talks of Supreme Energy means God. The man who talks of moral principles aesthetic value, and nature, means God, for "the conception of principle, values and nature are merely conceptions of the unseen."

We must identify God with all good. Right-acting individuals are nobler than creeds.

Must a man know, believe and confess God before he receives revelations and directions from God? The Holy Record says: "In Him was life and the life was the light of men which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Darrow is controlled by that light. I might wish that Darrow had a different theism for positive faith in God is mightiest and more productive of good, but I rejoice that he is not a hypocrite. He rings true on the great causes of God and stands unflinching before prejudiced Christian America and defies its white citizenry to treat the Negro as Jesus would treat him.

Our race has suffered more from misrepresentation of Jesus than from any attempt to deny His existence. In this connection we have never known an Atheist, a Socialist nor an Agnostic who was not square and fair and just on the race question. White Christians preach a partial God, and such a God is not the God of the Negro nor the oppressed.

The greatest and most monumental sin of all the ages is to so interpret Jesus in exordums and sermons in the House of God, before the open Bible as to incite and excite a nation to prejudice as if it were just—a section to the righteousness of lynching and segregation and a mob to the belief that it is doing God's will in brutality and slaughter.

What about a Christian ministry, (from which we have received our hardest blows) of which Sinclair Lewis says, in Elmer Gantry—the Book of the Month of March—(and remember he is all thru satirizing the white ministry;) "Many of the most worthy Methodist and Baptist Clergymen supported the Ku Klux Klan and were supported by it"?

Mr. Darrow will not support the principles of the Klan, and still he is neither Protestant nor Catholic. He is a Christ actor.

Darrow is not the only man who cannot believe in the Christ of a Christianity that denies an honest man a chance; a Christianity that Jim-crows a fellow because of his color; a Chrisianity that sneers at him and denies him a seat in consecrated pews in dedicated colossal edifices which are monuments to separateness and discrimination, where professed christians are chanting hymns of love from hearts of hate; a Christianity that discriminates against men in their unequal struggle to educate and provide for dependents; a Christianity which brazenly seeks to impress upon fellow men inferiority and submissiveness as if God ordained. We will not have such a Christianity. It is rocking the spiritual pillars of thought and righteous action in the universe.

Give us only the Jesus of the Good Samaritan parable; the Jesus of the Syro-Phoenician woman; the Jesus at the well of Sychar; the Jesus of Calvary. Give us this or convert the world to Darrowism.

SACRAMENTO, CAL.—UNION
MARCH 6, 1927

ADVANCING WORLD

A Daily Chronicle of Human Progress—By Cosmos Editors

HELPING THE NEGRO TO HELP HIMSELF

By THOMAS JESSE JONES.

International Director of Phelps Stokes Fund and Internationally Known Authority on Race Relations.

(The Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation has just published a report showing a notable extension of its work in improving race relations, and extending opportunities of development to the Negro. This leads one of the foremost authorities on the subject to sum up contributions to the solution of these important problems.)

Many prophecies and speculations have been made as to the eventual outcome of the bi-racial situation created when the Negroes were first launched, unprepared, on a turbulent and hostile citizenry. As a result it is a relief to stop a moment and learn what is happening now.

On investigation one finds the General Education Board, the Jeanes, Slater and Phelps-Stokes funds quietly but effectively cooperating with the state authorities throughout the South. Through supervisors of schools and visiting teachers, as well as through financial assistance, these organizations have had more widespread effect on the situation in the South than any others. Along with them may be considered the Julius Rosenwald fund, which, through stimulation and financial aid, has been instrumental in the building of nearly 3500 rural schools for Negroes in the Southern states. One also finds the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, an organization started by and composed of Southern white and colored people, the National Urban league, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—all of which are interracial organizations engaged in the promotion of good will between the races and the development of the Negro. Then in the realm of education one finds Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes, recently endowed with about nine million dollars through a national campaign for five million dollars, and also Howard, Fisk, Atlanta and Lincoln universities. These institutions have for some time been turning out graduates who have taken their places in the leadership of the Negro race.

Some of the results of this tremendous movement are present in intangible form, but concretely we may point to the greatly reduced percentage of illiteracy among the colored people and the marked decrease in the number of lynchings. Few people in the country have not heard of the late Booker T. Washington, but Mr. Washington has been succeeded by other outstanding Negro educators such as Major R. R. Moton, president of Tuskogee Institute, Dr. John Hope, president of Morehouse College, and Dr. Mordecai Johnson, recently elected president of Howard University. In business Mr. C. C. Spaulding is only one of many who are placing the Negro race on a sound economic basis. The confirmation by the present Congress of the appointment of James A. Cobb as judge of the municipal court of the District of Columbia is an example of political progress, and besides there are at present two Negro state senators and eleven Negro state representatives in the United States. In art, Roland Hayes of Georgia has won international fame as a singer. George Washington Carver, professor at Tuskogee Institute, has made startling discoveries in science and has been made a member of the Royal Society of Arts in London. These are only a few of the outstanding achievements by individuals and in each classification many more could be named who are only slightly less well-known.

When we read of the races cooperating and the accomplishments that this cooperation has brought about we are likely to forget that there are still many agencies at work to increase race hatred and through prejudice and fanaticism to block the development of one-tenth of this group. Ordinances have been passed discriminating against the Negro laborers; attempts have been made in many cities to restrict Negroes to certain more or less undesirable districts. In Virginia the legislature has passed a law restricting the meetings of white and Negro people. These few examples show that there is still a great deal to be done before racial concord is completely achieved in this country. But on the whole there are more indications that we are approaching that goal.

(Copyright, 1927)

Philosophy Of Darrow Is Negroes' God

By Bishop E. W. D. JONES

Jesus said, "He who is not against us is for us." Predicted upon this hypothesis Mr. Darrow is with Jesus, whether he confesses Him or not. God stands for love of man, for justice, for sellessness, for morals, for truth for the oppressed, for intellect, for humanity, for right, for fellowship and brotherhood. So does Mr. Darrow and in these excellent virtues they are one.

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ATLANTA, GA., Constitution
MAR 8 - 1927

World Looks To South For Race Problem Solution, Jones Says

"More and more the world is looking to America, and particularly to the south, for help in the solution of its tangled problems of race relations," said Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, of New York, director of the Phelps-Stokes fund, in a brief talk before a luncheon group at the Ansley hotel Monday.

Dr. Jones was the guest of the commission on interracial cooperation, which he helped to set up in Atlanta in 1919, and most of the others present were connected with that organization.

OBSERVER
HOBOKEN, N. J.
MAR 14 1927

SPEAKERS URGE FAIR PLAY FOR COLORED PEOPLE

Need for Equal Justice Is Stressed at Lincoln High Meeting.

Equal justice and a "square deal" for the negro race were stressed at a mass meeting in Lincoln High School, Jersey City, held yesterday under the auspices of the Jersey City Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. More than one thousand negroes attended.

Leroy Baxter, a colored Assemblyman from Essex, told of the successful fight waged at Trenton against the inter-marriage bill which sought to prevent miscenegation between whites and blacks. He said the passage of this bill would have swept away every vestige of protection for colored girls, wronged by white men. The bill, however, was defeated.

Mr. Baxter said the colored race soon would have a group of lobbyists at Trenton to keep a watchful eye on all bills. He declared the colored people needed to establish better contact with the whites and emphasized the importance of "organized organization."

Tax Commissioner James Baker was the only white speaker. Mr. Baker deplored the segregating of negro children from white children in the public schools at Tom's River. Such a condition does not exist in Jersey City, he said, because the whites reprect the blacks. Both races in Jersey City, he added, have mastered the art of minding their own business.

Councilor Robert S. Hartgrove, who is president of the Jersey City branch, was the chairman. Rev. R. G. Waters delivered the invocation. Walter White, a representative from the National Association, told of the defeat of the bill designed to disenfranchise negro voters in Texas from voting in the primaries. The Supreme Court, in a recent decision, declared the bill to be unconstitutional.

Vocal selections were rendered by Mrs. Pearl Lithicum and Miss Helen Dowdy. Rev. W. N. Harper pronounced the benediction.

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

Declares Ignorance Race's Greatest Curse

Says South Carolina Mission Worker. Virtual Slavery Still Flourishes In South.

San Francisco, Calif., June 13. —(Pacific Coast News Bureau)— Tearing down the pretty fallacies surrounding the plantation cabin, and the emancipation proclamation, Mrs. H. L. McCrorey, colored Mission Worker among the race in Charlotte, S. C., speaking before a gathering of Presbyterian women (white) in the First Congregational church recently said "in many places in the south, virtual slavery still exists. Plantation owners go into the courts, pay the fees for Negroes accused of misdemeanors and take those Negroes to their plantations to work out the debt. Through one pretext or another, they keep them down there for years."

"The little log cabin of the sunny south isn't what it's pictured in song or story," she declared. "It's unsanitary and breeds immorality; nor all the honeysuckles 'round the door, nor even the mellow guitar twanged on the low door-step can make it aught else."

Ignorance Greatest Curse.

"Ignorance is the great curse of the black man," said the mission worker. "Here we have a Negro boy who wins first prize in a poetry contest, there one who is setting to music the spirituals of his people, but innumerable others who cannot read, write or cipher."

Eugene K. Jones, N. Y.

AMERICA'S RACE HATE WORST IN THE WORLD

Sherwood Eddy Tells Howard Grads Many Nations Do Not Have It

U. S. ENGLAND, GERMANY AND INDIA ARE LEADERS

Gymnasium Packed To Its Doors To Hear Asiatic "Y" Secretary

WASHINGTON, D. C.— Sherwood Eddy, secretary for Asia of the Young Men's Christian Association, commended the religion of Jesus Christ to the graduating students of Howard University as the great moral force that will conquer the world in delivering the baccalaureate sermon to them Sunday afternoon.

He described the world into which the students were about to enter as "a sorry world, a world of strife; strife between classes in industry, rich and poor, capital and labor, employer and employed; strife between races; strife between nations breaking out periodically into overt war. It is a world of strife and war based upon this philosophy of might makes right. It is a world of imperialism where the strong have gone out to exploit and profit out of the weak."

America Divided

He related the conquests of the imperialism of Holland, Belgium and Great Britain. But the economic and financial imperialism of America, he declared, is the most dreaded in the world to day. The United States, he said, has transgressed in many ways.

Race Prejudice

"I blush to say," he stated, "that as I have traveled over the world for the last 30 years, as my work has taken me through India, China, Asia, through Russia, Europe and other countries, I find the people of this country suffering more from the disease — yes, it seems no less than a disease — from the disease of race prejudice than any other people on earth."

None In Europe

Race prejudice, he said, is not found among the people of Russia, or the Slavic people. It is not found in France, South America, and China. The chief people suffering from this disease, he declared, are, first, the white race of America; second, the people of Britain; third, the people of Germany, and fourth, the high caste people of India.

Four Attitudes

Mr. Eddy asked of the graduating students what attitude are they going to take toward life. He said that there was one of four attitudes which they might take. The first, he stated, is the attitude of complacency, accepting the world as it is. The second, he said, is the attitude of cynicism and of despair with the death of all ideals. Third, the attitude of revolution and destruction, meeting force with force, blow for blow, reprisal for reprisal, atrocity for atrocity, war for war. None of these attitudes, he declared, will reform the world.

The fourth he offered was the attitude of constructive criticism, of constructive, creative faith, that the world is bad but can be made better, that evil can be overcome with good, and that good shall win in the end.

Leadership

He pointed out the great price of leadership. "The leader", he said, "must know the road. He must keep ahead. He must get others to follow and he must pay the price of leadership. You will be misrepresented. Others will be jealous of you. 'But he that would be great among you must be servant of all.' How many of you are going out in that spirit? How many of you are going out to find this hidden power in life?"

The Program

Mr. Eddy was introduced by President Mordecai W. Johnson. Invocation was offered by the Rev. H. B. Taylor, pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. The university choir rendered an anthem, "Gallia" (Gounod). Scripture was read by the Rev. William Stuart Nelson of the Howard university school of religion. Following the sermon the choir sang a spiritual, "Were You There?" (Burleigh). Benediction was pronounced by the Rev. E. B. Watson, pastor of the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church.

Gym Crowded

The services were held in the gymnasium, which was taxed to its capacity. Persons were sitting on the improvised platform on which were the members of the faculty. They were also in the windows

"THE SPIRIT OF ST. LOUIS".

"The Spirit of St. Louis" as reflected by Mayor Miller in his selection of a committee of two hundred fifty citizens to make suitable preparation to welcome the return of Capt. Chas. A. Lindbergh is not the spirit that the world to-day is ready to do honor, but it is the kind of spirit born in mind of backward people nurtured in the cradle of race prejudice.

In selecting the committee for this momentous occasion, the mayor just couldn't miss the opportunity to reflect a bit of race prejudice, by scrupulously omitting the name of any Negro in St. Louis. Of course the intelligent people of the country, except the South, will wonder is this the "Spirit of St. Louis."

Just suppose that the mayor of Chicago or any of the metropolitan eastern cities had had the opportunity to appoint such a committee. Surely judging from the past, they would have been big enough and courageous enough to appoint a Negro on the committee.

We regret that the mayor of St. Louis would take advantage of an occasion of this kind to capitalize race prejudice.

We, like all other patriotic citizens, took pride in the fact that the "Spirit of St. Louis" had crossed the great deep in an epoch making trip, but it seems that there is always somebody standing at the gateway to take joy out of life.

So far as we are concerned we care nothing for special mention or special attention. We would by far, rather be numbered with the rest. But custom has forced this upon us, and if there are any benefits to come out of it, let us have them.

THE NEGRO AS USUAL SCAPE-GOAT

During the early days of the Hebrew or Jewish nation, their priest or religious leader would literally pour all of the sins of the nation upon a goat seized for that purpose, and then this animal would be driven into the wilderness.

This animal was designated the scape-goat, and all the sins of commission and omission committed by the Israelites were placed upon this traditional scape-goat and borne away to the woods.

So many times in this country, and particarly the South, the Negro race, or better still, the black man is the usual scape-goat; and whenever some member of another race desires to conceal his or identity by pulling some off some stunt or committing some act which is repulsive and repugant to decent society, he or she either charges the offense to some Negro, or uses some convenient Negro as the scape-goat.

Some months ago the governor of a certain Soothern state was on a hunting trip with a number of his friends, and as usual he and his party had plenty of pre-war liquor, as well as the handy Negro servant.

Federal liquor sleuths invaided the hunting camp, confiscated the booze and sought to arrest the gubernatorial party; whereupon this Dixie chief executive, regardsd as a devout church member and great defender of truth, religliteousness, ficers to to arrest his Negro cook for the illegal possesion of intoxicating beverages.

However these were some honest and truthful Southern white men in the party and they finally confessed that the Negro cook had absoultely nothing to do with the liquor being on hand in their hunting camp; but this confession was not made until the black man had been arrested and suffered the humiliation of adverse and unfavorable newspaper publicity—the mere statement of the governor that the Negro owned the liquor being sufficient testimony to convict a black man in any Dixie court.

Newspaper articles last week told of a Negro serving in the scape-goat role in Coffeyville, Kansas, where a race riot was barely averted last March because a white girl charged that three Negroes had criminally outraged her.

Special police investigation, begun when the crime was reported recently, revealed the fact that this girl and a female companior staged a wild party, and then to cover up their clandestine escapade, the erstwhile complaining witness conjured up the hoax that Negroes had criminally attacked her.

For several days peace officers and posses searched the Kansas city and all outlying territory for these "three Negro rapists," and several Negroes, as is customary when such crimes are charged at the door of the black race, were apprehended and incarcerated in prison.

The frenzied and infuriated mob, worked up to a high pitch because it just knew some "black burly Negroes" had criminally outraged this white girl, attempted to storm the jail and seize one of these prisoners and treat them to a dose of the celebrated and famous American pastime; and had not the military forces been given control of the city, it is possible that a lynching orgy and race war would have occurred in this otherwise peaceful and law-abiding Kansas municipality.

For several weeks there has been an agitation in Houston, initiated by The Informer, to put the "policy wheels" out of commission, and to arrest the owner and operator of this devilish and poverty-producing device.

The Informer even urged the Harris County grand jury to make a full and complete investigation of this mode of gambling, and cited some facts and figures to prove the heavy financial drain made upon the ignorant and gullible Negroes of Houston.

Last week two Negro "policy writers" were arrested on Milam Street, one block from the city hall, by warrants issued at Harrisburg, and when arraigned before the justice of said court, they pleaded guilty and the fines were paid. Whether these Negro "policy writers" paid their fines themselves, or whether they were paid by some "higher up," this paper is unable to state; but this fact is patent—the Negro again served in the scape-goat role.

If the authorities really want to break up this unlawful practice, why don't they arrest the man or men owning and operating these gambling dives, rather than arrest and fine some black puppet and tool of some members or members of another race?

Such arrests and convictions (as the "policy wheel" case) will lead the reading public to conclude that Negroes are solely and wholly to blame for this gambling device, and thus the entire race is given a black mark for what some few members of the race, who are employed as scape-goats by members of other races, do along this and other alleged criminal lines.

We colud cite many more instances where Negroes serve in the scape-goat role, but these three incident, referred to hereinbefore, are sufficient evidence to prove the truthfulness of The Informer's contention along these and other lines.

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL.

An Atlanta Negro's Diagnosis of the Insanity of Race Prejudice

Not before the world is consumed by fervent heat, it seems to me, will there be understanding and accord between the white and negro races of America. Everything that has been assumed heretofore as tending to that result has gone awry. The conflict between their ideals and ambitions is actually more obvious today than ever before in our history. This is much to be regretted; but it is an inescapable fact.

The "irrepressible conflict" is American in origin, factors and phenomena.

The incitements of it were imported to us by those men stealing Dutchmen, who, in 1620, sailed their ill-named vessel, "The Jesus," into the James river and sold twenty African captives to the English colonists to be their slaves. Then and there began the "race war" that has broadened down to the proportions that aggravate our present times.

The ferment that quivens and swells the conflict is commonly called race prejudice. Grant it; but what then?

It has existed among us since our population took on the elements of white and black. It exists now more acridly than ever before. It has not yielded to Christianity; nor to education: nor to patriotism; nor to any scheme of altruistic compromise proposed by either white or black philosophers.

* * *

The Facts Remain Adamant.

Here in America, whether anywhe else on earth, the white man knows he is a white man and is determined to be the boss-man; the negro knows he is a negro, wishes that he were not, and wants to be the boss-man. And there is our race conflict!

Those plain facts remain adamant in our racial psychologies. They refuse to retreat or surrender. They will persist and contest as long as the two races preserve their identities.

The powerful influences of instinct, tradition, custom, the uncontrollable laws of affinity and antipathy will carry those facts on to the end of time, for the complete segregation of the one race from the other is now impossible.

The latest and freshest proof of the inter-racial impasse is given in an article in "The Forum" magazine for the current month of June. The paper is entitled, "The Pathology of Race Prejudice" and its author is described by the magazine editor as follows:

"Among the most brilliant of American negro authors, who are coming more and more into the public's ken, is Edward Franklin Frazier. Though only thirty-three, he has led a varied and traveled existence. Born in Baltimore, he held scholarships in two southern universities. Then to the north, where he won a fellowship at the New York School of Social Work. Another fellowship from the American Scandinavian foundation enabled him to study social problems in Denmark, where he attracted a good deal of notice and admiration. During the past five years, as director of the Atlanta School of Social Work he has succeeded in building up a highly successful organization. His latest claim to fame is that he recently won the National Essay Prize offered by Opportunity."

Here, then, is a new "Daniel come to judgment" and there should be found instruction and profitable philosophy in the outgivings of so privileged a student and so settled a sciolist.

* * *

A Form of Insanity.

The text of this psychopathologician is a sentence from "The Southerner," by the late Walter Hines Page, our famous southern editor, novelist and ambassador to Great Britain. Page said:

"The negro-in-America, therefore, is a form of insanity that overtakes white men."

From that predicate the Forum writer projects his essay and undertakes to show that the white persons who do not accept negro persons upon terms of unquestioned and absolute equality, omitting only specific personal equations, are actually insane. All our anti-African reactions and repulsions are ebullitions of a color crazy streak.

And yet before God and mankind he would arraign us as criminally responsible for feelings and actions of which Freud and fundamental law would perfectly acquit us.

Race Problem - 1927 II

United States.

He says that while we "southern white people write and talk about the majesty of law, the sacredness of human rights, and the advantages of democracy" we nevertheless "indulge in the most revolting forms of cruelty towards black people." The indictment is inclusive and, to his mind, conclusive. "We stand guilty en masse of a system of ideas respecting the negro that has the same intense emotional tone that characterizes insane complexes." His proofs are that we "defend mob violence, disfranchisement and Jim Crow treatment of the negro."

Constitution
6-10-27
Atlanta Ga.

* * *

Some Curious Citations.

As examples of our insane reactions this negro pathologist affirms that "a white woman who addresses a colored man as 'mister' is immediately asked whether she would want a negro to marry her sister?" He parades as typical "a member of a school board who jumps up and paces the floor, cursing and accusing negroes, the instant the question of appropriating money for negro schools is raised"—but he makes no mention of the thousands of southern white school board members who annually appropriate millions of dollars for negro schools!

He tells the world that a white woman who had mistaken a light mulatto for a white person, on learning her mistake "chopped up the chair in which he had sat and, after pouring gasoline over the pieces, made a bonfire of them."

He presents on review "negroes who are murdered if they believe in social equality, or are maimed for asking for an ice cream soda, and of white people who are threatened with similar violence for not subscribing to the southerner's delusions."

Much more of the same sort and most of it "the latest news" to the man who is writing these lines, who was born here in the south on premises swarming with negro slaves, who grew up in daily contact with them, saw them emancipated, has lived here in Atlanta for more than 66 years, been a newspaper writer for over 50 years, a court reporter over 10 years, and whose only prejudice against the negro is that I prefer not to eat and sleep with him.

* * *

A Revolting Argument.

The pretentious "pathology" of this article under review is unimportant, because as circumstantial as it is unscientific. But there is one argument in it that is revolting for its suggestions. It is, in effect, that frequent accusations of southern white women that they have been sexually assailed by negroes is "a projection" of an inward desire on their part for such contact, but which they know must be rigidly inhibited. In other words, the white woman desires the negro and that desire is thought-transferred to the negro and he acts upon it in spite of all inhibitions. But that does not account for the unknown negro entering a habitation strange to him and assaulting a woman whom he never saw before and to whom he is the veriest stranger.

This suggestion that the primarily guilty party in cases of sexual outrage by negroes upon white women is the white woman herself through the intangible incitement of her own desire, is the vilest that this writer has ever encountered in a lifetime. The author of it is evidently more insane by reason of his anti-white complex than any southerner obsessed by his anti-negro repulsions.

It is unfortunate that publications so generally sane and just as is the Forum should give currency to an essay so manifestly prejudiced, and so unsupported by documents and common experience, as this thesis which represents the southern white people as Bedlamites beyond the hope of redemption.

PEONAGE AND LYNCHING

Tribune
6-17-27
Washington D.C.

Peonage, or the system of involuntary servitude, by which persons are restrained of their liberty, and forced to labor for the payment of debt, is still practiced in the United States. The victims of the system, are for the most part, Negroes. Now and then a case is discovered where an ignorant foreigner, or native white persons is subjected to the system.

Recently there was a trial in the United States district court for the Northern District of Georgia, at Athens, the seat of the University of Georgia, for the practice of peonage by one King in Oglethorpe County of that state. Although more than forty witnesses gave testimony against King, and although on the witness stand he admitted under cross-examination that he had whipped Negro laborers on his plantation, the jury, composed it is said of business men, acquitted him. This looks like another miscarriage of justice and an indictment of the jury system.

People whose confidence in the uprightness and integrity of the judiciary is unshaken, are losing faith in the jury system. Nowadays juries do little more than reflect the prejudices of the vicinage. A prejudice is usually stronger than an oath and the law.

Oglethorpe County, Georgia, the place where the recent charge of peonage was laid, has for years had the worst sort of reputation for the practice of peonage and the general oppression of Negroes. The richest man in the county, who died some time ago, was reputed to have persistently kept his Negro laborers in stockades at night under guard of white men armed with shot guns, while he maintained a harem stocked with comely Negro girls in an abundance, which might have provoked the envy of the Sultan of Turkey before the days of Kemal Pasha.

In the lapse of the years Oglethorpe County has made no progress in humanity, justice and civilization. In any civilized, Christian country in the world, except the United States, the fact that persons not convicted of crime, could be held in servitude and whipped would cause a scream of protest to echo from border to border.

Our daily papers carry columns of news and comment on the execution of traitors and spies by Soviet Russia, while they contain the meagerest and most perfunctory accounts of the peonage practices and lynchings in the United States. Great and powerful and economically wealthy as this government is, it should set its hand to the task of protecting life and property and liberty within its own borders before it enters upon the task of doing these things in Haiti Mexico and Nicaragua.

DISCOVERING FUTURE LEADERS

By Edwin M...

National Baptist
Union Review
6-25-27
Nashville Tenn

I am going to take for granted today that all of you know the story of Booker Washington's life and are aware of the characteristics that made him a great leader; that you know better than I the work that has been done here in this institution which will remain his most enduring monument; that you are more familiar than I with many aspects of the race problem that have engaged the attention of so many thinkers and reformers. As I have read the addresses that have been made on this occasion by many distinguished Americans of both sections of the country I have felt that I could add nothing to the [illegible] paid to your illustrious founder. Many in this audience followed him, loved him, lived in the light of his magnificent eye, caught his great accents, made him your pattern to live and to die. You will not let him die either in your memories or in the minds and hearts of this younger generation that is walking in the paths first marked out by him and that has surely attained by the splendid vision that cheered his heroic struggle from the cabin of a slave to a higher place in the imagination and heart of the world.

I shall speak of only one incident that may serve as typical of many others in his life, and that reveals in a striking way the qualities of his leadership. The first time I heard him speak was in 1903 in a Negro church in Boston. Long an admirer of his work, I was particularly anxious to see what kind of a speech he would make when speaking to members of his race living in a city very remote from the South and working under very different conditions. Imagine my surprise when in a moment after he began to speak he was interrupted by some well-dressed and highly intellectual members of his audience who had evidently come there to keep him from speaking. From heckling they passed to con[illegible] noise and then to [illegible], and was only quelled when a squad of policemen entered and took out the more obstreperous disturbers. For an hour and more he tried in vain to raise his voice above the tumult. It was nearly 10 o'clock before he could make his speech. He proceeded then to make one of the greatest speeches it has ever been my privilege to hear and to reveal the kind of man he was.

He made not one reference to his opponents nor to the tumult they had raised. He displayed a patience like that of the Master who said, "Forgive them, they know not what they do." Nor did he engage in the favorite pastime of some race leaders in excoriating the South. Although it was a time when the newspapers had carried full reports of peonage cases in Georgia and of an alarming number of lynchings in various parts of the South, he actually laid the emphasis on the more favorable aspects of race relationship in the South, told of his kindly reception in all parts of the South, and of the actual progress of his people in education and industry. He told the Negroes that while it was easier for them to go to college in Boston it was more difficult at that time for them to get work on account of the labor unions and on account of discriminations against them in all lines. In other words, he siad not a word that he would not have said in Atlanta or Birmingham, with this difference: that he emphasized the point of view that he considered most important for his audience at that particular time. He never believed in carrying coals to Newcastle.

Every quality of the man was there revealed. He was patient without being negative or supine—patient with the limitations of human nature and the means by which things are changed slowly, slowly through the years. He was magnanimous even towards his enemies and calm in an emergency or crisis. He had courage not only to face a hostile audience but seemingly impossible conditions. He loved his people more than he loved approval of all of them at all times. He was an idealist, but he kept his feet on the solid ground, and found the ideal in the real. He believed that economic efficiency and material well-being are a good foundation for progress in education and culture, but no one could ever justly accuse him of being a materialist or a Philistine. He had intelligence, good common sense touched with wisdom, but he was not an "intellectual." He had humor, but he was not a cynic. He was an opti-

mist, but not a sentimental fool who ignored facts or followed the line of least resistance. He was rational, but he had that adventurous faith that transcends logic and science. He was a liberal or progressive, but not a radical; for he knew that the world cannot be builded in a day, and he was willing to work with the means at hand and to welcome the second best if thereby he could come to a working agreement with his fellows. He might easily have inflamed a race; he preferred to lead it in the ways of sanity and wisdom. He was not a sensational, brilliant writer engaging in pyrotechnics of rhetoric, but his sugared maxims were hewn from life, as when he said: "An inch of progress is better than a year of complaint," and "No man can drag me down so low as to make me hate him."

Excerpts: address delivered on founder's day at Tuskegee, April 7 1927.

THE CASE OF THE NEGRO TEN YEARS AFTER THE WORLD WAR

(By KELLY MILLER, Howard University, Washington, D. C.)

The world thinkers are now looking backwards over the past ten years to determine what, if any, benefit the World War has brought to mankind. The New York World recently contained a symposium of American and European publicists. There is no concensus of opinion. No single authority is able to point out in a convincing way the undisputed advantage such as flowed from the French Revolution, the Revolutionary War, or the Civil War. Of one thing all must be convinced, and that is, if the statesmen of the world could have foreseen ten years ago the conditions they now observe, they never would have precipitated this titanic struggle. Mr. Wilson's fourteen points have become the tetradecalogue of ridicule. His high-sounding and sonorous phrases have become the object of sport and jest. His League of Peace has become a piece of a league. The world has been upset, and no one can say how it will resettle. It may be that we miss the advantage of perspective. We may be too close to the events to give them their proper placement and appraisement.

When we confine our attention to the American Negro, however, we have a much easier and simpler task. The Negro as a group, had no immediate concern in the World War. The quarrels between the Germans and Russians, French and Englishmen were no concern of his. The destruction of autocracy in Germany had absolutely no meaning to the Negroes in Georgia. The Negro follows the flag wherever it leads. His not to reason why; his but to do and die. He responded to his country's call. Whether by voluntary enlistment or conscription, when the general roll was called, he was there. He responded to the call of Woodrow Wilson, four hundred thousand strong.

Whatever advantage or disadvantage the race derived from the war was incidental, and not calculated. He was requisitioned for his man-power alone. No more account of personal gain was considered than was accorded the Hessian hireling during the Revolutionary War. I called on Secretary Baker, along with the first delegation to urge a training camp for colored officers. We found him keenly sympathetic, though hedged in by the traditional prejudice of the army and the proscriptive policy of the Democratic party.

We had high hopes that the Negro would wrest from the prejudiced and unwilling disposition of the army, recognition as an officer in the federal army by tested fitness and acknowledged capacity to lead his own race according to the requirements of war. Thanks to Secretary Baker, the camp at Des Moines was established. There was every reason to believe that the Negro was to be given a squarer, if not a square deal. I visited the camp and addressed the cadets when their hopes ran highest. Negro officers were shortly to be commissioned within a prescribed rank in the army. But in the meantime Houston had happened. There was a sudden change in public sentiment and a sudden shift in the program of commissions to be awarded. The time of training was prolonged. The race was sorely disappointed. Houston sounded the death knell of the Negro's hope for effectively functioning in the army above the level of a private soldier. The word, I am convinced, was passed down from on high: "so far shalt thou go and no farther." The few Negroes who received commissions as officers were so handicapped and embarrassed, that effective functioning was impossible. The Negro came out with a lower level of esteem as a qualifying officer than when he entered. The effect has been far reaching. Negro leadership in Negro affairs has been greatly discredited throughout the whole circle of racial life and activity.

The World War created a vacuum in the labor market of the North. Southern Negroes rushed in to fill the vacancy. This has shifted from one to two millions of race from South to North. They have found place in the industrial and economic life. Herein lies the chief indirect benefit which the race has derived from the war. The magnitude of this advantage is hard to calculate. It may be more profitable to consider some of the incidental situations which follow in the train of this Northern movement.

By far the most conspicuous of these is residential segregation. In all of our cities, North or South, where the Negroes came in great numbers, they soon found themselves in separate residential areas. The attempt to establish legal boundaries and the effort on the part of the race to combat them is a part of the process. As the general outcome, the Negroes find themselves in possession of homes whose quality, convenience and appointments surpass their fondest dreams of two decades ago. In most cities the Negroes are better housed than any other minor group of the American people. In the capital of the nation, they have over-run a territory of fully a square mile with as good residential facilities as the city affords. Indeed many of the principal streets and avenues leading to the public buildings and business sections of the city traverse the Negro section for as much as a running mile. In New York, they have the better favored residential section. In Chicago certain of the acquired streets and avenues are simply amazing in their magnificence.

There has been a material improvement in the condition of the race in the South as a reflex of the Northern migration which in turn is due to the war. In every important community inter-racial committees have been organized devoted to the task of ameliorating the condition of the Negro.

The race has gained tremendous potential political power by virtue of the shift of population. In every great Northern city, the Negro holds the balance of power in closely contested elections. The city of Chicago has just elected a mayor who was largely sponsored by Negro voters. The race is gaining power in city boards of aldermen, in state legislatures, and also some effective voice in guiding the action of national legislators.

We might also attribute the new Negro newspaper to the outcome of the war. Prior to that time Negro journalism was but a feeble thermometer of the sentiment and feelings of the race. Their mechanical make-up was miserable, only to be surpassed in wretchedness by their literary features and inartisticality. Even race loving Negroes felt ashamed to be seen reading a Negro journal on the street cars or in public. This was generally characteristic of the colored press barring several well known exceptions. But now the exception has become the rule. Nearly every large center has a Negro paper which in mechanical make-up, literary form and artistic features ranks not unfavorable with white journalism. The Negro is beginning to pay serious attention to his own press, which after all is the most effective voice of the people.

Strange to say, the war has not made the Negro more progressive and assertive of his rights as has been the case with all other suppressed races and classes in all parts of the world. Our militant organizations are, if anything, less radical than their ante-bellum prototypes. The N. A. A. C. P., while more efficient in method, is perhaps milder in spirit than the Afro-American League which preceded it. The Y. M. C. A. has not accentuated its militancy for racial rights. The Urban League is pursuing the wonted tenor of its way. Negro churches are certainly not more assertive, and in some ways seem more susceptible to the soothing balm of white overlordship than they were ten years ago. The radical magazines which sprang up like mushrooms just before the war have all but one passed out of existence. The Crisis has remained militant, but not radical. The Messenger alone holds the edge of radicalism. The Negro politicians are as conservative as Taft and Coolidge.

Dr. Locke has tried to convince us that the new Negro has arrived, but when we look for him we find he is mainly grinding out erotic literary output under sponsorship of the Jew. He does not yet display either the intellectual or volitional vigor to transform conditions or to bring new things to pass.

The best proof of the Negro's essentially conservative nature is seen in the fact that he hardly seems aware of the current movement that is sweeping through the world. The war has brought the race certain concrete advantages of incalculable value, but it has not touched his spirit or aroused his imagination.

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Race Problem - 1927
United States.

DISFRANCHISEMENT AND ECONOMIC STARVATION

The program of the South seems to be, and has been partly put over, to disfranchise the Negro, and then economically starve him, so as to reduce him to a condition of poverty and dependence. In pursuance of this program, so far as it lies in the power of the Democratic party, which includes 90 per cent of the white people of the South, the Negro has been deprived of his political rights, and the program is well on, to starve him economically, by shutting the door of every opportunity to make bread, tight in his face. Being deprived of the ballot, he has no effectual weapon with which to deal with that element of the white South, which has inaugurated a campaign to shut the doors of the shop, the field, the domestic services and all other avenues of labor in his face. The country that will permit a part of its citizens to take away from another part, the right to vote and hold offices, and follow up this inhuman policy with the program to shut a part of its citizens out of the opportunity, to render an honest day's work for an honest dollar, is threatening its own perpetuity, and is inviting the day when it must inevitably reap what it has sown—destruction. It is not possible to destroy the rights of a part of the people, or starve a part of the people, without endangering the rights and opportunities of all the people. It is hard to understand how a sentiment can prevail in a Christian community, to the extent that it sanctions an inhuman program, and is a puzzle to the world.

The South having successfully deprived the Negro of his constitutional right to have a voice in the making of the government, has turned its attention to the proposition of starving the Negro, preventing him so far as possible by law, and further by practice and custom of the opportunity to make an honest living.

Through Union Labor as a means 90 per cent of the trades of this country has been shut to the service of the Negro artisan and mechanic. Numbers of municipalities have passed ordinances, or yielded to the bias appeals of Union Labor, making it impossible for the Negro to drive a motor vehicle, the property of a municipal government. And if a Negro works on a truck, a white man is the driver and sits all day on the truck without moving, while the Negro loads and unloads the waste. This unnecessary employee receives more pay to do nothing, than the two Negroes who do the work. This white employee is a ward-heeler, and lines up his crowd to keep the politician in office who fathers the policy of keeping the Negro out of work. The Barber Trade has been largely closed to the Negro, and so much so, that the State of South Carolina has passed a law making it a misdemeanor for a Negro, to shave or wait on a white customer. It is only possible in cities, for Negroes to be Mail Carriers and occasionally, clerks; the spirit of intolerance is so violent in the country that a Negro would take his life in his own hands if he accepted an appointment as a Rural Carrier or a Post Office in the country. The Memphis Commercial Appeal has just announced that no person in America shall hold office who is not a Caucasian. This threat is at the Negro and nobody else.

Because of this intolerant spirit, 50 per cent of the Negroes who go into court do not expect justice; they regard any litigation between whites and blacks that the allegation proven or unproven means conviction, as certain as the nominee of a Democratic white primary means election. While the Independent does not share in this belief, fifty per cent of our group believes it.

The public school funds which are trust funds, held in trust by the officers in charge, are used as private funds or race funds. The Negro teachers are paid about half what the white teachers are paid and 90 per cent of the money spent for equipment in school houses is spent for the benefit of the white children. As a rule, in the cities when improvements are made for white pupils, the Negro is given the old, dilapidated, out-of-date school house and desks that have been discarded because of their antiquity by the white people. In other words, the educational departments in the South are used to impress the Negro youth, that anything second-hand, is good enough for the Negro. School districts are built for whites with a view of mobilizing the white children at a given point, that they may be conveniently picked up by motor trucks, and taken to consolidated schools, and the truck-driver gets better pay than the best paid Negro teacher in the community. Yet the law provides the same amount of money per capita, for the Negro child, it provides for the white child. But the money for the education of the Negro child is misappropriated, not for personal profit, but for the education of the white child enmasse.

The white primary is only a vehicle and a cunningly designed scheme for the purpose of unifying white people politically and economically against all black people. Its purpose is to break down party lines and set up a white oligarchy, for the purpose of reducing Negro Citizens to serfs and dependencies. This policy is nothing new in the South—it is as old as man, and every government that has adopted it, overthrew itself by the wickedness and narrowness of its policy. Selfishness is not statesmanship, neither will it perpetuate free institutions. A government that does not provide equal opportunities and equal voice for all the people in the management of the public welfare will overthrow itself. While discrimination may begin against the minority, it inevitably will include the majority, which will end in revolution and intolerant oligarchy.

Why not stop at disfranchisement, though it is vicious and revolutionary, and permit the Negro to work out his own salvation? Why shut him out of the shop; out of the field; domestic services and every other avenue in which he can make his bread; educate his children, build a home and save a dollar for a rainy day? Why keep him from becoming a taxpayer? Is it fair to keep him from voting, arrest him for vagrancy and then make it impossible by law, prejudice and otherwise, to find employment? You build a house for your dog, a barn for your cattle, a stable for your horse, and you invite foreigners South to help develop it and advertise its possibilities; yet you take from ten million Citizens, native born, the right to vote and the opportunity to work for an honest living. Where is your Christianity? Where is your love of humanity? Where is the pulpit, black and white that it doesn't join in an appeal to the common-sense of mankind, and the gracious favor of God, to direct the destinies of this Nation, to the end, that the spirit of the lowly Nazarene may govern and inspire righteousness in the management of the affairs of man in the community, city, state and nation. Disfranchise the Negro, he will overcome it, but don't take from him his meat and bread, and his chance to become helpful, and a part of the community life, in which he breathes the spirit of the land of the free, and the home of the brave

THE HEART OF THE SOUTH

To the Editor The Birmingham News:

I am very glad that I was born and reared in Dixie; I am glad that my home is south of Mason and Dixon's line. I am glad that I live in a section that has various problems to solve and difficulties to overcome.

There are those in both races who are always exclaiming, "'Can any good come out of Nazareth?' Can any good come out of the South?" I have often been amused in talking to men and women of my race who live on the north side of the line. They ask, "How on earth do you live in the South? You have no friends or freedom down there. Every man down there has his hands raised against you. You cannot vote, you cannot exercise your individuality, you cannot exercise freedom of speech, you are discriminated against and 'jimcrowed' on all sides. Even at the bar of justice you cannot get a decent hearing. In short, the Negro has no rights down there that the white people will respect." These people belong to the group who "see through a glass darkly." They remind us of one of the characters pictured in "Pilgrim's Progress," the muckraker. An angel stood above this man with a golden crown to place on his head to see if he would only look up, but the man was so busy looking down and raking muck that he could not look up, so missed the crown that awaited him. So there are many in both races who see nothing but outrages and brutality in the South. They see nothing but bloody mobs, storming some jail and lynching some innocent victim. Now it is impossible for this type of person to see any virtue in the South or any other section of our great and glorious country. Freedom of speech, the right to vote, impartial justice at the hands of the courts are all desirable and will in due time come to those who deserve them.

But to the colored man who tries to see things in their right relation the South presents an entirely different picture to that held up by the muckrakers. In the words of another, he sees "a breathing, living South, growing every hour." He sees a land of opportunity and hope both for himself and his posterity. He sees a section working out one of the most complex and difficult problems that has ever perplexed the minds of men. He sees a section willing to take him at his best and at the same time make liberal allowances for all his errors and mistakes. Instead of working against the Negro, his white neighbor, for the most part, is working with and for him. Assisting him in a thousand ways to build more schools and colleges to free his mind from errors, to make his hands more skillful and to make him more responsive to the civilization in which he lives. Only a few days ago I read with interest and admiration the recommendation of our state superintendent to the educational committee of our state Legislature now in session. His recommendation for liberal increase of state funds for our colored schools showed conclusively where the heart of the white people of our own state stands on the education of the Negro youth.

In my observation and contact with the white people of my state and section I am not alarmed at their alleged brutality and cruelty, but greatly impressed by their generosity and kindness. For any step forward the Negro makes there is a

sure and liberal reward. For any difficulty that must be overcome, friendly aid is offered. Everywhere the heavy hand of oppression is being lightened. The seeds of discord and turmoil are being uprooted: and men, black and white, are realizing the truth of the words of one of our great poets that "the constant law of justice binds oppressors with oppressed, and close as sin, and suffering fain we march to fate abreast."

There are many in both races, but most especially in the colored race, who are greatly disturbed about the rights that are not accorded us. But let us reflect and see if we are using to the uttermost the rights that we already have. Take, for example, the right to labor and make a decent support for ourselves and our families. The right to buy and build decent and comfortable homes for our wives and children. How are we using this right? I am afraid if we make a careful survey of the situation the findings would not be as encouraging as they should. Take the simple right to make pleasant, healthful and beautiful our surroundings, our homes, our schools and churches. How are we using this right? Every village, town and city show that there is immense room for improvement. Take the right to enter and make good in the various lines of business, mercantile, manufacturing, banking, insurance, etc. Is it not true that our steps are rather slow and faltering in these great fields? And yet the South offers the finest and best opportunities, in all the world, to the Negro to enter, remain and make good in these great fields.

The heights to which he may ascend in them are limited only by his own push, industry, sagacity, initiative and thrift. Take also the right to live and lead straightforward and upright lives in our respective communities. How do we exercise this right? Is it not often abused instead of used?

If we rise at all we must rise by wisely using the things right about us. In the words of another, "we must rise by the things that are under our feet, by what we have mastered of good or gain, by the pride deposed and the passion slain and the vanquished ills that we hourly meet." If we will do our level best in the fields above mentioned we need have no fears about rights that are not accorded us, for our prosperity will be indestructible, "and in due season we shall reap if we faint not." E. S. HANDY (Col.),

Principal Chambers County Training School.
Lafayette, Ala., Feb. 10.

COURIER

Rockland Me

FEB 3 1927

THE COLORED PEOPLE

"Some Day," Says Ezekiel Nelson "We'll Arrive Where We Belong."

A copy of a latest issue of The Crisis has been left at the editorial desk by that aged citizen and upright representative of his race, Ezekiel N. Nelson. "The Crisis, a Record of the Darker Race," is edited by that cultured Negro citizen, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, whose devotion to his race and his sane and intelligent contributions to its steady upward climb to recognized positions of honor has made him a marked man in the country. This illustrated issue of the magazine, filled with articles of high interest, testify to the progress the colored people are making, winning triumphs in the face of opposition here and there that call for the exercise of hope, patience and courage.

While Mr. Nelson was not born himself a slave, his father having been set free by his Baltimore "owner," the years of his young manhood were lived in the conditions of slavery and his mind runs back vividly to the times preceding President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, since which day he has followed with keen and intelligent observation the rise of his people out of the conditions of bondage. Of the Proclamation he says:

"Four millions of us was flying in the air:" and he adds: "but we are a coming people and some day will arrive where God means for us to belong."

CONFIDENCE THE KEY TO PROGRESS, SAYS DR. DRAKE

International Organizer In Rousing Address to Washington, D. C., Division Scores Negroes for Economic Apathy.

The following address was delivered recently by the Honorable J. G. St. Clair Drake at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium in Washington, D. C., at a large mass meeting held under the auspices of the Washington Division, Universal Negro Improvement Association:

Since it is true that no chain is stronger than its weakest link, so is it true that no nation is stronger than the weakest of its local communities, and, by the same rule, the world is no stronger than the weakest of its nations. The thing that counts most is unity. This the Negro race lacks. The yellow and white races are both more united than the Negro race. We are more scattered, not only from a geographical standpoint but from a moral viewpoint. There are 13,000,000 Jews all over the world, yet Jews run the money markets of the world. Take, for instance, not long ago there was a large theatre that catered only to Gentiles. No Jews or Negroes were allowed. One night three Jews bought tickets to the theatre. On their way in the usher stopped them and told them that no Jews were allowed.

The next morning the Jews bought the theatre for two million dollars. That same night, replacing the Gentile ticket seller, was a Jewess, and when the show opened, with the assembling of the crowd, consisting mostly if not entirely of Gentiles, it was announced, to the surprise of all, that no Gentiles were admitted. In this instance the Jew did not go to court to settle his equal rights, as a delegation of Negroes did the other day by going to the President to advocate civil rights. The Jew put over the deal by unity. We are like sheep without a shepherd. Racial consciousness has made the Jew. If you insult one Jew you have insulted all. Insult one Negro and you haven't insulted anybody.

I was in Vicksburg, Mississippi, not long ago, and a colored man took me to the place where I was stopping. On my way there I asked him how the colored people got along with the white people. He replied that he had been there thirteen years, running on the street, and nobody ever insulted him. He said that all you had to do was to know your place, and nobody would bother you. I asked him his place and he was dumfounded. He realized that his place was that of a semi-slave.

Negro Feels Inferior

The race has been discussing effects too long. They must study fundamentals. There is a reason why Negroes are separated and divided. It is because of conditions that have existed for nearly 400 years in this very land of ours. The Negro has been taught, in the first place, that he is an inferior element. That has been his doctrine. He has been taught a psychology foreign to himself. Negroes feel that if they were white they could get along a great deal better. I have never seen the time yet that I wanted to be anytihng but a black man, and today, more than ever, the Negro ought to be proud of himself.

Why you are the coming people. The Negro race is the coming race.

The white man has given me ground for pessimism. Civilization has revolved back to its creation. The white man is destined for destruction because he has lost his moral virtue. The white man has committed more moral scandal among its social circles and the elite than Africa has. When you think of an episode like the bath tub, Fatty Arbuckle, Peaches Browning, it gives you an idea of what the white man's civilization has come to. The black man is coming back to build another civliization, purer than the one under which he now lives. But how is he going to do it? You can be nationally and internationally strong as you are locally strong. We divide from each other in our own localities. We are not united because we are too selfish.

It is characteristic of colored people to be like the crab, that is, if I cannot get out, you will not get out. If I cannot establish a grocery store, no Negro shall establish one. I watched the Jews and Italians in Pitssburgh and other large cities. A Jew will buy a house and live in the basement. He will rent out the rest of the house to anybody who wants it. The other Jews will help him and, in the end, everyone has his own house. When a Negro buys a home other Negroes knock him. The thing we need most is the spirit of co-operation in our local communities. No, we sit around and dream and complain. I have noticed in churches when people get up to give their testimonials that they invariably say something about coming up the rough side of the mountain. Has anybody ever come up on the smooth side? Obstacles are meant to help and not to hinder us; if we give up we are not going to accomplish anything.

Local Progress First

We need to put over some local proposition. You cannot help somebody else without helping yourselves. It is because of the wrong psychology taught us that we are separated and divided. A Negro studies for a day. A white man studies for thousands of years. A white man says, "I have had a hard time, but my children will not have the experience that I had." He prepares to make it possible for the boys and girls of his own race to succeed. Negroes say, "Well, I had it hard in my day and you are not better than I am." Negroes have been taught to watch each other ever since slavery, and to report to the white man every morning. The black man is still reporting to the white man every morning. It has been the cause of numerous lynchings in the South. White psychology must give away and a racial psychology must take hold of us before we can do much as a race. Color of the face does not argue inferiority of race. As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he. There is as much power in the arm of a black man as there is in the arm of a white man.

"Our people have misconstrued the aim of the U. N. I. A. Marcus Garvey has done more to consolidate the race in the past eight years than has been done since the existence of the Negro. The U. N. I. A. has brought us all back to the conclusion that we are all one common stock from one common lineage, and that stock is African. What race ever hated their Fatherland? The Jew teaches his children that Palestine is the most beautiful place on the earth, and that some day they will return to their Fatherland. The Irish do not despise Ireland. They point with pride to the Emerald Isle. Turn your eyes to the British. They are proud of their Fatherland. Everybody is proud of their Fatherland but the Negro. The Negro despises his Fatherland. Africa is the largest and richest continent of the world, yet Negroes despise it. They refer to it as a dark continent.

Is Africa Dark?

In what respect is Africa darker than any other country? Can you teachers of geography and what-not help me? The thing that makes a country bright is the moral virtue of its inhabitants. The moral virtue and character of a country stand out imposingly. Negroes do not make research. They talk too much and investigate too little. We have not learned to keep records. We have not paid any attention to the statistical records in connection with our race. The white man has statistics, and in them he states that Africa had, in seven years, less murders and homicides than we had in the United States in one year. Africa had less illegitimacy in five years than the United States had in one year. Promiscous relations between the sexes in Western civilization is a pastime. In Africa it is a crime punishable by death. I have never been able to see where Africa is any darker than any other country. You have been so inflated with an inferior complex that you can't believe what I have said.

There are 400,000,00 of us, and if we can only interest 100,000,000 it will be enough to start on the work. Marcus Garvey has brought the solution to the racial problem. My friends, the fight is on. All races are claiming their own native lands. Mexico said, Mexico for the Mexicans. She is determined to control her own rights. But what are we doing? Just sitting idly by and allowing the world to control our interests, saying, "God will open up the way." He opens it up by a machine guns in the hands of the white man. We are waiting for God to take the white man's hand off for sixty-seven years. God does not lift does is to give you sense and strength the hands of anybody, but what He and tells you to wend your way through.

We should rise up and demand our rights and go ahead and fight to conserve them. There are 400,000,000 of us. Isn't America the mother of the earth? In 1620, when the first Americans landed at Plymouth, they didn't have anything with which to fight the Indians, but they fought with their fists until someone was good enough to supply them with ammunition. Negroes wait for God to bring a government for them.

Race Problem - 1927

United States

"DARROWISM" PREFERRED BY BISHOP TO PRACTICE OF "WHITE CHRISTIANITY"

The speech delivered by Clarence Darrow here last week, and published in the Tribune exclusively has caused much comment on th various views expounded. No one event has caused so much thought and discussion as this speech.

Bishop E. D. W. Jones of the A. M. E. Zion Church, who was on the platform at John Wesley when Mr. Darrow spoke to the overflow meeting there, in a statement to the press, discusses Darrow's views and the Negro's God.

Bishop Jones' statement follows:

"Jesus said, 'He who is not aganist us is for us'. Predicated upon this hypothesis, Mr. Darrow is with Jesus, whether he confesses Him or not. God stands for love of man, for justice, for selflessness, for morals, for truth, for the oppressed, for intellect, for humanity, for right, for fellowship and brotherhood. So does Mr. Darrow, and in these excellent virtues they are one.

"When we find this conception freeing, ennobling and empowering life we know that we have the creating and developing forces of worthiest characater. Edison who denies God, but talks of Supreme Energy, means God. The man who talks of moral principles, aesthetic values, and nature, mean God, for "the conception of principle, values and nature are merely conceptions of the unseen."

"We must identify God with all good. Right-acting individuals are nobler than creeds.

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"Must a man know, believe and confess God before he receives revelations and directions from God? The Holy Record says; 'In Him was life and the life was the light of men .... which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'

"Darrow is controlled by that light. I might wish that Darrow had a different theism, for positive faith in God is mightiest and more productive of good, but I rejoice that he is not a hypocrite. He rings true on the great causes of God and stands unflinching before prejudiced Christian America and defies its white citizenry to treat the Negro as Jesus would treat him.

"Our race has suffered more from misrepresentation of Jesus than from any attempt to deny His existence. In this connection we have never known an Atheist, a Socialist nor an Agnostic who was not square and fair and just on the race question. White Christians preach a partial God, but such a God is not the God of the Negro nor the oppressed.

"The greatest and most monumental sin of all the ages is to so interpret Jesus in exordiums and sermons in the House of God, before the open Bible, as to incite and excite a nation to prejudice as if it were just—a section to the righteousness of lynching and segregation, and a mob to the belief that it is doing God's will in brutality and slaughter.

"What about a Christian ministry (from which we have received some of our hardest blows), of whcih Sinclair Lewis says, in "Elmer Gantry" the book of the month of March—(and remember he is all through satirizing the white ministry); 'Many of the most worthy Methodist and Baptist clergymen supported the Ku Klux Klan and were supported by it.'

"Mr. Darrow will not support the principles of the Klan, and still he is neither Protestant nor Catholic. He is a Christ actor.

"Darrow is not the only man who cannot believe in the Christ of a Christianity that denies an honest man a chance; a Christianity that Jim-crows a fellow because of his color; a Christianity that sneers at him and denies him a seat in consecrated pews, in dedicated colossal edifices which are monuments to separation and discrimination, where professed Christians are chanting hymns of love from hearts of hate; a Christianity that discriminates against men in their unequal struggle to educate and provide for dependents; a Christianity which brazenly seeks to impress upon fellow men inferiority and submissiveness as if God ordained. We will not have such a Christianity. It is rocking the spiritual pilliars of thought and righteous action in the universe.

"Give us only the Jesus of the Good Samaritan parable; the Jesus of the Syro-Phoenician woman; the Jesus at the well of Sychar; the Jesus of Calvary. Give us this or convert the world to Darrowism."

Darrow Urges Negroes To Fight for Freedom Of Speech; Education

WASHINGTON, March 20. (FP)—Clarence Darrow spoke to two audiences and an overflow meeting—8,000 persons in all—when he came to the capital on Mar. 1, to tell the Negroes to stand together for the rights of free people. He was given ovations by the crowds when he began and closed his appeal. It signalized the beginning of a drive to finance the defense activities of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

Education and property must be acquired by Negroes, Darrow told them, in order that they may move forward toward freedom. White courts and white mobs alike lynch them, he said, not because of racial hatred but because the whites want the Negroes to do the hard work and stay in a position of servitude.

"Education is a misfortune to everyone, especially a Negro," he remarked, "but it is a necessary misfortune in the process of racial development. If you don't know what's going on, like a fundamentalist, you're saved. If you know what's going on you're unfortunate. Education teaches that all there is to race and color is scientific selection and adjustment of people to climate. Black people survived in hot climates, and white people in cold climates. The morons who run the affairs of this part of the world never heard of that theory. They have been too busy parading in sheets and making fool laws."

Darrow gave a blistering indictment of Negro politicians, and appealed to the race to stand together for independent political action.

Says Hypersensitiveness Causes Racial Feeling

Washington, April 12 According to a member of the British Colonial Service hypersensitiveness and a suspicious point of view are the chief causes of the racial feeling throughout the world. The expert recently described the colored population of the Bahama Islands, numbering some 53,000 persons, who are the descendants of the slaves brought from the West Coast of Africa in the palmiest days of the slave trade. In 1807 it was made illegal for any British subject to engage in the traffic, though it was not until August 1, 1838, that slavery was abolished in the Bahamas. These descendants of slaves, says the Englishman, have an attractive personality, good manners and a cheery disposition and if they are lazy, that is a fault for which environment is largely responsible, and one which even the white man does not wholly escape in the Bahamas latitude. The half-caste, however, is usually morose and suspicious, ever on the lookout for slights, and not infrequently attributing to his white neighbors a hostile attitude that does not exist.

The American visitor to the Bahamas finds in the colored native a never-ending source of interest and amusement. He is polite and anxious to oblige; he is musical in his own inimitable way, and he is the fortunate possessor of a sense of humor and a philosophy of life which carries him smiling through the troubles of a less comfortable existence.

Dr. Kerlin Ousted From Pa. School

Professor At State Normal Again In Trouble On Account of His Liberal Attitude Toward the Negro Race

By DANIEL W. CHASE

Associated Negro Press

WESTCHESTER, Pa., April 13—Dr. Robert T. Kerlin, head of the department of English, and Prof. John A. Kinneman, of the social science department, of the State Normal School at West Chester, have been forced to resign from their positions following an ugly feeling which has been brewing against these two men for some time. Both are well educated and are men known outside the state. Dr. Kerlin, who has been connected with the normal school five years, is a graduate of Yale University, from which he received his Ph. D. degree. Prof. Kinneman is a graduate of the State Normal School and is the author of several widely read books on social subjects.

Prof. Kinneman states as the reason for his dismissal the fact that he had incurred the enmity of the business manager of the State Normal School by supporting William B. Wilson, Democratic candidate for the United States Senate. John Hollinger, the business manager, is a political satellite of William Clark. The affair has created much interest indeed, and bids fair to cause more or less trouble before the school year closes. Prof. Kinneman is defended by a large number of people.

Kerlin's Case Different

Dr. Kerlin's case is somewhat different, and is calling for more widespread attention, as he has a national reputation for entertaining liberal views, so far as the Negro and the Negro's cause are concerned. Because of his fair-mindedness he was asked to resign from the Virginia Military Institute, where he had taught for eleven years. On more than one occasion he had taken a decided stand for American citizenship rights for the Negro, and had gone down on record as being for the Negro's getting a square deal.

Miss Isabel Darlington, chairman the Board of Trustees of the State of the committee on instruction Normal School, is credited with saying on one occasion, that she did not like Prof. Kerlin because he was too friendly with Negroes. It is said that she seemed over excited when it was learned that Dr. Kerlin had entertained at his home Leslie Pinckney Hill, the principal of the Normal School for Colored Teachers at Cheyney. However, when the matter was brought to the attention of the public, who objected to the dismissal of these two scholarly men, denial was made by Miss Darlington.

Will Fight Case

Dr. Kerlin is quoted as saying that he will fight the case to a finish. He declares that the action of the board was the result of agitation against his personal opinions. Dr. Kerlin has Andrew Thomas SmithsaeETAOINUP correspondence from the Principal, Andrew Thomas Smith, that he, Dr. Kerlin, was considered unfit because of his over "emphasis of social amalgamation and your attitude toward Socialism' explaining that by 'overemphasis of social amalgamation,' Dr. Smith referred to his belief that the Negroes should be treated as brothers by white men.

Dr. Kerlin has been five years at Westchester, having taught in normal schools in Missouri and Virginia. He is sixty years old and has three children.

WHITE AMERICA CARES LITTLE FOR OUR WANTS

Associated Negro Press

WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 30—A few years ago, the Chicago Tribune carried an editorial to the effect that American whites in the North, particularly Chicago, will tolerate Negro participation in politics as long as that participation does not jeopardize white supremacy." It went on to say, there would be little opposition to one or two being elected to the council as aldermen or two or three elected to the legislature, or some other office, as judge, but when and if the political power of the Negro threatens too much influence, then white people would oppose in self-defense. That is frank and bold from a Republican newspaper boasting of its traditional opposition to slavery, its days when Joseph Medill and Abraham Lincoln used to sit in the office and plan against the growth of slavery. But The Tribune represents a certain element of influential white thought of today. North, South, East and West, Republican and Democrat. There is no getting away from this fact!

Therefore, the star chamber session in January, when an ultimatum was put up to Edward H. Wright to declare himself on whom he would support for Mayor of Chicago, and Wright, the nation's most resourceful Negro political leader refused, it was just what they wanted. These bosses were calculatingly determined to shorn Wright of his power, which was equal, in fact, to that of any other political leader of any group in Chicago. That is why a thoughtful group of Negroes of Chicago, headed by men like Dr. L. K. Williams, President of the National Baptist Convention, are opposing Thompson and his crowd, because they know the program was to "set Wright in his place," meaning, in the last analysis, the Negro people of Chicago.

Not because of this, but in spite of it, the Negro question has become the chief issue in the mayorality campaign in Chicago, which will be decided on Tuesday, April 5th, for the Mayorality four years run, and the emoluments, which are many dollars, cents, offices, privileges and opportunities, hither and hence Thoughtful Negroes are now, because of the intensity of the conditions, seeking to prevent any serious outbreak that may lead to another race riot. If there is such, it will be laid at the door of at least two of the daily newspapers, and the Chicago Democratic Boss, Brennan, who has openly admitted that injection of the race issue is a "last straw" piece of political strategy, and nothing more. He is sowing the wind, and may reap the whirlwind. Negro Democrats and broadminded whites many of whom are supporting Mayor Dever, deeply deplore this foul piece of strategy.

William Hale Thompson, whose boldness and bluntness and cowboy methods have swept thousands of Negroes, as well as whites, into the circle of his ballyhooing, has taken up the gauntlet, and is laying down a barrage of exposures and threats on this scheme of Democratic 'back against the wall," 'win at any price' stuff. Thompson, as a matter of cold fact, belongs to the class of demogoguery with the late Tom Johnson of Cleveland, Mayor Hylan and Gov. Al Smith of New York —all master in playing to the galleries. He is Abraham Lincoln to the Negroes, Mussolini to the Italians, Kosciusko to the Poles and "Kaiser Bill" to the Germans. They know the psychology of masses — masses never think, they simply yell and fall in. That's why a lynch crowd can be so quickly assembled.

Trend of White Politics

The trend of American white politics is away from the Negro, and the section of the country nor the particular political party has little or nothing to do with it. There are good individual democrats and bad individual republicans. Whatever they are, they are highly resolved and determined that Negro America shall not pass, when it comes to assuming too much political pull and power.

There have been many comments on the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court on the Texas case, but none more significant than that of the usually well balanced Atlanta Constitution, daily The Constitution says in substance, editorially, that the Supreme Court decision is a matter of indifference, that it is well-known that all the election laws of the South are purposely shaped to keep the Negro out, and there will, regardless of the Supreme Court, or any other power, always be a way found to maintain "white supremacy."

DR. KERLIN OUSTED FROM SCHOOL

Westchester, Pa., April 14.—(A. N. P.)—Dr. Robert T. Kerlin, head of the department of English, and Prof. John A. Kinneman, of the social science department, of the State Normal School at Westchester, have been forced to resign from their positions, following a struggle which has been brewing against these two men for some time. Both are well-educated and are men known outside the state. Dr. Kerlin, who has been connected with the normal school for five years, is a graduate of Yale University, from which he received his Ph.D. degree. Prof. Kinneman is a graduate of the State Normal School and is the author of several widely read books on social subjects.

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Clarence Darrow More Christian-Like Than Christians, Says C. H. Tobias

Senior Secretary of Y. M. C. A. Chapel Speaker at Union Theological Seminary Here

Union Theological Seminary, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, president, had as the regular chapel speaker last Wednesday morning Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary of the Colored Work Department of the Y. M. C. A.

After reading the passage from the Bible which contains the statement: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven," Mr. Tobias reminded his hearers of the fact that Negro churches were throwing open their pulpits to Clarence Darrow not because they shared his anti-Christian views, but because they were grateful for his Christian practices.

"As between the white preachers of Detroit who had taken no strong word against a racial resident's head line which compelled 50,000 Negroes to live in homes built for 6,000 people, and Clarence Darrow who defended Dr. Sweet without the payment of a fee," said Mr. Tobias, "Negroes believe Darrow to be more Christ-like."

The speaker referred also to the splendid humane service that is being rendered by Julius Rosenwald to many classes of people, particularly the 4,000 schoolhouses he has helped to build for Negro children in the Southern States, and asked if such was not in closer harmony with the spirit and teachings of Christ than the empty "Lord, Lord" of thousands of so-called Christians.

The speaker's final reference was to the white students of Virginia who went as delegates to the recent Milwaukee Student Convention. He said that they met successfully the true Christian test before they got to Milwaukee when they decided that instead of going one way and having Negro delegates go another way, they would arrange to have the entire Virginia delegation, white and colored, share the same Pullman cars.

Race Problem - 1927
United States.

Tilt Up the Color Line

By Alva W. Taylor, Secretary of the Temperance Board, Indianapolis, Ind.

Ideals Become Practices

IT is a practical world that we deal with even in the church, idealists though we are. The so-called "practical man" is proud of characteristics that we find a rather rough fabric for weaving into our idealistic patterns. But the history of moral progress is a story of the progressive assimilation of the ideal into the practical. Some very excellent church Christians held slaves. My grandfather was one of them. He locked the cabin doors at night for he lived near the Ohio River, not far from the village where the first abolitionist journal was published. He looked upon the "underground railway" with about as much favor as Judge Gary looks upon labor unions. He was a strong, patriotic, law-abiding citizen when it came to demanding the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. He was a just and kindly man in dealing with individuals, but *his* Bible justified the institution of slavery. He also believed in predestination with a Scotch theological zeal, and he made as good corn whiskey as Kentucky boasted. It was not moonshine, for he could make it in the full light of the sun and with the approval of his wife, his pastor and the law of his day.

To him an abolitionist was a fanatic and a prohibitionist an idealist. He had Scripture to quote against both of them, and he was a good man. But idealism won, and so far as I know them every voting descendant of his is both a prohibitionist and a fundamental, little "d," democrat. He was a pioneer, always following the blazed trail to the west, but the social gospel had no part in the religion of his day. When you push clean personal character and kindly moral traits over into the wider and more impersonal relationships, you get an application of the social gospel. It is a widening of the moral horizon that is needed.

What We Are Governed By

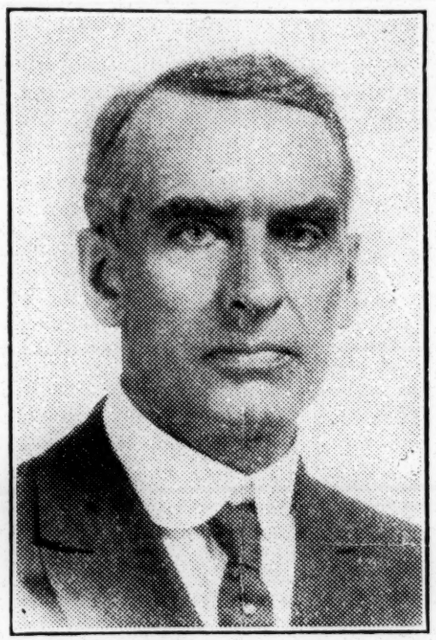
All are acquainted with Benjamin Kidd's famous thesis that what is democracy, of Americanism, and, above all, of the Christian gospel. There is not a community where white and black live side by side that does not challenge its churches with this problem, and the church that ignores it simply fails to preach either the justice of God or the gospel of Christ's brotherhood.

Tilting the Line

The color line is here, whether right or wrong, and it is so grounded in prepossession and prejudice that its abolition in our day is hopeless. It is laid horizontally now, with the white man on top and the black man beneath it. Every fundamental we live by, both as Americans and Christians, demands that it be lifted from a horizontal to a vertical position. Tilting up the color line is a challenge to the best effort of the pulpit and of men of good will in the pew. If there must be a differentiation in community, school, hospital and church, let there be equal service. If states will compel different railway coaches and station arrangements, let them be of equal accommodation. When skill qualifies for craftsmanship, let pay be equal and opportunity at the job as well. When justice is done, let it be equal justice without reference to color. Thus only can we live together in peace. Either the colored man must be given equal opportunity and justice or you must stop his education for culture and inequity do not dwell together in peace. The rank and file await instruction, but they are children led by false guides if they are not led courageously.

What is taught the youth of today will govern the social order of tomorrow. He laid down another that is quite as gratifying. It was that by keeping up the steady moral pressure of idealism, old customs and cruel systems are disintegrated and make way for the new, though the times and seasons of change are not easily seen and the battle against them runs strong.

That is a comforting and encouraging thesis for the idealist and social reformer; he may be defeated and forgotten, but his ideals win.



God is not on the side of the strongest battalions, but of truth and righteousness, only truth and righteousness must be born of sacrifice and self-forgetfulness. The winning faith outruns the practical man's statistics of success. It requires a certain abandon of the over-practical. It is rather careless of the little things, yet rejoices in them when they become straws in the wind to show progress. We can accept defeat in a thousand immediate undertakings, but keep up the steady moral pressure of idealism and win. Through sermons, books, editorials and all manner of public appeal we can direct the disintegrating force of truth and idealism against the citadels of ignorance, half-truths, institutionalism and social inertia, and like Jericho's walls, they will come down. It may seem like casting bread upon the waters to a practical age, but as sure as there is a God in Heaven it will return to modify and reform ancient ways. The customs and institutions and social classes that will not yield will atrophy and die. Change is not necessarily moral, but social progress is, and its dynamic force is idealism.

Christianity and Race

The microcosm of Christ's world encompassing ideals of brotherhood is the beloved community. Right there is an acid test. Many churches support African missions generously, but do little or nothing in their own communities to ameliorate the harshness and injustices found along the color line. The gospel of sweetness and light radiates from their pulpits, but it does not search down into the sour and acrid race relationships of their community. God's justice to the wayward soul is preached, but little is said about justice to the weak and oppressed. A most inexcusable lynching took place in a mid-western city. The law was strict, the judge was just and there was no doubt of the verdict, but the guilty wretch was swung into eternity by lawless hands. It was as stark lawlessness as a holdup or a bank robbery and the name of that town was in the headlines as a lawless community for days; but with two exceptions not a pulpit in that city called it to account before the moral law.

THE NEGRO AND HIS RELIGION

BY JUDGE ALBERT B. GEORGE.

[Judge George is on the Municipal bench in Chicago, and is a member of Grace Presbyterian church, colored.]

Next Saturday is the birthday anniversary of the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, whose name means more to the Negro than any merely human who ever lived. Next Sunday will be observed in Chicago and in the nation generally as race relations Sunday. White and colored ministers will exchange pulpits, and it is to be noted that in Chicago more of the larger churches of various denominations will open their pulpits to colored pastors than ever before. A right understanding between representatives of the white and colored races is of slow growth, but unmistakable progress is being made. We all remember what a furor was created when President Theodore Roosevelt entertained Dr. Booker T. Washington for dinner at the White House, but such outbreaks of indignation are becoming less and less. A wholesome sentiment against the lynching of Negroes is gradually forming in the south as well as in the north, and broadminded men and women are coming to understand that the Negro is entitled to fundamental human rights by the constitution of the United States, as well as by every law of justice and fair play.

There appeared recently in a New York City newspaper a statement that one-half of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States were not members of any church, and that almost two-thirds of the more than 2,000,000 Negroes in the north had no church connections. The announcement has caused considerable discussion, and in some cases alarm for the Negro is generally regarded as the most religious group in Amercia.

I do not know the exact situation, but I venture to say that where the Negro has drifted away from the church it is because he has lost faith in the program and purpose of the church, white and colored, to meet and solve his problems. He has failed to recognize that the church is the one and only constant influence which can and will solve his problems. In his impatience he has abandoned the church, become discouraged and given up trying or gone after some "ism" which mistakes noise for progress and thereby deceives himself. It must also be admitted that the Negro, like every person with freedom to choose his own life, is subjected to all the temptations of the world—love of money, ease, ambition for power, and gratification of the senses. The Negro is not immune to evil influences, although by nature he is trustful, reverent, emotional, and hence inclined to worship and find joy in religion.

The record of the Negro in the United States since emancipation has been marvelous. Many authorities assert no such progress has ever been made by any race in the history of the world in the same length of time. This is true in education in colleges, white and colored, in business, the professions, and in skilled labor. Notable poets, artists, sculptors, musicians have been produced, and permanent and important contributions have been made to American literature.

A recent issue of the Crisis reports that 8,600 Negro students were enrolled last year in our colleges and universities, 7,000 in Negro schools, and 1,600 in white institutions. During the year 1,300 Negro students received degrees ranging from bachelor of arts to doctor of philosophy. A number of Negroes were elected to the honorary scholastic society, the Phi Beta Kappa, and 300 received degrees from northern colleges.

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While we believe firmly that the church has been the mightiest factor in the development of the Negro, it must also be remembered that the churches followed the drift of the times and excluded Negroes from equal privileges, with the result the Negro was compelled to establish his own religious institutions. In doing so he has reaped many benefits. In the church he has developed his social and intellectual life. For years every Negro leader was a minister. In the church the Negro learned the power of organization and of coöperation. The churches have also devised social, political, and economic programs, and from speakers lay as well as clerical he has learned of his duties and privileges as a citizen. The Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian associations, which are the direct outgrowth of the church, have taught the young Negro man and woman good health, cleanliness of living, and decency of behavior. The Y's have also been a means for the establishment of cultural contacts with the best in our civilization, although the Negro is still regarded as one separate and apart.

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Individually the West Indian Negro has often played a great part in the drama of Negro development here in America. It is exactly one hundred years since the first Negro newspaper was published in America. This was "Freedom's Journal" which was domiciled in New York and edited by John Brown Russwurm, a West Indian, and the first Negro graduate of Dartmouth College. But before this time there was Alexander Hamilton who "passed for white" successfully after coming to America and became one of the Fathers of the country. At a later date there was Denmark Vesey, a Danish West Indian Negro, who, although a freeman and property holder, risked and lost freedom, property and life itself in a slave rebellion which he had organized in Charleston, S. C., in 1822. And more recently, West Indian Negro blood has flowed in the veins of at least one President of the United States.

Today there are more than forty thousand West Indians in the United State of which about seven-tenths live in New York City alone. This concentration has resulted in intensifying the strains and problems of adjustment. The relations betwee them and their colored neighbors have changed and developed with the kinds and quantity of social contact and effective cooperation. In the first period of West India immigration, when tho who came here were mainly students and scholars seeking wider fields of usefulness, the Negroes of America drew from these samples their first and most favorable estimates of West Indian character. It was taken for granted that every West Indian immigrant was a paragon of intelligence and a man of birth and breeding.

Then came the slump in West Indian sugar, caused by German and American competition and the impoverished islands began to detrail for the Negro-Americans to follow. But during the last two decades they have won their way in New York as business men, lawyers, doctors, school teachers, musicians and journalists. Besides, there is the significant fact that almost every important development in Negro Harlem—originating from the Negro Manhood Movement to political representation in public office, from collecting Negro books to speaking on the streets, from demanding Federal control over lynching to agitating for Negroes on the police force—every one of these has been fathered by West Indians or can count them among its originators. And today the only Negro patron of art and letters in New York is Casper Holstein, a Negro from the Virgin Islands.

Of course, it has not always been easy sledding for the West Indian and American Negro. There has been some prejudice. But that prejudice had worn so thin by 1917 that in the political campaign

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Then came the slump in West Indian sugar, caused by German and American competition and the impoverished islands began to decant upon the mainland their working population, laborers, mechanics, peasants, ambitious enough to be discontented with conditions at home and eager to improve their lot by seeking success in the land of Uncle Sam. At first they furnished the elevator operators, janitors, hall-boys and porters, maids and washerwomen of upper Manhattan almost exclusively, with a few tradesmen and skilled workers thrusting themselves forward into

Race Problem - 1927 II.

United States.

St. Mark's and St. Benedict's lyceums in West 53rd street they effected a literary combination some years before and in the Equity Congress such stalwarts as Captain Blount, Prof. Tobias and Louis Leavelle could always count upon their support in that great movement which gave birth to the 'Fighting Fifteenth."

It may sound strange to outsiders, but it is my firm belief that, between the ordinary Negro American who lives by working and the ordinary West Indian in America there is not the least prejudice in the world. The working Negro American who lives by work gets that work from the white man, and, as he figures it, the white man has work enough for both. But with the Negro American who lives on prestige the case is different. It is to him a matter of life and death that the Negro masses should look up to him with reverence for the superiority vested in him by virtue of something called "education." He meets the West Indian similarly situated, and finds that whether that educated West Indian be Danish, Dutch, French, Spanish or English, he has been furnished by Denmark, Holland, France, Spain or England with a more thorough and competent intellectual equipment than race-prejudiced America has given to the Negro-American. Naturally, since it is to him a matter of life and death, we find that prejudices take shape in such a situation. But these prejudices seem restricted to the intelligensia on both sides. I speak, of course, of the men. The cause of the West Indian woman is one which I shall not touch upon just now.

In the meanwhile West Indian men are marrying Negro-American women in ever-increasing numbers and rearing children who are American Negroes. These are indistinguishable from other Negro-Americans. I presume that most Negro-Americans know of the West Indian ancestry of such well known Negro-Americans as W. E. B. DuBois, Charles W. Anderson, collector of Internal Revenue in New York City; of George E. Wibecan of Brooklyn and William Stanley Braithwaite (pronounced in English, "Braf-fit.")

Despite the general belief, British West Indians are becoming naturalized Negro Americans at a fairly rapid rate. But, whether naturalized or not they certainly do become Americanized—even despite the Garvey movement. They grow into spiritual participation with Negro-America and exchange cultural gifts with increasing facility. If the West Indian brings to the market a certain out-spoken and downright courage, he gains there a certain flexibility and tact which is necessary both for survival and success in the American atmosphere. And when the years bring their harvest it will be found that the mingling of West Indian with American Negro has been highly beneficial to Harlem—and to America at large.

Mencken's Trip To South Changes Caustic Opinion

That the harsh critics of H. L. Mencken, who charge the Baltimore agnostic with possessing such a crabby nature that he never says anything good about anyone or anything are "all wet" is demonstrated by an excerpt from his "Hiring a Hall" column in The New York World, in which he praises Atlanta and the entire south.

Mr. Mencken used to have some things to say about the south, with a pen dipped in caustic, but now his attitude toward this section of the country has undergone exchange.

The editor of American Mercury was entertained royally during his short stay at the Atlanta Biltmore, and after looking Atlanta over went away with his preconceived notions of the modern south smashed. His remarks in praise of Atlanta and the south follow:

"Passing through the south a few months back to attend the autumn maneuvers of the Confederate army (holden annually, in secret, ever since the event of April 9, 1865), I was greatly struck by the material advancement of that gallant region, and no less by its progress on the plane of the psyche. I traversed parts that were familiar to me and parts that I had never hitherto penetrated. Everywhere I encountered new and good roads, new and handsome buildings, once miserable single tracks laid directly upon the sand, are now mainly double-tracked, and most of them have excellent equipment and run their trains on time. There are new bridges new yards, new stations. And in almost every town they reach there is a new and bustling life, in sharp contrast to the old southern sleepiness.

"The pearl of the whole section is obviously Atlanta, now one of the loveliest of American cities. It has what is in more than one way the best hotel I have ever encountered in America, and many of the homes that are going up in the new suburbs are extraordinarily charming. The architects of the town seem to have a great deal of sense. Instead of covering the wooded hills of the vicinage with Tudor manor houses, Queen Anne cottages had Venetian palazzi, they devote themselves to contecting pleasant and sightly dwelling houses in the Georgian manner, with the native red brick and white limestone as materials. Nothing can be more comfortable, and noth-

against a background of dark trees and sunshiny lawns, could be more agreeble to the eye.

"The contrast with such a town, say as Los Angeles, is striking and highly soothing. In Los Angeles every architectural abomination ever invented runs wild. Ornament is so vastly and so unintelligently overworked that whole neighborhoods look like congeries of circus wagons. People live in houses no more suitable to their native tastes and stations in life than the monastery on Mount Athos would be suitable to a Mormon or a jewel case to a cockroach. But in Atlanta the majority of habitations, at least of the well-heeled commercial noblesse, are dignified, appropriate and beautiful. I wish I knew the names of the unofficial Baron Haussmanns adn Boss Shepherds who designed them. No doubt they had many hard tussles with their clients."

DARROW URGES STUDENTS TO GET MONEY

Associated Negro Press

TUSKEGEE Institute, Ala., Jan., 26—"Get education and money for these mean power," was the advice which Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago, introduced by Vice Principal R. R. Taylor as a lover of humanity—a characterization which he repudiated at the outset—gave to students of Tuskegee Institute in an address here Thursday afternoon. "In these place your hope for advancement. As I see it, they are your only hope. Remember that nothing comes into this world without labor and pain and sacrifice. Your worse days I believe, are over. But there are still hard days ahead."

Speaking for longer than an hour, the noted lawyer expounded all his cherished iconoclasms, his religious skepticism, his dissatisfaction with the social order, his disregard for tradition, his lack of faith in the human race. He talked in an easy going manner, deliberatedly, leisurely, slouched characteristically over the pulpit. At times his voice was low and soothing; again it was indignant, fierce, blazing.

He reviewed the history of race relations between Negroes and whites a record which he said every white man ought to be ashamed of. He made estimate of present conditions, analyzed their cause and ventured to prophesy their outcome.

He pointed his customary contemptuous thrust at the "nobie nordic," arraigning the whites as arrogant oppressors of disadvantaged people and declaring that science knew no such thing as race. "Color," he said has nothing to do with race prejudice. Rather it is previous condition of servitude. It is not merely this. It is that the Negro is nearer to his slavery than the white to his."

Ruthlessly, Mr. Darrow attacked the superiority complex of the nordic, declaring that no race possesses more intrinsic intelligence than any other and that the talk about "pure blood" is the veriest of bunk. "And on this practically every scientist in the world agrees. Every biologist, every anthropologist knows that I am telling you what is true. They are all for you. Likewise, all the best literary men are on your side."

The present generation of Negroes in America, according to Mr. Darrow, cannot hope for a full measure of the constitutional rights that are theirs, ing you what is true. They are all for these rights for their children.

'MISTER' NEAR LYNCH

GEORGIA "CRACKER" MISTAKES COLORED WORKER BY NAME AS A WHITE MAN AND LATTER LUCKILY HAD LEFT TOWN

Savannah, Georgia, Jan. 31, 1927.—A Ford car and another engagement, might have been the two forces that saved Seymour Carroll, Southern Field Secretary of the American Humane Education Society of Boston, Mass., with southern headquarters at Columbia, South Carolina, his life. Last week, Mr. Carroll spent three days in Brunswick, Georgia, and visited the race schools. An article telling of his presence in the city, appeared in the local white daily newspapers, and referred to him as "Mister" Carroll.

The story begins at the Post Office: A newspaper man mistook him for a local race minister while he was writing some letters. He approached Mr. Carroll at a writing desk in the Post Office, and addressed Mr. Carroll as "Parson", saying, "He had been informed that the colored people had a cracker-jack good speaker at the school today." One word brought on another and Mr. Carroll said, "Yes, he made an interesting talk to the students on Humane Education." "What was his name?" "Mr. Carroll." "What is the name of the society he is President of in Boston?" asked the white K. K. K. citizen. "The American Humane Education Society of Boston, Mr. Carroll is the Field Secretary, sir." "That is good, and I thank you so much, 'Parson.' The conversation lasted about fifteen minutes in the lobby of the Post Office.

Headlines on Mr. Carroll

They parted. Mr. Carroll had been interviewed by a newspaper reporter. That afternoon, on the front page of The Evening Daily News, was published with catchy headlines: "Mr. Carroll is Brunswick's Guest To-day," and at the end, the reporter said, "Although Mr. Carroll is white, he is very much interested in the Negro schools; he is one of the most prominent educators in America and is a the Northern winter tourists' golf club here."

That afternoon, the newspapers had just been mailed; Mr. Carroll was discovered to be a Negro, with black skin. Then a sneaky search was made for him by what is thought to be the members of the Georgia K.K.K., but Mr. Carroll had gone. The newspaper reporter later found out that the same man that he had talked with in the Post Office and had addressed in the usual southern title, when speaking to Georgians of color, as "Parson", was the Boston visitor himelf.

He Had Gone

The "S. O. S." call went out all over the city, but inquiry led to the final information that Mr. Carroll had departed from the city in a Ford car towards Jacksonville, but he went from Brunswick to Savannah where he had an engagement to deliver an address at the Georgia State Industrial College, in his plea for "kindness to animals."

The American Humane Education Society with national headquarters at Back Bay Station, Boston, has in its service, a number of race workers. Mr. Carroll, a former American Red Cross war worker, is the Field Executive for several southern states; Dr. Francis H. Rowley of Boston is the President of the National Society

NEGRO EDUCATOR URGES HIS RACE TO "KEEP BUSY"

Rev. Richard D. Stinson, speaking to the Allen Christian Endeavor league at St. Mark's church, discussed the subject, "Bring Up a Child in the Way It Should Go."

The preacher talked to the big audience on the necessity of getting back to the days "when our race sought to bring up children under the fear of God and with a respect for all good people. Thousands of the best people ask, what can and may we do with our children? No one cares to go to Sunday school now, one-third will not work, and every family is told that their children don't care to go to the farm again."

The preacher said there are entirely too many farmers coming to cities where no one can afford to give them work that will pay. The negro race can't afford to condone crime among the ignorant, lawless element."

"The earning capacity of the unfortunate members among us should be raised. Every one of us should see the necessity of schools that enable common laborers to work with his hands and that impresses us with the desire to want to work with our hands.

"There is too much dancing, too much pleasure, too much idleness among the negro race, many of whom are troublesome in various communities.

"Back to the farm is a remedy for these who claim they cannot get work to do and are constantly defying law and order. Thousands of acres of land are lying out without being worked and can be secured with the least trouble. The church and all good people must put themselves behind this problem of aiding these unfortunate folks who claim they cannot get work to do and, therefore, are forced to steal and rob."

Rev. J. E. Miller, pastor of the church, strongly indorsed the address. The singing by the young people's chorus was a feature.

DALLAS, TEX.
Journal
NOV 30 1926

CHALLENGE ON THE RACIAL PROBLEM.

ON many subjects and on many occasions Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Georgetown has spoken to the point in recent years, but never more to the point than when she spoke last Sunday afternoon before the Dallas Open Forum in her authoritative capacity as director of the work of the national interracial committee west of the Mississippi. What Mrs. Ames had to say was more than a plea to Southern whites that they join in extending to Southern negroes an opportunity for development of their racial life along individual lines—although it was strong in its appeal to the sense of justice in the dominant race. It was an appeal to the intelligence of Southern whites, made potent by a clear and emphatic presentation of the fact that the economic welfare of the Southern States is inseparably, inextricably joined with the welfare of the Southern negro.

Two observations with which this speaker was credited stand out with challenging force:

We can't take the negro out of the history of the South if we wanted to, nor can we separate him from its future, which is our own future.

Are we so sure of our own superiority that we can help a weaker race toward a fuller development?

This direct question was prefaced by a review of what the negro has accomplished since 1860, and by the statement that in the last dozen years, in view of the record of accomplishment, the negro has developed a racial pride "equal to that of the white man."

The question ought to go deep into the consciences of Southern whites. It is of more vital concern than most of us have been willing to concede. The negro can not be eradicated from our economic system. The system would profit through such improvement of the opportunity and estate of the negro as would make of him a more capable, more efficient and more reliable factor. A thousand ways are open for such improvement, but those that will make for the progress of the mass are most desirable, even though that process would be slow.

A beginning which has been made in at least one Southern city, and which all Southern cities should make, promises much for improvement of the condition and the state of mind of the urban negro. That is the provision of more desirable residential sections for the colored citizens. Such provision makes for the development of character and home pride, and it eliminates possibilities of friction between the races over the ill-considered location of residences. No more constructive first step than this might be taken toward solution of the racial problem.

The Chinese Struggle and the Negro

By C. V. BRIGGS

THE fight for Negro liberation is being waged today on a wide front, in countries far remote from the centers of Negro population and by non-Negroid peoples.

Amsterdam News

While the Negro continues apathetic to world politics as well as to domestic issues and seems resigned to the service role to which he has been assigned by the imperialist nations who first enslaved him, then robbed him of his fatherland and later doped him with an unintelligible patriotism for the very institutions under which he suffers, events bearing a far-reaching effect upon the Negro's future are taking place in China, in Europe and in Mexico.

2-9-27

New Masses

So far as the interest of the Negro in the sensational events which are knelling the doom of white world domination and consequent Negro liberation is concerned these events might just as well be taking place on the distant planet Mars as in China, Europe and Mexico.

And not only is the Negro displaying no interest in the colossal onslaughts on white imperialism in China and Mexico, and even in the white homeland, Europe, but so complete is his ignorance of the reciprocal relationship between the struggle of the Chinese and Mexican peoples and his own vague and to the present unactivised desire for liberation that a strong possibility exists that, in a war forced upon Mexico by the oil interests of this country, the Negro would be found suicidally lined up with the white imperialists and exploiters against his own racial interests and against the interests of the darker races.

If this unthinkable treason to his own best racial interests and the common cause of the darker races is to be prevented, it is high time that courageous leaders and thinkers within the race get busy educating the Negro masses in the implications of world politics and the meaning and promise of the universal rebellion evident today on the part of the colored races against white world domination, whether in China, Africa, India, Mesopotamia, Java or Sumatra.

To delay this education is to invite the use of the Negro as a tool in the bolstering up of white imperialism and thereby earn for the Negro hatred of the Chinese and other colored peoples struggling against white imperialism and pave the way for his perpetual subordination to the aims of the white imperialists.

It is high time that the Negro was familiarized with the Nationalist struggle in China and informed of the relationship to the Negro liberation won by the Red Cantonese armies in their orderly sweep northward against the forces of the foreign-supported northern militarists.

These victories of the Cantonese armies have already had their effect in Java and Sumatra, where uprisings against Dutch imperialism have occurred lately. They have caused great joy and a militant stirring in India and the hinterland of Africa, where their importance is realized.

The British, realizing that not only are their thefts and "interests" in China threatened by the success of the Cantonese arms, but that their power in India would be shattered, should a powerful and free China come into being, are doing all in their power to block the Cantonese advance; but already the British have been kicked out of Hankow and other places in the interior of China, and the time is fast approaching when these imperialist thieves will have to surrender the Shanghai and other "concessions" to their rightful owners.

Events in China clearly indicate the swift approaching crash of white imperialism. Will the Negro be alert to his opportunities when that crash comes? Will he be in a position to distinguish between his fr and his enemies? These questions that Negro lea and thinkers will have to fac

RICHMOND, VA.

e nothing beyond a selfish interest a Richmond housewives could not afford ve the negroes barred from the buses—a proceeding, by the way, that would be quite illegal, just as the failure of buses to stop for negroes in the fan district used to be. In that part of town, the negroes have been able to ride on the street-cars and do so the more readily because the fare is lower. But street-car lines will seldom be extended hereafter. Buses will take their places in reaching the very large territory in which people will build homes and want servants. How are they to get help unless the colored people can come to their places of employment on buses? Five years more and fully half the domestic servants will be compelled to use buses almost exclusively—if they are to go into the homes where their services are desired.

The News Leader has not the slightest doubt that the whole matter will work itself out acceptably and with the minimum of friction.

One of the Penalties of Segregation

Norfolk Journal and Guide
6-4-27

A letter from the mayor of Gibson, N. C., to the mayor of Charlotte starts off as follows: "Your Honor, I beg to advise that on the night of May 18th fire originated in the central part of our colored town and 17 residences, one store and one church were destroyed by fire, due to the fact that their town is out of reach of water, and with dry weather and high winds we were unable to check the fire before it had done a damage estimated at $50,000 00, leaving these pepole homeless."

"Out of reach of water.....$50,000.00 damage.....homeless." It's the same old, old story, of the same condition that is true of nearly every Southern town. Because the South fears the Negro more than it hates him, he is isolated in residential districts which are denied the advantages of water, paved streets and other public utilities, and when fire comes, with "dry weather and high winds," or when disease comes he is helpless and at the mercy of both.

Gibson, N. C., taxed the $50,000.00 worth of destroyed property to the limit, and the Negroes in "Negro Town" paid the taxes, whether they were renters or owners. But they were "out of reach of water" just as they are out of reach of everything else that a taxpayer is supposed to get in most of the Southern towns. And when a Negro says that he wants to move out of the ghetto and live on a paved street and in reach of water and of fire protection he is accused of wanting to be white and to associate with white people. There is the text for another prize-winning drama which Paul Green or some other honest Southerner should write.

Race Problem – 1927

United States.

South Becomes De-localized.

"Today the South and North are in a better position to form a satisfactory partnership than ever before, because the South of '27, unlike the South of '67, looks upon the problems of society from a national angle and not a sectional one. That is, the South has become de-localized and has caught step with the outside world." Thus writes Robert Watson Winston, formerly a Judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina, in an article entitled *The North and the South of Today*. As an example of the changed mental attitude of the South toward vital questions, Judge Winston cites the South's present attitude toward Negro education:

The fruit of this changed mental attitude of the South is seen most clearly in relation to the negro problem. How encouraging it is to know that in the sixteen Southern States, under the Rosenwald plan alone, $13,000,000 has been expended in building negro schools, and that of this sum Southern whites contributed about $1,000,000, personally and individually, and through taxation about $7,000,000 more, while the negro himself raised the large sum of over $3,000,000. Now that the nation has agreed that the negro question, in its political aspects, is a local issue, and hence cannot menace Southern white autonomy, the negro has ceased to be a red flag in the face of the whites and is getting a fairer deal.

At a racial conference held recently at the University of North Carolina, Dr. J. W. Johnson, a noted negro editor and author, addressed whites and blacks alike, and after the conference, being invited to various classes where young men and women were taking sociology, he likewise lectured. Such an incident, rare indeed in the South, does not necessarily signify social equality, as I understand it, but does mean that the South is seeking knowledge from every quarter. This new, humanitarian view finds further expression in the treatment of negro criminals. Lynching in the South is on the decline. Surely it is some advance, though not enough, that the total lynching in the South for the year 1925 fell to seventeen, whereas in former years they averaged nearly a hundred.

Undoubtedly the intelligent and patriotic element in the South is each year increasingly aware of its obligation to its Negro citizens. The Southern white who leads in the professions, in business and agriculture believes more than ever, that it is good policy from every standpoint to deal justly with every element; to give the right kind of education to all, irrespective of race, creed or color; to make living conditions comfortable and safe for the lowest among us; to safeguard the humblest through just administration of the law.

If those who for generations have tilled our farms and husbanded our crops, have helped build our homes and helped care for them; have ministered faithfully to our children in sickness and health—if these have not earned the right to educate their own children and to live in peace and decency under our laws, then who has earned it? It is safe to say that the best element in the South willingly admits that the Negro is entitled to education, to an opportunity to earn a living wage, and to full protection under the law. Therefore it becomes the duty of this element to see to it that he gets all three, and this is being done now as never before.

Atlanta Constitution
SEP 4 1927

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL

A Statement to the Forum Magazine Concerning Southern Race Prejudice.

In the June issue of that interesting and independent magazine, The Forum, the editors admitted an article on "The Pathology of Race Prejudice." It was written by Edward Franklin Frazier, colored, then head of [illegible] school of social service for the negro race in this city. The editors of The Forum, through an article that I wrote for this column and through other media, found that the Frazier article was strongly offensive to southern readers. In their characteristic spirit of fairness they wired me for an answer to the Frazier article and have cordially granted the privilege to The Constitution to reproduce it, as follows:

* * * *

Race Prejudice in the South.

(Mr. Sam W. Small, Washington editor of "The Atlanta Constitution," makes answer to Edward Franklin Frazier, author of "The Pathology of Race Prejudice" in the June Forum.)

Editor of The Forum:

That there is race prejudice against the negro among the southern people needs neither confession nor apology. It has existed since the negro came among us and will persist while whites and negroes dwell side by side in a southern environment. Pathology can not diagnose it and psychology can not overcome it. And there is no indication of insanity in it, as was claimed by Edward Franklin Frazier in the June Forum. The psychogenesis of it is instinctive race repulsion and the function of it is the inhibition of inter-racial social equality. If one probes that prejudice anywhere from the Potomac to the Rio del Norte he will find the core is enmity to social equality. All else about it is husk.

Prior to the civil war and negro emancipation there existed in the south only the instinctive race repulsion already mentioned, accentuated by the relation of master and slave. There was no apprehension that the negro would develop a white equality complex. The white mass kept its solidarity by affinity and race pride; the negro mass lived, moved, and reacted under the control of the race that it accepted as superior and dominant. In those pre-war times we knew of social equality only through the stories brought back to us from the north, and they sounded abnormal and revolting.

After the civil war and emancipation, the whole aspect of racial relations underwent sudden and direful changes. The southern people realized that the bonds of interest and authority that had previously subsisted between the races were broken forever. Each race sensed the fact that thereafter it must be sufficient unto itself. Had they been left unagitated from without to find a modus vivendi, they would have found it early in terms of confidence, interdependence, and peace. But that adjustment was not permitted. Political readjusters, carpetbag cormorants, and religious communists descended from the north upon the negro. The methods they used to win his confidence, embitter him against the southern whites, and fire him with a rage to "put the black heel upon the white neck" are so historic as to make their recital here superfluous. The concrete effect of them is the main thing.

The experiences of that southern "reconstruction" era fixed all future relations between the races in the south. Since then "white supremacy" has become with us as cardinal a principle as any in science or religion. The casual observer or political thinker is apt to classify that principle as a political one only; but the warp of it is social in substance and strength. Constitutional, legal, and political equality of the races are now normal acceptances by the southern whites. But anything tending to set up any form of social equality of the races at once arouses elemental resistance and that resistance can be forced even unto blood.

The contention that race prejudice is the cause of negro disfranchisement in the southern states is wholly untenable. There is not in the constitution or the electoral laws of any state in the south a shred of discrimination against the negro as a voter.

The lynching in the south of more negroes than whites is preferred as proof of race prejudice having a psychosis of insanity. That theory is ridiculous. A lynching that would be an act of insanity would be a guiltless act; but a lynching is never anywhere an act of insanity. The writer, during a newspaper career of more than half a century, has witnessed and reported five mob lynchings in the south. Two of the victims were white and three were negroes. In each case, the mob pulsed with a common feeling of intolerable outrage and acted with the common purpose to execute an earned penalty without awaiting the leaden-footed operation of the community's legal machinery. Lynching anywhere in our country is criminal and indefensible. That more lynchings occur in the south than in other regions is true. The fact is obviously explicable. In the south more negroes commit crimes that incite mobs and the negroes that are lynched are executed because of their crimes, and not because of their color.

Again, the denouncers of race prejudice among southern whites might enlighten popular understanding by explaining this paradox, to wit: We are told that southern race prejudice "paces the floor and curses" when it is proposed to appropriate public money to negro schools, yet in the

last quarter of a century white authorities in the south have quintupled appropriations to negro schools and the total annual allocations now run into nine large figures.

What is needed in a discussion of race prejudice in the south is not a pathological thesis, but practical investigation and an honest appraisal of facts. To a verdict so arrived at, the southern whites will frankly confess.

Often in reading the essays of those who assign to race prejudice all uncomfortable circumstances in which a negro may find himself in the south, one is moved to ask why no mention is ever made of race prejudice in the make-up of the negro. Has he none? Is his mind free from antipathy to the white race. Is it perfectly impartial in weighing the rights and relations of the two races! We in the south know. We have no illusions respecting that phase of the interracial problem.

The conclusion must be that, in the south at least, as long as white is white and black is not white, the race prejudice that preserves our system of civilization from social equality of the races will be adamantine.

SAM W. SMALL.

Frazier Loses His Job.

It may be interesting to our readers to know that the Atlanta colored managers of the school of social service, as soon as they learned the contents of the Frazier article, promptly called for his resignation. He gave it and immediately left the city for his former home in Baltimore. Arrived there he had his picture printed in the negro newspaper of that city with the ludicrous and grossly false statement that he had been "run out of Atlanta by the Ku Klux Klan!"

Frazier's specialty, evidently, is extravagant fiction instead of pathology!

The Negro And United States Court Decisions

By ARTHUR A. SCHOMBERG

12/31/27

The United States Supreme court is the final interpreter of our constitutional laws, a kind of governor on legislative laws enacted by our Congress; lately very dignified and discriminating in its taste turning down or refusing to interpret the judgment of decisions by state courts coming to it by attorneys in desperate traits for relief, under the ruling that it does not contravene the 13th, 14th or 15th Amendments to the Constitution. The cases that can now come before this Tribunal are limited by a new ruling adopted by the present Chief Justice Taft.

The Negro does not look to this ultimate court for any relief; somewhat like Milton's Paradise Lost—it is way up into the clouds for him. He remembers the Dred-Scott case and Chief Justice Taney with his pithy remark and famous decision, that so far as the Negro was with us as a slave, his life did not concern the white man in the least and nothing he did outside the domain of labor as a beast of burden was he bound to respect. The conditions of life that obtained during that time were not enhanced by the slave owner doing anything for his charge, except that in the general run of things he was more debased and metamorphosed into being a bearer of burden and a weaver of wealth for his masters. The opinion of Justice Taney in the reflective light of today was in keeping with the intelligence and practice of the land owners of that day. In those days the poor savage had no friends at court, here or elsewhere, a divine or men of the "cloth" who would put his head above the cloisters to voice or express himself in terms of pity soon was the target for the slave owners. When the triumvirate of English men headed by Granville Sharp took up the cudgels in defense of the "benighted savage," the howl and temper of merowning slaves was something fearful, full of damnation and this wascast on the Rev. James Ramsay, author of "An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of Africanslaves in the British Sugar Colonies," which caused a profound sensation, the malediction of all slaveowners was cast on his soul. Thisbook is like water to a thirsty Pilgrim even today after the emberof that conflict have been envelopedin the dust of the past.

So that "ever and anon" theUnited States Supreme court hasrendered its statutory decisions, thecolored man has looked at it witha feeling of curiosity. He would asment selected with the greatesthimself, here are nine representatives, the highest in mind developedcare because of their learning in the law and jurisprudence. Yet seldom do they agree on questions brought before them for review. Why cannot the nation which is sovereign create a tribunal that will review the questions of life and death. In a republic like the United States, where the rights of man should receive the highest consideration that humanity has at its disposal, is now inadequately handled. Nowhere else in the world can you find a nation wearing the mantle of civilization where individuals are ruthlessly lynched without any process of law whatever. From the time of the Dred-Scott case through the Slaughter House cases down to the U. S. vs. Hodges (203. U. S.) where the Attorney-General of the United States expressed himself in the following language. "The war of the races is no longer a sectional war; it is as bitter in the state of Chase and Giddings as it is in the state of Arkansas. If the Negro who is in our midst can be denied the right to work and must live on the outskirts of civilization, he will become more dangerous than the wild beasts, because he has a higher intelligence than the wild beasts. He will become an outcast lurking about the borders and living by depredation." (p. 14) God Save the mark!

There is consolation to know there is with us men of sterling worth with the spirit of God in their make-up whose indefatigable services to the cause of humanity make them shine like stars at night, Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall. In these days when friends are few and the days work uncertain, we may pause to reflect in the future and band ourselves to withstand the shock that from time we are bound to receive from unexpected quarters.

We are reminded of the great services rendered to the cause of the Abolition of Slavery in the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico by the eminent Cuban, Rafael Maria de Labra, while representing these islands in the Spanish Parliament for more than a decade. He has left to posterity considerable literary work that does justice to his head and heart.

In Pinar del Rio, Cuba Jose Belran, a Negro, carried his complaint to the Governor General of Cuba during the year 1885, a respectful document against the owner of a cafee house who did not permit colored people to enjoy the services. The Governor declared on June, 1885, that except for scandalous behavior or analogous circumstances they could not prohibit persons of color the free entrance and circulation in public places nor in establishments which serve the public can be retrieved at pleasue." Another case in point is that of Francisco Bonet and Antonino Rojas, during the same year took their grievance to the Governor-General of the island requesting that the children of the colored race be admitted to the municipal schools of Habana and all other parts of the island. The Governor on November 16, 1893, in agreement to what was declared during November 24th, 1878, in favor of the aptitude of persons of the Negro race to be admitted to the secondary schools and the professional institutions and the University decreed to the regional and provincial governors, the necessity that the colored children be readily admitted to the referred municipal schools of the island. "Much more so, when the government enforces itself to procure with generous perseverance the wish not for the perfect legal equality by no one denied nor discussed between the expressed race and the white, but an equality real, positive and practical in the order of the general relations of the social life. It implies a sentiment unjustifiable to sustain inequality in the schools of primary instruction plants created and set aside for the gathering and meeting place where the children of different races may learn and grow expontaneous and natural, noble and frank in sentiments of equality that will be jewels of mutual consideration and respect during the ulterior course of life, and far what in favor of a separation and selection, not Christians, or just or prudent at any rate should be reborn vigorous in the new white generation; these are absurd preoccupations because unfortunate in wealth and aged before time to the opportunities. The colored children set apart to a title of inferior condition, outside the fair treatment and association of the whites will grow and form themselves into a depressed moral state which will make difficult and resist the complete effort to dignify and elevate to a general culture sentiments and aspirations of the alluded race."

Now we have the protest of colored people to the difficulty of the railroad of Marianao, Cuba. On September 18, 1887, when the company wanted to imitate the southern states of the Confederacy in its jim-crow laws. They were much concerned over keeping the colored brother from rubbing elbows on the cars and ruled that persons of the colored race could not be admitted to the first-class coaches. But the Government, not commissioners, courts of claims, circuit galleries, appellate tribunals, etc., and the red tape customs we have to evade responsibility, professors of sophistry, and counsellors of casuistry; the government ruled that the railroad could not prohibit the persons of color from riding in the first-class coaches of the railroads. "This rule must be applied indistinctly to all persons who travel regardless to what race he may belong." Thereafter the societies of Colored people in Cuba took the matter up to the government and caused it to come clean, stating in unequivocal language, and having it engrossed in its organic laws "that in the future, there should not be established in public documents any difference of race whatever." To these cases the delinquents did not submit tamely, it was necessary to put teeth into the law and the insistence of forcing the issue and hitting hard wherever the head of malice showed up. Cuba has had its executive committee of the societies of the colored race to take a stand in defense of its members.

Rafael Maria de Labra was the outspoken defender of the rights of the colored people in and out of season. He fought in the ranks and as president of the Spanish Abolition Society and brought about the freedom of the enslaved colored people of Porto Rico when the island was a province of Spain during the reign of Amadeo I, during the year 1873 and for Cuba under Alphonso XII in 1884.

Years afterward the various societies of Colored People of Cuba, through its executive committee, the estimable Juan Gualberto Gomez, a man of color presiding, took up a voluntary subscription representing every phase of the colored people to purchase an object of art by the notable sculptor, Picault, which was of bronze and marble. It symbolized the genius of liberty and the inscription read, "To the Apostle of Freedom, Rafael Maria de Labra, from the societies of the Colored Race through its Executive Committee, January 1, 1894."

The expressed sentiments by the committee that waited on Senor Labra said, "It is notoriously known in Spain and in all parts of the civilized world the many sacrifices the humanitarian labor has cost you fighting sometimes alone against all difficulties and obstacles that seemed insuperable. A disinterested defender before the tribunal of justices, before the Parliament and in all parts where it was necessary to be present for civil and social equality can be translated in the efficacious declaration of positive facts. Your triumphs in the supreme court, not so noisy as in the Cortes but of great transcendence in Cuba for the colored race, they give credit to an unquenchable perseverance in the most noble and disinterested undertakings. The name of Labra has an altar in the hearts of each Spanish of African origin and this is what the statue represents."

Senor Labra paid a glorious tribute to the memory of two pioneer colored school masters: Antonio Medina, a persevering poet who was born at Habana on July 13, 1824, the author of "Lodoiska," a drama in verse and in five acts, another set to music called the Guajiro Generoso, still another, Jacobo Girondi, in three acts in verse, and before he died had still written La Maldicion and La Hija del Pueblo; the other school master was Rafael Cordero of San Juan, Porto Rico, who taught many white children for more than 50 years. One of the few principal streets of the city bears his name. On receiving the gift, Labra's words are worthy of remembrance by our own people. "It is impossible to eliminate from the Cuban people the element of color that signifies so much in the history of that country during the last hundred years, their undertaking would be as vain as it is criminal. If by any concept or pretext they could

Race Problem - 1927

United States.

CHATTANOOGA

TENNESSEE

pretend to elude the law of human solidarity, converting the work of rehabilitation in a work of exclusiveness and in a machine of race against race."

The decision of the U. S. Supreme court placing Chinese children in Negro schools shows how far the Chinese nation has fallen from national grace in the eyes of the American people. Thousand years ago, long before Marco Polo visited them and found a culture and civilization far above anything he had seen in the West, that must have existed in the hoary past. Long before Europe knew anything at all of polite and civil society. Julius Caesar came late in his visit to Albion to beat it into the heads of the American progenitors, even the Pope in Rome could not understand their debasement. In those days, no nation would have affronted the descendants of Mandarins; but today, it is a dangerous thing not to be potential in national spirit.

But these things are only temporal, they will not last forever, mutatis mutandis even decisions of courts will take place in keeping with the changes that come through discovery. Just as science has to adopt itself to the new discoveries so will other branches do likewise. A republic "for the people and by the people" cannot consistently evade its high responsibilities that its citizens at one point are full fledged and at another point divested of these attributes. If men are American citizens by virtue of the Constitution, then there cannot be any doubt of their equality before the law whether they are black as ebony or white as alabaster and until the Supreme court comes over and tell us that, the colored man will look with curiosity at all the "deep stuff."

Therefore, it is pleasurable to pay our meed of tribute to Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall, men who grace the temple of jurisprudence by their personal charm, imbued spirit of the law as expressed by Hooker and above all God fearing men, whose defense of the rights of colored people has met with merited reward in winning by sheer will of pure logic and clear interpretation of the constitutional laws some semblance of right which we trust in days to come will find determined and courageous followers in our ranks who will sit at the feat of a Grotius or Justinian.

We hope that the eminent services these men have rendered to the cause of the down-trodden Negro race in America, we can also find a way to express our gratitude in like manner as the colored people of Cuba paid to their benefactor, Rafael Maria de Labra, whose gratitude will always be remembered by [illegible] school children because of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The South and the Fifteenth Amendment

Of late, the dripping wets of the east have made a surprising discovery. They have discovered that there is a fifteenth amendment to the United States constitution. In their surprise at finding it there, they thought to have discovered in what they vociferously allege as the South's "nullification" of the fifteenth, a new argument to sustain their own nullification of the eighteenth.

Thus there has been an avalanche of publicity from wet centers—speeches in congress, in barrooms and on the stump, editorials in wet newspapers and resolutions by the propaganda organizations actively at work trying to make it appear moral to flout the constitution and violate federal law. The purpose of this hardly accidental coincidence of wet suggestion is to threaten the South. In effect, the liquorites and Tammanyites declare to the South: "You are nullifying the fifteenth amendment. So we propose to continue nullifying the eighteenth. If you insist on enforcing the latter, we will see to it that the fifteenth is enforced, and negro domination established throughout the South."

If the postulate were founded on fact, the threat would have strong moral foundation. Certainly the South cannot defend nullification, whatever the subject or the source. There is an inherent and profound dishonesty in an individual—or a state, or a geographical section—averring belief in, respect for and intention to enforce the constitution, and meaning thereby intention to enforce only such sections of the constitution as the individual or section affected happens to approve, while ignoring others and wilfully nullifying them and causing them to be of no effect.

The trouble with this perverted type of "respect" for the constitution is that anyone can play the same game. The wets of the East can sneer at the prohibition amendment and wilfully nullify it, if the South nullifies the fifteenth. A reactionary administration could close its eyes to the first amendment, and suspend the guarantees of free press and free speech.

It will not do, this theory of every man his own constitution-maker. There must be some central source of stating the basic law, in order for conflict to be avoided. With the United States, that central source is the federal government. The law is enacted by the legislative branch. It is tested as to its conformity with the constitution by the United States Supreme Court. A recent study of the decisions of this body, the nation's highest source of law and justic, reveals that the wets' attempted parallel between the fifteenth and eighteenth amendments will not hold water. In a strict sense of the word, the South is not nullifying the fifteenth amendment at all.

This amendment was a by-product of the passions of Reconstruction. The same Congress which impeached and lacked but one vote of convicting President Andrew Johnson for the "crime" of ousting a disloyal and unfit secretary of war from his cabinet, passed the amendment. It secured ratifications from the requisite number of states only by the severest pressure; and in some of the Southern carpetbag legislatures by bribery and debauchery defying description.

The amendment established as a rule of suffrage that no citizen should be deprived of his right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In the South today, no negro is deprived of his right to vote on any of the three of the conditions cited. There is no Southern statute which says that a black man shall not vote. There is no Southern statute which says that a member of the negro race shall not vote. There is no Southern statute which says that a former slave, or the descendant of a former slave, shall not vote.

In addition to this, the election laws at present in force in the states of the South are in exact conformity to the decisions of the United States supreme court. Were they not so, they could not remain in effect. The tests which are applied to the voting privilege are applied to white and black alike. The property qualifications, poll taxes, registration requirements, educational tests, which apply to one apply to the other. And so we say, that in the view of the highest court of the land, the South's election laws do not violate the fifteenth amendment. The threat of the eastern wets is based on a false premise, and falls to the ground.

In another column, we are printing a more extended discussion of the South and the fifteenth amendment. It is an article by the editor of The News, in the Forum magazine for December, written at the request of the editor of the Forum, touching this very point. It should be pointed out that we have no desire to defend nullification of any sort. The Forum article is written from an objective standpoint, to describe the facts of the case, to tell exactly what election laws the South has, to show the Supreme Court's decisions, and to give facts as to how the negro actually votes. The article does not discuss the author's own subjective attitude toward the subject of Southern treatment of the colored race.

Although believing, as we have stated, that no Southern state nullifies the fifteenth amendment, we distinctly favor according the negro a greater measure of political participation than he now exercises. For years The News has urged political economic and legal justice for the colored race in the South. We have not failed to denounce lynching, and we have not failed to point out to the South what a shortsighted policy would be to treat the negro with such inequality that the better educated, more intelligent and more competent of the younger generation would have the urge to leave the Southern states.

We do not believe that a negro should be paid any less than a white man for an equivalent amount of work, any more than we believe that a woman should be paid less than a man for doing the same job with equal skill. Equal pay for equal skill and equal productivity is merely justice.

There is a distinctly new attitude in the South toward the negro. For decades the negro as an individual has been treated more kindly in the South than elsewhere. As a race, he may have secured a better legal status elsewhere. But today in the South he is being better treated as a race, perhaps because of this section's growing economic need of retaining him.

But, whatever the cause, we are confident that the South is going to accord more and more a full measure of legal justice, economic equality and political participation to the negro race. We believe firmly that this is the path the South must pursue.

We do not believe that the negro in the past has always received fair treatment in the South. We do believe that the negro will be better treated in the future. But regardless of the Southern attitude toward the negro, we positively affirm that no Southern state in any way nullifies any provision of the fourteenth or fifteenth or any other amendment to the Constitution. The wets may storm and threaten, but they can not get around that cold, hard fact.

Let Us Be Fair To The Negro

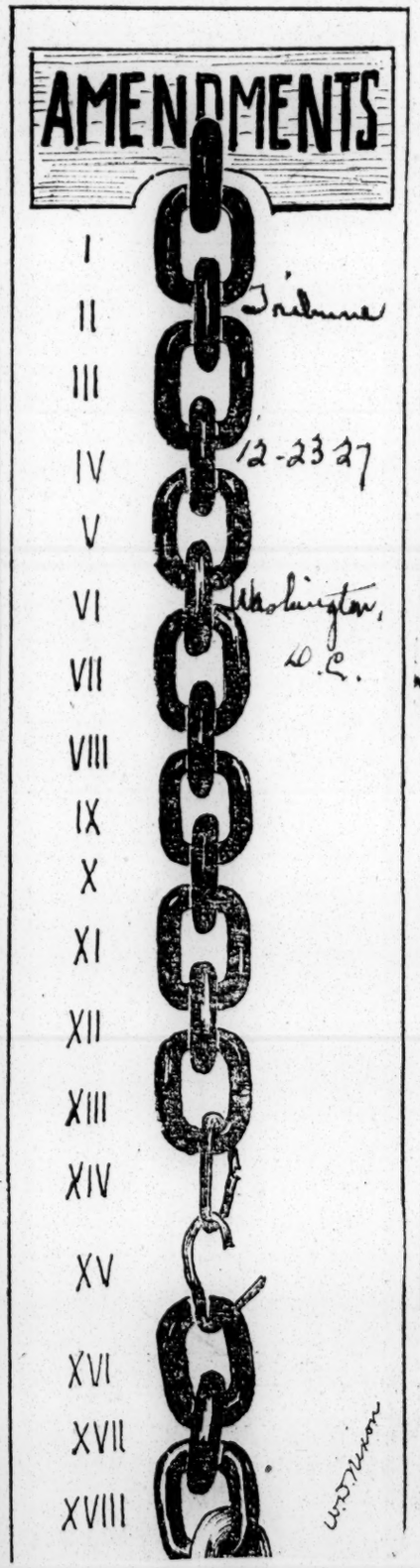
Nothing is easier than to charge the members of the colored race with crime wherever they live in large numbers. How many times they have been made to suffer for deeds of their white fellows no record has been kept to tell us. We are glad to reproduce the words of the head of Tuskegee, Major Moton, relative to this long and cruel injustice. This is what he says:

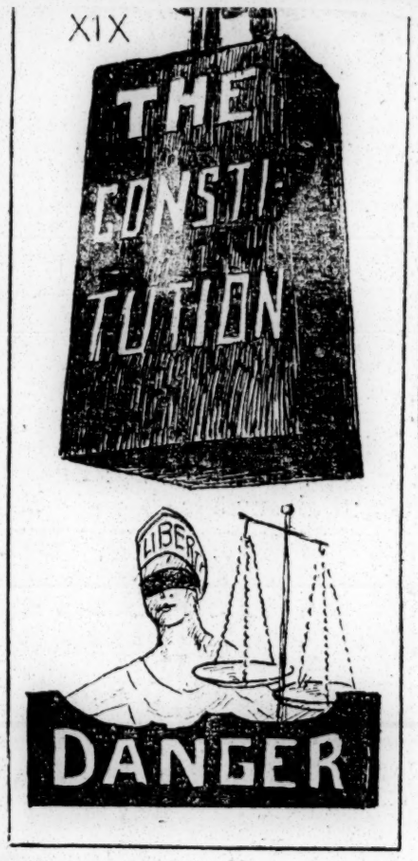
It is a common occurrence that when a crime is committed in a community where there is a considerable number of Negroes, the first utterance on the part of the excited citizens is, "Get the Negro." And as a result the real criminals have sometimes gained sufficient time to cover up their tracks while the officers of the law and infuriated citizens are the all too willing victims of this time-worn ruse. And this applies, as the evidence shows, to Michigan as well as Georgia, to the North as well as the South.

Very justly has it been said, "The Negroes are weak and to a great extent helpless. But they have no more of a criminal tendency than several other elements in our population." Far less so than some.

DEC 21927

No Stronger Than Its Weakest Link





TRUTH ABOUT DISFRANCHISEMENT

The Age. 12.24,27
New York, N.Y.

Not so many months ago a symposium of the views of Southern Governors, engineered by that [illegible] evangelist, Sam Small, was published in the New York World on the subject of disfranchisement of Negro voters. All of these executives of sovereign states in the South, prompted by their evangelistic spokesman, strenuously denied that disfranchisement was practiced within the borders of their respective commonwealths, or more accurately the rotten boroughs over which they held jurisdiction. Of course, these denials deceived no sensible readers, including the editors of the paper which printed them.

Since this attempt at hypocritical evasion of the facts by the reverend evangelist and his gubernatorial accomplices, a spirit of more candid admission of the facts of disfranchisement appears to have obtained in the Southland. Only a few weeks ago we had Senator Glass of Virginia defiantly defending the annulment of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, while inconsistently advocating the enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment. Former Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, in his North Carolina newspaper, continues to insist upon the exclusion of the Negroes from the privilege of the ballot, in order to keep the state safe for Democracy. So the evangelist and his governors are confuted from their own side of the house.

What is probably a saner and more restrained admission of the truth about disfranchisement is revealed in an article by George Fort Milton, a white Southerner, writing in the December number of the Forum magazine. He admits frankly that the Negro has been disfranchised by legal devices in the Southern States. As he delicately put it, these states "succeeded in limiting the effectiveness of Negro suffrage . . . By hedging the voting privilege with conditions and qualifications which force the citizen who desires to vote to undertake affirmative steps involving considerable trouble. . . . Legally, the Negro is not debarred from voting, practically, however, he is debarred very effectively."

Mr. Milton would have his readers believe that the black voters are not denied the franchise as a race, "but for the most part, however, as a class, which in common with certain whites, cannot meet the requirement imposed." This is mere hairsplitting, which means that in the larger centres of population, a limited number of colored residents may be permitted to vote, their number being kept so small as not to figure in the returns. As to the certain whites who cannot meet the requirement imposed, that is another device to limit the number of voters to those included in the ruling oligarchy. When disfranchisement is so simple a matter, it can be used against whites as well as blacks.

But Mr. Milton's goes further and reports that he has discovered a "new Southern attitude" toward the Negro, shown in letters from leaders in several states. His own attitude is stated as follows:

> Many Southerners like myself favor a greater exercise of the franchise by the Negro throughout the South, believing that he would be a greater asset if he were trained for political, legal and economic equality with the whites. But I confess freely that the voting Negro in cities which have come under my observation, maintaining corrupt and unfit men in power.
>
> But there are hopeful features in this situation. Intelligent and educated Negroes show an increasing tendency to revolt against casting their ballots in block at the bidding of a local political machine. As Negro education increases, as his economic condition improves, the Negro will undoubtedly show a greater tendency to pay his own poll tax, qualify under the law, make up his own mind on political issues, and cast his vote. The next generation will inevitably see a great change in the condition of Negro suffrage in the South.

While this tentative attitude on the part of a thinking white Southerner does not presage any immediate or violent change in present conditions, it is indicative of a more logical comprehension of the effects of disfranchisement in its wider bearing on the community and the nation. Out of such a discussion, with a recognition of the harmful effect of the debarring of a large portion of the population from a voice in government, we may expect some good results. Republican institutions cannot survive the continued suppression of a free ballot and a fair count.

Race Problem- 1927
United States.

ONE WAY TRAFFIC

Writer Admits Negro Preacher Was "King" Of Race From Civil War To 1915; Blames "Jazz Age"

Says Time Was When People Paid Admissions to Hear Bishops and Ministers, But No More.

By WILLIAM H. FERRIS
Author "The African Abroad," Two Volumes

NEW YORK, Oct. 27.—Clarence Darrow's claiming that religion is a dope and H. L. Mencken claiming that the Negro pastor has made a botch of leading the Negroes since the Civil War has caused the Negro church to be weighed in the balance and to be inspected through the microscope.

Plank No. 13 of bulletin 2 of the Fourth Pan-African Congress reads as follows: "Where will the sessions of the fourth Pan-African Congress be held? With the possible exception of one evening meeting, these sessions will be held in the churches of uptown New York."

In his reply to Mr. Mencken in The Pittsburgh Courier, Rev. John W. Robinson, pastor of St. Mark's M. E. Church, New York, said: "It is still the colored pastor whose advice and influence is sought by the new professional men, the timorous business ventures and even such movements as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian associations, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, etc. In the recent effort to put Negro physicians in Harlem Hospital prominent colored pastors aided the cause. Where and whenever the interest of the race demands it, the Negro pastor can be depended upon to champion the interests of his group."

It is true that the Negro church has been the promoter of all kinds of uplifting movements during the past 100 years. Frederick Douglass cut his eye-teeth as an orator in the A. M. E. Zion Church of New Bedford, Mass. Dr. Booker T. Washington started Tuskegee Institute in a colored church. It was the colored churches that encouraged, financed and advertised practically all of the A. M. E. and A. M. E. Zion schools and colleges. It was the colored Methodist and Baptist churches that supported many of the missionaries and mission schools in Africa. The True Reformers' organization, the Metropolitan Realty Company of New York City, the Smyer Realty Company of Yonkers, N. Y.; the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian associations and various fraternal and benevolent organizations were mothered in the Negro church.

Wherever and whenever the colored National League of Boston, the Afro-American Council, the Equal Rights League, the N. A. A. C. P., the Urban League, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. have locked arms with the church they have flourished like the proverbial green bay tree. Wherever they have attempted to paddle their own canoe they have had a hard uphill road to travel. The Negro church is not only an ecclesiastical institution, but it is a powerful social organization. The Negro preacher, who is a man of capacity, character and courage, still has a larger following in the community than any other colored leader and is a recognized force in social, political and industrial movements as well as in religious movements.

For 50 years after the Civil War, from 1865 to 1915, while some Negro preachers lacked the required intellectual equipment and a few lacked the required character, the Negro preacher was on a whole the uncrowned king of the Negro race. While this is true, the Negro preacher does not now wield the sway as he did a generation ago. When I was a schoolboy and a college student, the colored minister was all-powerful. When [illegible]k Douglas spoke in the H[illegible] Theater of New Haven in a [illegible]idential campaign before a va[illegible] assemblage of both races in which the whites outnumbered the blacks two to one, Rev. A. P. Miller, a colored Congregational minister, presided. At the same time Rev. Mahlon Van Horne was a member of the Board of Education of Newport, R. I., and chairman of the textbook committee. When Bishop J. W. Hood of the A. M. E. Zion Church preached and when Bishop Abram Grant of the A. M. E. Church lectured in New Haven the daily newspapers sent reporters and gave over a column report of their sermons and lectures. When Bishop William H. Derrick lectured in the Charles Street A. M. E. Church of Boston over 1,000 people paid admission fee to hear him and scores were turned away. The church was crowded from the pulpit to the door 15 minutes before the meeting was formally opened. Bishop J. Albert Johnson told me how Bishops Wayman and Campbell were drawing cards as speakers at the famous camp meeting in Ocean Grove N. J. And the citizens of Salem Mass., told me how Bishop Henry Arnett spoke in the city park before thousands of people. Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom's Garrison centennial address was printed in full in nearly every Boston paper with big headlines. And, again, in the presidential campaign of 1900, when an advisory committee was appointed, the three colored men selected to serve on the advisory committee of the Republican national committee were ministers. They were Bishop Derrick, Rev. Ernest Lyons and Dr. Tompkins, pastor of the Presbyterian church.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the opening decade of the twentieth century, not only colored people would flock to hear a famous bishop or noted colored preacher speak, but white people would signally honor him. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., loved to hear Dr. C. T. Walker preach. But nowadays the people have no superstitious admiration for a minister or bishop, simply because he is a minister or bishop. Young people, crazed by jazz, are now deserting the church for the movie theater, the dance hall and the baseball park. The Negro world as well as the Caucasion world is slowly but gradually losing its blind adoration of the clergy.

(To be concluded. The next installment will discuss the Jazz Age and the Church.)

WHAT WE WANT

Recently the question has been asked through numerous publications: "Just what do the Colored people want?" It is asked as though there have been conflicting demands; as though the estimated 12,000,000 persons in this country are asking for things which are impossible of attainment—things to which they have no moral or civic right.

And the answer is, simply stated: "To be let alone." Defender

We want no law, no concession of any kind in which we are named as distinct and apart from all American citizens. The days of slavery are passed. The days when Chief Justice Taney might have been justified in rendering his now famous Dred Scot decision have also passed along with the things that inspired the decision. Even the freedmen's bureau, that altruistic organization that functioned so thoroughly, although sometimes questionably, immediately following the Emancipation Proclamation, has outlived its usefulness. We are American citizens now, and as American citizens are entitled to just what other American citizens get. That and no more. 10-8-27

And yet we have been the subject of more doubtful legislation than any other group of

people on this continent. Throughout the South there are laws prohibiting us from doing this or that in spite of the federal Constitution. We have laws that make for our discrimination, disfranchisement and constant humiliation. We have prohibitions that, upon their faces, stamp us as separate and distinct from American citizens. These are the things we do not want.

All we ask is the right to live our lives as others live theirs. We are tired of being constantly supervised by those who have neither our interest nor the interest of their country at heart. We ask for the right to work, to play, to eat and to sleep as men and women of America—and not as a subject people in America. We make no claims for any special brand of equality; rather, we want equality of opportunity to do that which we can best do to the interest of all concerned. We want the privilege of earning our money and spending it at our own pleasure and discretion. Our pride of race is secondary to our pride of citizenship—we want the race aspect forgotten altogether!

These are the things we want and must have. They are necessary to our complete development—and the progress of our country. We shall fight for the abolishment of every law in America that in any way mentions us as a race. We shall oppose every bit of legislation, every public speech that makes special reference to "The Negro" in America. For us, he does not exist. If we win this battle, we will have solved the race problem in America from its every aspect.

To America we say that we are here to stay. We shall consider no project of colonization either in or out of this country. We shall fight desperately every move for segregation and shall continue to strive against color barriers where they exist today. This statement is issued, not as a challenge, but as a direct answer to those who say they do not know what we want. And whether America shall always have a race problem, eating cancerlike, into her very soul, shall depend upon the attitude white America takes toward this declaration.

Finally, to those white men who wish to know what we want, our answer is for him to ascertain what he wants, and his answer to that is our answer to him! We hope we have made ourselves understood!

WON'T WORSHI A WHITE GO -KELLY MILLE

What Color Is He Then

Queries V. T. Calverton In Great Religious Debate

2,000 CROWD THEATRE TO HEAR SPEAKERS

Calverton Smiles At Us Worshipping White Man's God In His Church

PHILA., PA., (Staff Correspondence)—Two thousand persons crowded the Royal Theatre and for three hours Sunday afternoon listened to a debate on religion.

The subject was "Resolved, That Orthodox Christianity Is A Handicap to the Negro".

The speaker on the affirmative was V. T. Calverton, white, editor of The Modern Quarterly, world traveller and author.

Speaker on the negative side was Dean Kelly Miller, of Howard University.

Tribune

The meeting was sponsored by the Philadelphia Tribune and the audience gave $184 in cash and over $20 in pledges toward the Tribune's legal fund to fight segregation in the public schools.

Each speaker was given 40 minutes for his main argument and two rebuttal periods of five and ten minutes each. They were frequently interrupted by applause and both were given ovations when they concluded. There were no judges and there was no decision as to who had won the debate.

White Man's God

Mr. Calverton, the opening speaker, said that one of the absurdities of history was the sight of a colored man worshipping a white man's God in a white man's church.

The Negro, he said, took Christianity from the white man at a time when he had nothing else to take, but he made the mistake of taking it in "double doses".

The white man uses Christianity as a "dexterous tool," Mr. Calverton said, but the Negro, accepting Christainity as genuine has visions of heavenly choirs instead of organizing to fight existing segregation.

Little More Faith

Describing the recent dinner given by Opportunity Magazine in Newery. York, Mr. Calverton said the chorus of jubilee singers sang, "All We Need Is A Little More Faith In Jesus."

Really what the race needs, he admonished, is less faith in Jesus and a greater control of economic conditions.

Christianity on every occasion, he continued, is operated not to help the Negro, but to oppose him. Abraham Lincoln was not concerned about emancipation of the Negro except as it would save the union. Mr. Calverton quoted William Lloyd Garrison, the great abolitionist as saying: "Christianity is the main pillar of American slavery"

Promoted Slavery

The United States nearly had to abolish the Christian church to get rid of slavery, Mr. Calverton said.

"The Christian church not only protected, but promoted slavery Slave leaders quoted the Bible to prove slavery was a righteous institution," he said, "and Dixie pastors had hope of a kind of slavery in Heaven."

Other Worldliness

The whole trouble with Christianity and with religion in general said Mr. Calverton, is its other worldliness instead of this-worldliness Christianity, he said, was used by the ruling classes to make the common people satisfied with their lot, to give them beautiful dreams so as to blot out the hideous reality all about them.

Speaking in general of how Christianity had handicapped the world Mr Calverton cited a number of historical figures like Copernicus, Galileo, Sir Isaac Newton and Charles Darwin, scientist, persecuted by the Christian church, because the scientific truth they published was at variance with the Bible.

Kelly Miller's Reply

In his reply, Kelly Miller declared that if Christianity were a handicap in the world, how was it that the European Christian nations are at the head of the civilized world today.

Later Mr. Calverton answered this by saying that European civilization is due to its geographical location along trade routes and its climate ratehr than its Christianity.

Dean Miller said that Mr. Calverton had made the best possible defense for an impossible argument Segregation, he said, was not only unrighteous, but unchristianed and unholy.

Mistakes Of Science

Christianity, he said, has made mistakes, but so has science. He mentioned the fact that yellow fever was treated for many years as an infectious disease.

Christian leaders, he said, were not infallible. Moses couldn't wait for Copernicus and had to make use of the truth that he knew as common property.

Speaking of the mistakes that science has made, Dean Miller said that 10,000,000 persons laid down their lives in the recent World War for democracy.

Africans

If Christianity has been a handicap to the American Negro, he said why is it that Africans are so far behind?

Christianity, Dean Miller said, was responsible for the abolition of slavery.

"A man," he said, "can't be a slave and a Christian." The Negro's 350 years of servitude in the United States was a period of education. He learned to "overcome by undergoing". He learned that he is a sheep among wolves and must be as wise as a serpent and as harmless as a dove.

Passive Resistance

"He learned the doctrine of passive resistance and he must cling to it until he acquires strength to maintain himself by force."

Christianity, he said, enabled the slaves to bear the burdens of servitude while hoping for a better life hereafter. The dean quoted humorously the slave song, "Before I'll Be A Slave I'll Be Buried In My Grave and Go Home to My Lord and Be Free."

God Has No Color

God has no color, Dean Miller declared dramatically. "I do not worship a white God."

"God is a spirit," he quoted, "and those who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and truth."

"If God isn't white, what color is He?" countered Mr. Calverton in rebuttal. "According to the Scripture, God made man in His own image."

No Contribution

The difference between science and religion, Mr. Calverton said was that science had made contributions to the world and religion had made none.

It might be all right for Negroes to be meek and to feel that they would inherit the earth, but they didn't have very much to show for it at present.

Inheriting The Earth

In rebuttal Dean Miller declared that the Negro now occupies one of the fairest sections in New York City including a number of churches without laying a single brick or building a single building. He said this was an example of inheriting the earth, through meekness.

Christianity, he said, was responsible for the abolition of slavery and split the Christian church into northern and southern elements, the northern church being solidly for abolition and the southern church being solidly for slavery.

No Christian Spirit

Mr. Carvelton denied this, declaring the Christian spirit to be magical if it were responsible for the split in the Christian church during the Civil War.

"If the Christian spirit split the church", he said, "it was remarkable that the abolition Christian spirit went to the northern church and the slavery Christian spirit went to the southern church"

Christianity, he said, had nothing to do with it. The same economic differences which split the country, he said, were responsible for the split southern church."

Close Up All Churches

"I ask my learned opponent," Dean Miller declared, "what would happen in the United States if all the Christian churches, the Y. M. C. A.'s and other institutions responsible for dissemination of Christianity were closed up?

"You would be freed from this sort of exploitation," answered Mr. Calverton. "Common people must declare war on all exploiters. If you allow yourself to be duped you deserve the consequences."

Race Problem - 1927
United States

A Group Analysis of a Community Problem

NOT EVERY group discussion can travel the whole orb of clarification of issue, analysis and way out. Here is a brief sketch of a discussion in which a Sunday school class endeavored to come to grips with a current social situation. The problem which the teacher had set himself was that of opening up for class discussion a typical incident involving relations between young people across race lines. The proceedings are reported schematically in the hope that they may prove suggestive for the treatment of other subjects of this kind in similar circumstances:

Steps in the Discussion

1. *Getting the situation before the group.*

The instance reported was that of a boys' basketball team which had just played a team of colored boys. The game had been increasingly rough (the colored players having set a rough pace) and had ended with ill feeling. The question then was, What about further relations with this colored team? (A point emphasized at this stage was that the class should question the narrator in order to bring out a full picture of the situation.)

2. *Getting at the human and spiritual values that are at stake.*

The class was asked—

(a) What difference would it make to the colored boys whether relations were continued or not?

There might be mentioned—

(1) Their self-respect which would be hurt if they were turned down as Negroes.

(2) Their loyalty to the Negro group which would make them feel more than a personal stake in the matter.

(3) Their wider opportunities for play and social contacts.

(4) Their civic feeling as young Americans expecting "equal rights" with other boys.

(b) What difference would it make to the white boys whether relations were continued or not?

(5) Their feeling of being "superior" to Negroes would be emphasized if they broke off relations which the latter were ready to continue.

(6) The social approval of their own neighborhood, which was averse to intermingling across race lines.

(7) Their sense of being self-sufficient in following their own preferences.

(c) What difference would it make from the point of view of our religion whether relations were continued or not?

(8) The ideal of brotherhood looks to a sharing of experience regardless of race differences.

(9) The ideal of self-sacrifice looks to a willingness to accept relationships to others which may seem one-sided in advantages.

In the progress of the discussion, (a) each member of the class either mentioned or said something about one such "value." (b) He was encouraged to make clear exactly what he felt about it, mentioning any parallel in his own experience. (c) In asking about these values, the teacher began with one that is most easy to speak to—number 3 in the list. (d) The teacher drew attention to the wider setting whenever a speaker suggested it, as where items 2 and 3 brought in the opportunities for the whole Negro group in the community.

3. *Drawing out helpful distinctions.*

The teacher listened for any points that invited thinking about *change* in people and circumstances. For example, in discussing the hurt to self-respect if white boys are disinclined to play with a rough Negro team, he got the class to think just what makes the colored boys rough—is it because they are Negroes? or because they haven't had the coaching that white boys get? So, in discussing the neighborhood disapproval of "intermingling" between the races, he got the class to think about possible conditions which would still draw lines that the neighborhood might accept, but that would be more liberal than the lines now drawn. Again, in discussing the bearing of New Testament maxims on the matter, he got some thinking from the class on the comparative gains as between taking a modest liberal step in which "your fellows go with you" and taking a more radically *ideal* step in which you "dare to stand alone." His effort throughout was to draw attention to the values and correct uses of "social imagination."

CLARENE DARROW, THE BROTHER

By Ella Albert Brown, A. B.
(Preston News Service

It is indeed very strange ,that members of our group should have an y feelings but those of gratitude for Clarence Darrow, the noted criminal lawyer, and champion of the oppressed. But this seems to be the case, from the many criticisms we read concerning his religious beliefs. Of what concern is it to us, whether he be agnostic, Jew, Mohammedan or Christian, if he extends a helping hand to those in need of assistance? The days of religious intolerance are long past and the privilege of believing or not believing is a personal liberty. Mr. Darrow does not say he does not believe, he simply doubts, and the poet says, "There is more faith in honest doubt, than is contained in half your creeds.

The thing that should be of greatest concern to our group, is, what the man does for us and not what the man believes. That he has championed or cause, at the risk of his popularity and almost his life, is of greatest moment. The friendship of one such man is worth the hatred of a dozen so-called Christians, who know not the fatherhood of God nor the brotherhod of man, and do not believe in fair play. Let us ask ourselves this one question, What can any man possibly gain by befriending the Negro? We have nothing to give him. He has all to lose and absolutely nothing to gain, so it must be only sincere compassion or a keen sense of justice that prompts him to plead our cause.

A recent Nordic speaker, refering to Mr. Darrow, said, "Darow talks like a monkey, acts like a monkey and will die like a monkey." If this be tue, oh, for more Nordic monkeys with the courage to stand up and defend publicly those who are despised and rejected of men.

Race Wars—An Ever Present Danger

The danger of a race war in Chicago produced by the unscrupulous campaigns waged by the democrat and republican party politicians preceding the recent election brings forward sharply the constant menace created by the friction between Negroes and whites in America. Daily Worker

The capitalists themselves love the sight of white worker competing with black worker for a job. The poisonous doctrine of the racial inferiority of the Negro with which the white working class has been fed is relied upon to set in motion a whole stream of prejudice which will prevent unity against the common enemy—the capitalist. But prejudiced as many white workers are it is nevertheless true that racial hatred is less deep-seated in the workers than in any other class in modern society.

William Pickens, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, out of his wide experience with workers of the black and white races, says: 4-8-27

"Contrary to the popular superstition about the attitude of the 'poor whites' toward the Negro, I find the white working people more open to the claim of unqualified equality for colored working pepole than are any other classes of American whites. One gets this impression if he speaks in their forums or confers in their other meetings. New York N.Y.

"In addition, Negro labor is becoming more and more organized, co-operative and articulate, and is offering greater and greater resources of power to any Negro movement that will include them. And American colored people are still laborers in greater proportion than are the people of the white race. An active concern in the industrial and other economic interests of this people will enlarge the power of any organization."

The ally of the white working class in the struggle against oppression is the Negro working class which is still more oppressed. The most powerful ally of the Negro masses in their struggle for social, economic and political equality is the masses of white workers whose social status differs in degree but not in kind.

The American labor movement could make no greater immediate progress than by abolishing all bars—open and secret—against the Negro workers' entry to the unions. It is the experience in unions where black and white meet on the common ground of unity against the capitalist and his government agencies that it is here the racial lines tend to disappear most rapidly.

"The Unity of Labor is the Hope of the World," and today this includes, as Lenin pointed out, all who are oppressed by the crushing weight of imperialism—workers and farmers, white, brown, black and yellow.

The struggle between black and white workers in America will be replaced by a common struggle against the exploiters of both—the American capitalist class. Unity in labor's most elementary struggles is the first step toward unity in the political struggle.

NEW YORK NEWS

ISSUE OF

FEB 27 1927

GUS LANGEN.

THE COLOR LINE.

Brooklyn: I am a colored man of good education. I also am a pretty good blacksmith, plumber, etc., theoretically and practically. But no one wants a colored mechanic. How do you expect me to treat your American brothers when I go back home? And there are quite a few over there, with the same purpose as I am here. You all blame a man for not becoming a citizen. But if you don't want the colored man, why not stop him from becoming a citizen, as you do with the Chinese?

COLORED DUTCHIE.

ACCIDENT.

RACE PREJUDICE IN THE NORTH

IT is common knowledge that wherever Negroes have settled or migrated in large numbers to the North race prejudice has increased. It is also the common belief that this prejudice is more intense among native Americans than among the foreigners who come to our shores. In the South where the percentage of native Americans is higher than elsewhere race prejudice is the more intense.

Following or preceding the Negro to the North there went a large number of his white brethren seeking economic and other advantages, but carrying with them their racial prejudices, and their natural capacity and propensity for scattering it.

Many of the disorders, the riots of the North which have shocked the nation and stripped democracy of its meaning, have been traceable, it is reported, to the Southern white immigrant, who sedulously fanned the fires of racial passion.

The congested districts of the large Northern cities, with their lack of civic facilities, the excessive rents demanded of Negro tenants, the lack of employment, the low wages for men and women, the restricted areas conspire against the peace of the community, and conduce to the barbarous manifestation of primitive passions.

Its theological effect upon the Negro is a very sad feature. He inveighs against a Christianity that permits a Washington, Chicago, or a Detroit riot. He scorns Nordic preaching in the light of Nordic practice, and is estranged from a Nordic God and a Nordic Jesus. He despairingly inquires, "What's the use?"

Shortly after the riots in Detroit, twelve men—six white and six colored—were appointed as a race commission to study the causes and to make report. They found the housing condition of the Negro intolerable. They found that three times as much crime was committed by Negroes as by other groups. They found that policemen killed Negro criminals whenever they were moved to do so, and that no policeman was ever called to account for it. They found that some anti-racial habits imported from the South by Negroes kept the crime rate high. They also found one bright spot—the superior educational advantages of the Negro, albeit the great majority of their teachers were white. Summing up this situation the Christian Century of date of May the twelfth concludes:

> Out of such social investigations it is possible to draw more than one theological conclusion and one of them is that the natural virtue of man has been greatly overestimated. We are after all but partially emancipated from barbarism and the most primitive passions and most childish motives inform most human action. Race prejudice is one of the greatest challenges to the spirit of real Christianity. The whole validity of the Christian faith is in the balance as men try to solve the race problem. Eeither there is in Christ neither white nor black or the whole Christian faith becomes absurd. There is no single panacea for the eliminatiin of race prejudice in modern life, but it is apparent that religious education must busy itself with this moral problem to a much greater extent than in the past if we are really to produce Chrisitan conduct in race relations. At present there is no Christian uniqueness in this area of life at all. It may be possible to identify a Christian by his sobriety and continence but never by his freedom from race prejudice. As a matter of fact the protestant church has been so curiously involved with Nordicism that religion has frequently aggravated rather than allayed race feeling. If young men and women are tired of the drabness of life and are looking for romance, here is a field where they can find it. Let anyone tackle this problem earnestly and the whole Christian religion becomes romantic once more, filled with the romance of danger, risks, discovery and creation.

Race Problem - 1927
United States.

Davison-Paxon-Stokes Wants Your Trade

Many of our group think that when a merchant moves from the Whitehall shopping district to the new Peachtree shopping district, that they do not want Colored trade. That's all a mistake. Every merchant who advertises in the Atlanta Independent wants Colored trade, and the fact that his ad appears in our columns is proof positive that in business he knows no color line.

The Davison-Paxon Company affiliated with Macy of New York especially invites the Colored trade. In fact, this great house is the pleasing store, and in treatment and trade knows no race, color or creed. But wants everybody's business who have money to spend for first-class goods and service.

Davison-Paxon Company is thoroughly imbued with the Macy idea that the customer is always right and knows what he wants. If you want New York prices and Parisian styles, you don't have to go to New York or Paris, just go to Davison-Paxon Company, affiliated with Macy of New York, corner of Peachtree and Ellis streets, Atlanta, Ga. This is the largest store in the South, or, in other words, it is New York's most fashionable shopping district, located in Atlanta.

Whitehall Street

Whitehall is still the heart of Atlanta's fashionable district and the merchants there who have always catered to Colored trade, in common with other trade, by advertising in the Atlanta Independent, still invite your trade. When you see an ad in a Colored paper, that merchant wants your trade. Merchants who do not advertise in Negro papers are not particular about Negro trade, but big merchants, dependable merchants and honest merchants advertise in all classes of newspapers, whether daily, weekly, race, fraternal, civic or labor because their institution is a public institution, and they want the trade of everybody.

Among our friends in the old reliable Whitehall shopping district who still appreciate and invite your trade are Keely Company, M. Rich & Bros., J. M. High Co., H. G. Lewis Co., Chamberlin-Johnson-DuBose Co., Parks-Chambers Co., Sterchi Furniture Co., Fred S. Stewart Shoe Co., Jacobs' Pharmacy, Randall Bros. Coal Co., L. F. M. and Effrons.

Don't forget these old friends when you have money to spend. Like Davison-Paxon Co., affiliated with Macy of New York, they have the best in the markets in their line, and all invite and appreciate your busines. Trade with the people who invite your business in the newspapers you read.

H. L. Mencken and Half Truths

IF IT IS THE DUTY of a columnist to stir up a hornets' nest every once in a while, H. L. Mencken, the editor of the American Mercury Magazine, who writes in the Sunday World under the heading, "Hiring a Hall," will go down in history as one of the world's greatest columnists. Mencken attacked the Negro preacher last Sunday week in pretty strong language, and for the next few weeks he may expect to receive numerous one-way tickets to perdition. In part, he said:

> He (meaning the Negro prachers) has led the race since the Civil War and he has made a dreadful botch of it. His influence today, though it is fast declining, is still for the bad. Those Negroes who follow him remain ignorant and ridiculous: Nothing comes out of them save moans.

NOT ONLY did Mencken thus assure himself of a one-way ticket to hell, for it is fast becoming apparent that he will be made some sort of an official when he gets there; that is, if the Rev. Dr. John W. Robinson, pastor of St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, has anything to do with it. The Rev. Dr. Robinson, in his Sunday morning sermon, detected a cloven foot on the Mercury editor, and cloven feet never adorn the extremities of ordinary sinners. In part, Dr. Robinson said:

> "I wonder if Mr. Mencken is not peeved over the presence of Negroes in New York's social circles. It is passing strange that he should use the realm of the Negro in business, in which field we have not yet accomplished much, as productive of a leadership that shall eclipse the influence of the colored pastor. When that day shall come such men will be knocking the Negro business man's leadership. With no word of praise for Negro poets or composers, Mr. Mencken takes a dastardly fling at the colored pastor. He could not hide his cloven foot."

NOW MR. MENCKEN is, after all is said and done, a human being. Like thousands of other human beings who make their bread and butter by writing, he may not know what he is talking about; or, he may know only a part of the truth of what he is talking about. We credit him with sincerity. We cannot credit him with having spoken the whole truth in the article complained of for the simple reason that we do not believe that he knows the whole truth. Few white or colored men know the whole truth of the racial situation in America. Fewer still would be found willing to voice it even if they did know it.

IS WHAT FOLLOWS THE WHOLE TRUTH?

> "The acceptance of the educated Negro socially removes his last ground for complaint against his fate in the Republic, and leaves him exposed to the same criteria of judgment that apply to every one else."

AROUND this assertion Mencken's whole article is built, which proceeds to compare what the Negro has done in music, poetry and prose with what has been done by the white race. If his

major assumption is untrue and unsound, all he bases upon it cannot help but be shaky, however sincere he may be. The Negro has not been accepted socially, whether educated or not, and if Mr. Mencken doesn't know, it is not too late for him to find out for himself. What is more, the majority of Negroes are not concerned with social equality in the way that Mr. Mencken thinks they are concerned with it. Few Negroes care anything about it at all. Just because a few Negroes have been found who are willing to go to any length to associate themselves socially with white people and be patronized by them, is no reason to conclude that all Negroes will be found willing to do the same thing.

GIVE THE Negro an equal opportunity inside and outside the law; give him the equal educational and other facilities for which he is taxed as a citizen; let him pick him own associates, his own leaders, and stop penalizing him because of his race and color, and he will work out his own salvation.

Burrs Under The Saddle

By H. L. MENCKEN

THE COLORED BROTHER

Most of the educated negroes of my acquaintance seem to be convinced that the social attentions now being lavished upon their race in New York represent only a transient fad, and that in a short time the colored lion will be out in the cold again. I doubt it. The plain fact is that New York, or, at all events, Manhattan—has got to be so cosmopolitan a town that all its old social distinction and prejudices are in decay and can never be revived. There is no longer any formal Society there in the usual American sense. Any one who is presentable may go anywhere. Some of the current Aframerican pets are highly presentable; others are surely not. The latter, no doubt, will soon return to the Harlem whence they came, but the former will survive.

The New York of today, indeed, is far too worldly wise to accord much authority to caste artificialities. It long ago admitted and embraced the Jews, and so far as I have been able to observe, it suffers from no regrets. In all circles, high or low, the Jews who get in are among the most amusing people to be encountered. They lack altogether the dull conventionality of the so-called Anglo-Saxon. They do not take life too seriously, and now that the old bars against them are down, they have ceased even to take themselves seriously. Their presence in large numbers helps to make New York the most diverting of all American cities. It is noisy, blatant, and uncomfortable, but it is certainly not a bore.

The colored brethren, now that they go everywhere, add a great deal to its charm. They turn out, in the main, to be dignified, well-mannered, and amusing fellows, and not at all over-impressed by their new triumphs. Their wives, in many cases, are very good looking. Male and female, they seem to say, "Take us or leave us," at the same time favoring one another with wise winks behind the door. My belief is that New York, having taken them in, will be very loath to lose them. True enough, those admitted constitute only a small minority of their race. But that fact is of no significance. It will be time enough to invite Pullman porters, colored preachers and witch doctors to dinner when white Turkish bath rubbers, orthodox rabbis and chiropractors are invited.

* * *

The acceptance of the educated negro socially removes his last ground for complaint against his fate in the republic, and leaves him exposed to the same criteria of judgment that apply to everyone else. It will be interesting to see what he makes of himself. Hitherto he has derived very considerable advantages from the fact that he was an outcast; it seemed a marvel if he made himself heard of at all. But hereafter he will have to produce the goods or shut up.

So far, it seems to me, his accomplishments have been very modest. Even in those fields wherein his opportunities for years past have been precisely equal to the white man's, he has done little of solid value. I point, for example, to the field of music. It may be, as they say, that the negroes invented ragtime, and jazz after it, but certainly it would be absurd to say that they have surpassed or even equaled the writers in writing the new music. The best jazz of today is not composed by black men, but by Jews—and I mean the best in every sense. Why did the negro composers wait for George Gershwin to do his "Rhapsody in Blue"? Why, indeed, did they wait for Paul Whiting to make jazz a serious matter?

The spiritual is another musical form that the negroes are supposed to have invented. Passing over its obvious origin in the Methodist camp meeting hymn, let us admit that theory. But where is the negro composer who is writing spirituals today—I mean good ones? If he exists he is not heard of. Certainly there is plenty of opportunity here—and it has been permitted to go to waste. The spiritual, as it comes down to us traditionally, could be considerably improved. It might be developed into something resembling a cantata. It might be given instrumental support. But no negro composer has ever made any serious effort to work out its possibilities. It remains naive and crude, like hoe cake.

* * *

The negro poets, by the same token, have done very little to justify the excessive hospitality with which they have been received. Put all their work together and it is not worth much more than any one of a dozen of the epitaphs in "The Spoon River Anthology." A negro poet, James Weldon Johnson, has lately published a book of negro sermons in a sort of free verse, and one of them, "Go Down, Death!" is a genuinely eloquent and moving poem. But no other negro has ever written anything half so good. There are plenty of poets in the race, and many of them show a considerable facility but the best of them, when all is said and done, remain second rate.

In prose there is the same tale to tell. No negro novelist has ever written a novel even remotely comparable to such things as "Babbitt" and "Jurgen." No negro writing short stories rises above the level of the white hacks. There is here no prejudice to overcome, and, so far as I know, there never has been. I have been intimately familiar with the American magazines for twenty years and also know something about book publishing. I know of no magazine of decent standing that bars negro writers, and I know of no publisher who refuses to publish them. On the contrary, they are welcomed eagerly everywhere. But they produce little that is worth printing.

Even the negro publicists make a sorry showing considering their opportunities. It is seldom, indeed, that one of them turns out an article or a book of any genuine value. Even on the subject of their race's wrongs, they do not write as well, taking one with another, as the white scriveners who tackle the same subject. All the really first rate books written by American negroes since the civil war could be ranged on a shelf a foot long. Here is a field in which race prejudice counts for nothing. Yet the colored brother has done little in it save cultivate weeds. Is it because, until recently, he has lacked the necessary educational equipment? Bosh! First rate books are not the product of education, else school superintendents would write them. There are hundreds of thousands of negroes in the United States with far more education than Dreiser ever had, or Sherwood Anderson, or Carl Sandburg.

* * *

Thus it is apparent that the negro still has a heavy grade ahead of him and will gain little from going over his latest hurdle, save a chance to show what is really in him. I am not altogether sure that his prospects in the fine arts are as good as his more optimistic partisans seem to think. He has shown that he can do respectable work, but he has certainly not shown that he can do genuinely distinguished work. In the field of music, especially, I am full of doubts. The negro, like the Bavarian, has a natural love of music, but like the Bavarian again he may be able to make only music that is third rate.

It may be that he has ventured into the arts too soon—that they can flourish only in a house more solid and stable than the one he is just moving into. It may be that his greatest success during the next generation or two will will be made, not in the arts, but in business. There he seems to be making very rapid progress, and it is no longer factitious and transitory. Booker T. Washington, whose memory is not venerated by the negro intellectuals, was probably wiser than they think. He saw that the negroes would have to have a sound economic underpinning if they were ever to rise to cultural equality with the whites. The fine arts are frequently enriched by poor men, but they never flourish in a poor society.

Now the negroes begin to pile up wealth, and their business barons become their principal leaders. It is, I think, a sign of genuine progress if only because it reduces the colored pastor to a minor place. He has led the race since the civil war and he has made a dreadful botch of it. His influence today, though it is fast declining, is still for the bad. Those negroes who follow him remain ignorant and ridiculous: nothing comes out of them save moans. With Booker T. Babbitt in the saddle, they will at least have a leader who is a realist and a man of sense. He may not make them noble, but he will at least make them safe.

MENCKEN'S CONTRIBUTION

Henry Louis Mencken, noted critic and editor, whose syndicated article on "The Colored Brother" last week was given such wide distribution in this country, may or may not have been technically correct in all of his statements, but he at least made one valuable contribution to the Race in that he provoked more discussion among the leaders and followers than has been heard in these parts since Chief Sam started back to Africa. Much of what he said was beyond dispute. Everyone knows that the color line is fast fading in New York society, although it is not every person who would venture to predict the ultimate result of this trend.

There also can be little doubt as to the effect of our acrobatic preachers upon our progress or lack of it. We know that the church has exerted the greatest influence upon our thoughts and actions of any single institution in the history of the Race. Therefore we can, without much hesitation, attribute much of our backwardness and a little of our progress to that influence. This is no condemnation of the church, as such, but a criticism of the methods employed by the majority of our churches and their leaders. Churches have well defined places in our economic, social and spiritual life and the church knows better than anyone else whether it is filling that place adequately. Mr. Mencken thinks it is not; we agree with Mr. Mencken.

As to our contribution to literature and music as set forth by the astute critic, there is a wide diversity of opinion. Again Mr. Mencken may be right. At least we reserve our opinion on the music for our musicians to dispute or affirm. Perhaps Will Marion Cook, Harry Burleigh, R. Nathaniel Dett, Major N. Clark Smith or Dave Peyton can enlighten us here. At any rate, Mr. Mencken has started an argument; now is the time for us to prove that he is incorrect.

But the point is that there is discussion, proving that we do read even if we do not write, and since H. L. Mencken started the row and proved the last point, we thank him. It is no mean feat to get this Race of ours to read and discuss topics, even if the topic happens to be the Race. But there is no doubt that they read Mr. Mencken, and this in itself is a contribution of which to be proud!

Race Problem — 1927

United States.

AGE-HERALD
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

SEP 9 1927

The Advancing South

BY EDWIN MIMS
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ONE OF the most potent arguments used by Bishop Warren A. Candler, the main leader of the anti-unificationists, was that the Northern Church is dominated by Modernism. In an article on "Resolute and Revolutionary Rationalism," in The Nashville Christian Advocate (Jan. 30, 1925), he exposed the adoption by the bishops of the Northern Church of six "rationalistic" books for the course of study for young preachers —an indication of a "rationalist drift" that is gradually destroying the faith of the churches of that section. Incidentally, he brings out the fact that the two negro bishops of that church voted with the majority, and that constitutes another strong argument against union! He concludes with an appeal to the Southern Church to have no fellowship with such heresies:

> Modernism is prevalent in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is there, and it is strongly intrenched in high places, so that it can project its principles and influences into the course of study which all the preachers, both white and black, are required to study. How rapidly will the leaven permeate the entire ministry of that church!

Moreover, it is in all the Northern churches; but, as Bishop Berry points out, it is stoutly opposed by many strong leaders of the Northern Presbyterians, Northern Episcopalians and Northern Baptists, while it holds a commanding place among the Northern Methodists and with little opposition.

It is too clear to deny with any show of reason that the churches of the South must save the cause of evangelical Christianity in the United States or it will be lost.

The Southern churches are abundantly able to defend successfully "the faith once for all delivered to the saints" against the attacks of all the resolute and revolutionary rationalism now current in our country, provided they are faithful to the trust reposed in them by providence.

What is called "modernism" is not modern at all. It is but the superficial recrudescence of the teachings of Voltaire and the tenets of the English deists of the eighteenth century. Very much of what it puts forth as "the assured results of scientific criticism," about which "all scholars are agreed," may be found in Tom Paine's "Age of Reason." Every one of its essential heresies was proclaimed during the first three centuries of the Christian era, and they were overwhelmingly refuted by the great Christian apologists of that period.

The Southern churches have no slightest occasion for fear or shame in refusing and resisting all this aggressive rationalism. Their position is as impregnable as their duty is unmistakable. But they must cease sending their young preachers to Northern seminaries and universities for education. Nearly every one of the most wealthy and conspicuous of these institutions is sadly infected with rationalism, just as their predecessors were infected with liberalists before Timothy Dwight drove their skepticism from Yale and before the great revival of 1800 so nearly cleansed it away from almost all of the then existing colleges of the nation. The evil has returned in our day in redoubled strength, but it is no more invincible now than it was then. Indeed, it is quite vulnerable, notwithstanding its boastfulness.

The great revival of 1800 began in the South, and the Southern churches should now seek another such gloriously saving visitation from heaven.

But so great a work of grace cannot come to pass under the ministrations of rationalizing preachers. Rationalism has never revived religion in a single parish nor turned one heathen tribe from the worship of dumb idols to the service of the living God.

Let the Southern churches beware of it. Where it falls it blights.

Let the evangelical churches of the South stand in their lot, walk in the faith of their fathers, seek only the favor of God, and thus fulfill their high mission of saving evangelical Christianity for the blessing of the American nation.

Bishop Candler's point of view as expressed in this article and in scores of sermons and addresses is characteristic of the pride that Southern churchmen take in their conservatism. The logic is inescapable. The hope of the world is America, the hope of America is evangelical religion of the most orthodox type, the hope of the American church is the Methodist Church, and the hope of this church is its denominational colleges. A member of another church might come to different conclusion as to the divine appointed church, but this point of view is the basis of ecclesiastical arrogance and of immense satisfaction in the presence of a ruined world. Cora Harris, in her "My Book and Heart," pays tribute to Bishop Candler as "the greatest churchman of his times," who comes as near "as any mortal man ever did being an autocrat before the Lord." She recalls his triumphs as a pulpit orator and feels a pride in him as a representative Georgian. "Nothing will ever make me believe," she says, "that he really accepts the Scriptures as literally as he claims to do, but he does it for the church's good and for conscience's sake." She thought at the time when she was writing that he was nearing the end of the journey and was far up the ladder toward the Celestial City, for "he cannot catch a great audience by the neck as he used to and shake the money and tears out of it." The reason is that he is becoming "more scrupulous;" the rhetorical power of the stump speaker that he used to have is passing away. He is still "rumbling." And then she adds: "Heaven help us if he takes a notion to come back down and fetch another surge at this perverse generation! I do not think he has got it in him; but if he has, and decided to make the fight along evangelical lines, something would happen."

Well, he did come back down from the ladder, and something has happened. He wrecked the unification plan of his church, and he is writing and speaking as never before for "the faith once for all delivered to the saints." He is constitutionally opposed to every progressive movement of his time. "If it is true, it isn't new, and if it's new, it isn't true" is his dismissal of every new idea. He is a man of unquestioned power of pen and tongue, and he is reenforced by a powerful religious organization, of which he has been a leader for a quarter of a century or more. He has the gift of ridicule that enables him to sway large audiences and a power of eloquence that stirs the emotions of the masses. Conservative in his thinking, he is radical in his methods of interpretation and utterly reckless and irresponsible in his weapons of warfare. Able to speak with ease upon any subject without preparation, he delights in hasty generalizations and extempore half-truths. No actor ever enjoyed a stage performance more than the bishop does his playing with the emotions of an audience, and no prize fighter ever enjoyed more the knockout blow for an antagonist. He fascinates, even while he infuriates, the intelligent auditor. When he writes, as somebody said of Horace Greeley, he "dips his pen of infallibility into his ink of omniscience with as little self-distrust as a child plays with matches."

He is most powerful as a preacher. In a typical sermon on Christian education he denounces state universities as centers of infidelity, prevented by constitutional limitations from even suggesting the truths of religion. Independent institutions, once the property of the church, have forgotten God. Responsible to no organization or opinion, they threaten the welfare of the republic. New England, under the leadership of apostate institutions like Harvard and Yale, is the breeding place of infidelity. He would rather be a poor Puritan preacher like John Harvard than all the Eliots with their moonshine religion. Jonathan Edwards was better than all the cultured preachers that have been produced in the "emasculated seminaries." The only hope for the country is that the church colleges, which produced the giants of other generations, and which by their very nature are committed to evangelical religion first and foremost, shall arouse themselves to the need of the hour. To the policy that the church ought to control institutions, and can control them, the Methodist Church is committed. "You in the South don't need to build universities; we will furnish them." Such a statement is a gratuitous insult to this section. "We can and will build them, in order to preserve our evangelical religion and the greatness of our section.

(Continued Tomorrow.)

AGE-HERALD
IRMINGHAM, ALA.

SEP 7 1927

The Advancing South

BY EDWIN MIMS
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THE STORY of Durham might be paralleled in Winston-Salem, the other leading tobacco manufacturing city of the state. A significant illustration of the attitude of the whites to the negroes was that the late J. B. Duke, in establishing the Duke Foundation of $40,000,000, including among the beneficiaries Biddle University, in Charlotte, and that his Brother, B. N. Duke, has given large sums to other negro institutions of the state. More noteworthy still is the steady increase in the appropriation of the state Legislature to negro schools and colleges. In The Southern Workman (Nov., 1925), Lawrence A. Oxley, recently appointed as the director of the Negro Welfare Board, thus summarizes the progress of these institutions under the efficient leadership of Prof. N. C. Newbold:

> North Carolina long ago took the lead over all the Southland in the matter of providing educational facilities for its negro population. During the past five years the state has spent over $15,000,000 on negro education. This amount represents a sum larger than the total appropriation for the education of whites and negroes during the period 1905 to 1910. A building program of nearly $1,000,000 for the two-year period, 1923-24, was recently completed. This includes dormitories, dining halls, homes for principals, administration and classroom buildings, shops, laundries and homes for faculty members. The salaries of negro teachers in the quadrennium 1921-25 will be in excess of $7,000,000. New school buildings in cities, towns and rural districts built in this period will exceed a total cost of $5,000,000. Other special purposes, such as supervision, Summer schools, vocational training, county training and high schools, will add $750,000, making a total expenditure in the four-year period of approximately $15,000,000 of public funds on the negro schools of the state.

He tells also of the more recent organization of a Department of Negro Welfare, under the direction of the State Department of Public Welfare, whereby surveys are being made of delinquents of all kinds. Ten negro social workers have been placed as family case workers, probation officers and general assistants in county welfare work.

In the same issue of The Southern Workman, published, I should have said, by Hampton Institute, Thomas B. Parker, one of the most enlightened cotton mill men of South Carolina, tells the story of the establishment of the Phillis Wheatley Centre, in Greenville, S. C. In 1924 a committee of the Chamber of Commerce worked out the details of the plan by which $70,000 was raised to provide a handsome brick building for the negro community center, and a definite amount for its maintenance, both races making contributions. White people have not only given liberally of their money (about two-thirds of the amount) but through various organizations have provided personal aid in making adult teaching, recreational facilities, family service, etc., effective. The city itself appropriates $1,500 annually for the library, an important feature of the center. The aim of the leaders has been to provide for the needs of the large negro population and thus to turn them from liabilities into assets. The South is ready not only to say that it is the best place for the negroes to live, but to do the things that will make the statement good. The economic aspect of the whole undertaking is subordinated to the humanitarian. It is proposed to study what other places have done and thus to continue the work to the greatest advantage.

Such undertakings—and they might easily be multiplied — Bishop Jones, of New Orleans, one of the religious leaders of his race, had in mind when he spoke of the "multiplied instances of good will and of good fellowship which could not exist if there was not in the heart of a large element of the South a sense of genuine respect and love for the negro." To the same effect writes Principal Moton, of Tuskegee, in a review of the Interracial Commission and similar movements in the South:

> This last statement of Dr. Moton's is but one illustration of the spirit of conciliation and fairness that animates his autobiography, "The Way Out." He does not hesitate to state very frankly that the negro should be permitted "to enjoy every right and privilege of the American citizen, that he should have a chance of growth and development, a chance for training and education, a chance to work, a chance to live and serve his race and country," but it is in tone and in spirit that he is sharply differentiated from some other leaders of his race. It is

> I have not been unmindful of the injustice, discrimination and unfair treatment which my people are too often obliged to take to a greater or less extent in all parts of the country, but I have here been trying to fix attention upon those strong, ever-widening currents of constructive endeavor which move forward with a swiftness that accentuates the eddies of passion and prejudice which appear along their course. Knowing as

Race Problem - 1927

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AGE-HERALD
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SEP 9 1927

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It is too clear to deny with any show of reason that the churches of the South must save the cause of evangelical Christianity in the United States or it will be lost.

The Southern churches are abundantly able to defend successfully "the faith once for all delivered to the saints" against the attacks of all the resolute and revolutionary rationalism now current in our country, provided they are faithful to the trust reposed in them by providence.

What is called "modernism" is not modern at all. It is but the superficial recrudescence of the teachings of Voltaire and the tenets of the English deists of the eighteenth century. Very much of what it puts forth as "the assured results of scientific criticism," about which "all scholars are agreed," may be found in Tom Paine's "Age of Reason." Every one of its essential heresies was proclaimed during the first three centuries of the Christian era, and they were overwhelmingly refuted by the great Christian apologists of that period.

The Southern churches have no slightest occasion for fear or shame in refusing and resisting all this aggressive rationalism. Their position is as impregnable as their duty is unmistakable. But they must cease sending their young preachers to Northern seminaries and universities for education. Nearly every one of the most wealthy and conspicuous of these institutions is sadly infected with rationalism, just as their predecessors were infected with liberalists before Timothy Dwight drove their skepticism from Yale and before the great revival of 1800 so nearly cleansed it away from almost all of the then existing colleges of the nation. The evil has returned in our day in redoubled strength, but it is no more invincible now than it was then. Indeed, it is quite vulnerable, notwithstanding its boastfulness.

The great revival of 1800 began in the South, and the Southern churches should now seek another such gloriously saving visitation from heaven.

But so great a work of grace cannot come to pass under the ministrations of rationalizing preachers. Rationalism has never revived religion in a single parish nor turned one heathen tribe from the worship of dumb idols to the service of the living God.

Let the Southern churches beware of it. Where it falls it blights.

Let the evangelical churches of the South stand in their lot, walk in the faith of their fathers, seek only the favor of God, and thus fulfill their high mission of saving evangelical Christianity for the blessing of the American nation.

Bishop Candler's point of view as expressed in this article and in scores of sermons and addresses is characteristic of the pride that Southern churchmen take in their conservatism. The logic is inescapable. The hope of the world is America, the hope of America is evangelical religion of the most orthodox type. The hope of the American church is the Southern evangelical churches, the hope of these churches is the Southern Methodist Church, and the hope of this church is its denominational colleges. A member of another church might come to different conclusion as to the divine appointed church, but this point of view is the basis of ecclesiastical arrogance and of immense satisfaction in the presence of a ruined world. Cora Harris, in her "My Book and Heart," pays tribute to Bishop Candler as "the greatest churchman of his times," who comes near "as any mortal man ever did being an autocrat before the Lord." She recalls his triumphs as a pulpit orator and feels a pride in him as a representative Georgian. "Nothing will ever make me believe," she says, "that he really accepts the Scriptures as literally as he claims to do, but he does it for the church's good and for conscience's sake." She thought at the time when she was writing that he was nearing the end of the journey and was far up the ladder toward the Celestial City, for "he cannot catch a great audience by the neck as he used to and shake the money and tears out of it." The reason is that he is becoming "more scrupulous;" the rhetorical power of the stump speaker that he used to have is passing away. He is still "rumbling." And then she adds: "Heaven help us if he takes a notion to come back down and fetch another surge at this perverse generation! I do not think he has got it in him; but if he has, and decided to make the fight along evangelical lines, something would happen."

Well, he did come back down from the ladder, and something has happened. He wrecked the unification plan of his church, and he is writing and speaking as never before for "the faith once for all delivered to the saints." He is constitutionally opposed to every progressive movement of his time. "If it is true, it isn't new, and if it's new, it isn't true" is his dismissal of every new idea. He is a man of unquestioned power of pen and tongue, and he is reenforced by a powerful religious organization, of which he has been a leader for a quarter of a century or more. He has the gift of ridicule that enables him to sway large audiences and a power of eloquence that stirs the emotions of the masses. Conservative in his thinking, he is radical in his methods of interpretation and utterly reckless and irresponsible in his weapons of warfare. Able to speak with ease upon any subject without preparation, he delights in hasty generalizations and extempore half-truths. No actor ever enjoyed a stage performance more than the bishop does his playing with the emotions of an audience, and no prize fighter ever enjoyed more the knockout blow for an antagonist. He fascinates, even while he infuriates, the intelligent auditor. When he writes, as somebody said of Horace Greeley, he "dips his pen of infallibility into his ink of omniscience with as little self-distrust as a child plays with matches."

He is most powerful as a preacher. In a typical sermon on Christian education he denounces state universities as centers of infidelity, prevented by constitutional limitations from even suggesting the truths of religion. Independent institutions, once the property of the church, have forgotten God. Responsible to no organization or opinion, they threaten the welfare of the republic. New England, under the leadership of apostate institutions like Harvard and Yale, is the breeding place of infidelity. He would rather be a poor Puritan preacher like John Harvard than all the Eliots with their moonshine religion. Jonathan Edwards was better than all the cultured preachers that have been produced in "emasculated seminaries." The only hope for the country is that the church colleges, which produced the giants of other generations, and which by their very nature are committed to evangelical religion first and foremost, shall arouse themselves to the need of the hour. To the policy that the church ought to control institutions, and can control them, the Methodist Church is committed. A professor said not long ago, "You in the South don't need to build universities; we will furnish them." Such a statement is a gratuitous insult to this section. "We can and will build them, in order to preserve our evangelical religion and the greatness of our section.

(Continued Tomorrow.)

AGE-HERALD
IRMINGHAM, ALA.

SEP 7 1927

The Advancing South

BY EDWIN MIMS
Professor of English, Vanderbilt University. © 1927, for The Birmingham Age-Herald by Doubleday, Page & Company. All rights reserved.

THE STORY of Durham might be paralleled in Winston-Salem, the other leading tobacco manufacturing city of the state. A significant illustration of the attitude of the whites to the negroes was that the late J. B. Duke, in establishing the Duke Foundation of $40,000,000, including among the beneficiaries Biddle University, in Charlotte, and that his Brother, B. N. Duke, has given large sums to other negro institutions of the state. More noteworthy still is the steady increase in the appropriation of the state Legislature to negro schools and colleges. In The Southern Workman (Nov., 1925), Lawrence A. Oxley, recently appointed as the director of the Negro Welfare Board, thus summarizes the progress of these institutions under the efficient leadership of Prof. N. C. Newbold:

> North Carolina long ago took the lead over all the Southland in the matter of providing educational facilities for its negro population. During the past five years the state has spent over $15,000,000 on negro education. This amount represents a sum larger than the total appropriation for the education of whites and negroes during the period 1905 to 1910. A building program of nearly $1,000,000 for the two-year period, 1923-24, was recently completed. This includes dormitories, dining halls, homes for principals, administration and classroom buildings, shops, laundries and homes for faculty members. The salaries of negro teachers in the quadrennium 1921-25 will be in excess of $7,000,000. New school buildings in cities, towns and rural districts built in this period will exceed a total cost of $5,000,000. Other special purposes, such as supervision, Summer schools, vocational training, county training and high schools, will add $750,000, making a total expenditure in the four-year period of approximately $15,000,000 of public funds on the negro schools of the state.

He tells also of the more recent organization of a Department of Negro Welfare, under the direction of the State Department of Public Welfare, whereby surveys are being made of delinquents of all kinds. Ten negro social workers have been placed as family case workers probation officers and general assistants in county welfare work.

In the same issue of The Southern Workman, published, I should have said, by Hampton Institute, Thomas B. Parker, one of the most enlightened cotton mill men of South Carolina, tells the story of the establishment of the Phillis Wheatley Centre, in Greenville, S. C. In 1924 a committee of the Chamber of Commerce worked out the details of the plan by which $70,000 was raised to provide a handsome brick building for the negro community center, and a definite amount for its maintenance, both races making contributions. White people have not only given liberally of their money (about two-thirds of the amount) but through various organizations have provided personal aid in making adult teaching and recreational facilities, family service, etc., effective. The city itself appropriates $1,500 annually for the library, an important feature of the center. The aim of the leaders has been to provide for the needs of the large negro population and thus to turn them from liabilities into assets. The South is ready not only to say that it is the best place for the negroes to live, but to do the things that will make the statement good. The economic aspect of the whole undertaking is subordinated to the humanitarian. It is proposed to study what other places have done and thus to continue the work to the greatest advantage.

Such undertakings—and they might easily be multiplied — Bishop Jones, of New Orleans, one of the religious leaders of his race, had in mind when he spoke of the "multiplied instances of good will I do the inner workings of these movements which I have described, and the character and the spirit of the men behind them. I am satisfied that we have in them a force and an influence making for righteousness that cannot be defeated.

This last statement of Dr. Moton's is but one illustration of the spirit of conciliation and fairness that animates his autobiography, "The Way Out." He does not hesitate to state very frankly that the negro should be permitted "to enjoy every right and privilege of the American citizen, that he should have a chance of growth and development, a chance for training and education, a chance to work, a chance to live and serve his race and country," but it is in tone and in spirit that he is sharply differentiated from some other leaders of his race. It is

I have not been unmindful of the injustice, discrimination and unfair treatment which my people are too often obliged to take to a greater or less extent in all parts of the country, but I have here been trying to fix attention upon those strong, ever-widening currents of constructive endeavor which move forward with a swiftness that accentuates the eddies of passion and prejudice which appear along their course. Knowing as

unjust to accuse such a man of sycophancy or materialism. He wants to build from the ground up; he deals with facts as they are and not as he thinks they ought to be. He has common sense and tact, and a sense of humor which is so often lacking in certain intellectuals of his race. He believes with his predecessor that an inch of progress is better than a yard of complaint. Such men as he—and there are many others who have found the way out as he has—are doing something better than talking: they are building institutions, projecting business enterprises, creating currents of thought and felling. They have not lost confidence in the justice and the friendship of the white man, and are willing to cooperate with him in bringing about a better relationship. Theirs is a great task at the present moment; it is theirs to lead and not to inflame the race, to construct and not to destroy. They will be neither browbeaten by unsympathetic radicals of their own race nor humiliated by extremists of the other race.

Carefully weighing all the evidence from all sources that have been indicated in this chapter, one is impressed with the difficulty and the complexity of the problem. There is no absolute truth—only phases that need to be emphasized at different times and under varying conditions. There is no final solution; the best we can do, as a wise man who has done as much as any other man in this generation to improve conditions says, is to take the next step. Imagination is needed to visualize conditions, but we must see the difficulty that the white man has had to adjust himself, as well as the tragedy of the negro who suffers from injustice and sometimes from persecution. Any man with a heart has sympathy with the black man who so often has been the victim of circumstances for which he was not responsible; but he should have sympathy, also, for the white man who has borne the burden of criminality, disease and inefficiency. The only remedy is that all the human factors that make up the situation should feel their responsibility, and especially that they should cooperate in definite and constructive efforts. Out of conferences and cooperative efforts on the part of the North and South, white and black, will come gradual improvement. It was this that Dr. Moton had in mind when in his inaugural address at Tuskegee he recalled the fact that Tuskegee was due to the cooperation of an ex-Confederate soldier, a Northern white man and a leader of the negro race. This fact, he said, was a prophecy of a new day—"to the end that the white man of the North, the white man of the South and the negro should work harmoniously together in bringing forward that peace on earth which results when we have good will."

(Continued Tomorro

Athens, Ga., Banner Herald

DEC 3 0 1927

THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO.

The negro citizenship of Chicago has grown to be a perplexing problem in that city. Thousands of the members of the negro race have cast their lots in that city and, today the question of segregation is testing the patience and resourcefulness of the officials as well as the leaders of the colored race. Many of the shrewder members of the negro race have capitalized on their brothers in black, who are ignorant and susceptible to being lead off and used for political purposes. During the last mayor's election in Chicago, it is alleged that the negro vote was responsible for the election of Mayor Thompson. The negro was promised many inducements in order to secure their votes for Thompson. Offices, better wages and improved living conditions were promised them by the leaders of their race and, it is said that the negro votes were cast practically solid for the successful candidate for mayor. Since Mayor Thompson's election, however, conditions for the negro have not improved. Some of the leaders have received appointments to municipal offices, but the rank and file, who did the voting, have been left out of the make-up of the pre-election promised benefits.

The Chicago Tribune, a leading republican newspaper, published in that city, does not hesitate to set up the true facts of conditions as now existing. Editorially, it says:

"The American negro continues to be the victim of political exploitation. He is eager to better his lot. He listens to any promise without stopping to inquire who makes it. Nor does he learn from the experience of promises broken. He is victimized by the unscrupulous members, not of the white race alone, but of his own race. A colored pastor, the Rev. H. E. Stewart of Quinn chapel of the African Methodist church, recently declared that the city administration, though in the main friendly to the negro, had made the friendliness a cloak for a wide-open town. If that charge is true—and if it is, Chicago is not unique—it is due not only to the faithlessness of white leaders who made pledges, but to the infidelity of negro leaders, who underwrote those pledges and betrayed their feilows. The burden of the black belt is the greatest the negro has to bear. Segregation is a normal and natural expedient or way of living. But segregation alone does not make the black belt. That is made by the officially protected inflow into the colored quarters of all the vicious elements that the white quarters will not tolerate. And the black belt grows up to signify all that is worse in the community, made still worse by an intermingling that is deplored by decent whites and blacks alike. The negro needs above all at this stage of his progress not so much ambition or aspiration, but plain common sense. He must learn to discriminate between the true and the false, to get down to earth and stop accepting promises which he knows will not be kept. He must listen to such men as the Rev. Dr. Stewart, instead of charlatans, whose first thought is of their own interests and their last of the welfare of the negro. He must realize that politically he can still be sold down the river."

Not only in Chicago, but in other sections of the West, Ohio and Michigan, especially, does similar conditions exist. The negro is used for the benefits of both white and colored politicians and, after the elections are over, the men and women who gave their votes to this or that candidate are left without the promised benefits to weed their own row in an effort to earn their living. After all, the negro should consider first his own interest and realize that his native section of the country is best for him. He knows and realizes that his native section of the country is best for him. He knows and understands the people of the South, and when in need of friends, the people with whom he has grown up with, will always come to his rescue. It has been a costly experience for some of the negroes who migrated to the North and the sooner they realize their true condition and return South the better off they will be.

Race Problem – 1927

United States.

Supports Idea Race Should Be Independent In Politics; Thinks Agitation Essential

Grandson of William Lloyd Garrison Long Friend of Group, But Does Not Read Race Newspapers.

Courier 3-12-27 Pittsburg Pa.

By FLOYD J. CALVIN

NEW YORK, Mar. 10.—Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of "The Nation" Magazine and one of the foremost leaders of liberal thought in America, paused in the midst of pressing appointments and engagements last Thursday long enough to receive the New York representative of The Courier in his office at 20 Vesey street. Mr. Villard had just returned from engagements out of the city and at first his secretary thought he was too busy to be disturbed, but when she found a colored newspaper wanted the Editor's comment on the platform and address to the country broadcast from Chicago by the National Negro Press Association the hurried interview was granted.

Mr. Villard took up the clipping containing the report and went through it, point by point.

"One. Health. Good—Two. Migration. Ought to continue. I don't understand what they mean by 'normal'. Hard to define. I think colored people should leave the South if that will better their condition.—Three. Of course, the Negro should enter all kinds of business.—Four. Pulpit and Press. Yes, they should be 'the reliable sources and exponents of public opinion,' but they aren't always are.—Politics. Right. Negro should be non-partisan and get rid of the stigma that he will sell his vote.—Economic Freedom. Great idea.—Education. No, I think agitation essential. The press ought to agitate as long as a single wrong is done the race.—Negro History; valuable, of course.—I don't like No. 9. I don't believe in 'diplomacy born of circumstances'—does not mean anything. Use courtesy, tact and skill, of course.—Support Negro authors, yes.—Jim Crow Sound."

With that the interview was over.

From his secretary it was learned Mr. Villard's only sources of information on the Negro from the Negro himself are The Crisis, Opportunity and one paper published in Philadelphia. He also gets releases sent out by the Negro schools and colleges. He is not at all well acquainted with the Negro press in general.

SCORES HYPOCRISY OF WHITE CHURCHES

Defender 4-9-27 Chicago

New York, April 8.—Union Theological Seminary, of which Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin is president and such noted men as Harry Emerson Fosdick, Hugh Black and others are professors, had as the regular chapel speaker this morning Channing H. Tobias, [illegible] the Colored work department of the Y. M. C. A.

Mr. Tobias reminded his hearers that our churches [illegible] throwing open their pulpits to Clarence Darrow, not because they shared his anti-Christian views, but because they were grateful for his Christian practices. "Not one of the white preachers of Detroit who has spoken no strong word against a racial residential dead line which compelled 50,000 Negroes to live in homes built to accommodate 6,000 people, and Clarence Darrow, who defended Dr. Sweet without the payment of a fee," said Mr. Tobias, "Negroes believe Darrow to be more Christlike."

The speaker referred also to the splendid humane service that is being rendered by Julius Rosenwald to many classes of people, particularly the 4,000 school houses he has helped to build in the Southern states, and asked if such was not in closer harmony with the spirit and teachings of Christ than the empty "Lord, Lord," of thousands of so-called Christians.

AMERICAN INCONSISTENCIES

Defender 4-16-27 Chicago

Monday the American minister in China presented a note to the Nationalist forces demanding restitution for "atrocities" committed against Americans in that country. Three thousand troops under the American flag are there now and more are on the way. The entire American Pacific fleet is being held in readiness for orders to proceed to China. The situation is what can be called grave. And still no move has been made to compel Americans now in China to get out.

It becomes increasingly hard to reconcile this situation with the American policy as pertains to her citizens at home. When men, women and children are lynched in the front door of our national capital where citizens can be protected at little or no cost to the government, nothing is said or done about it. Mr. President dozes, and Mr. Secretary of State winks, while Mr. State Governor busies himself with prohibition.

Yet when people—who are within their sovereign rights—demand that they be left to run their own country, we send ships and guns to instruct them. Why, we would like to ask, are not Americans in China loaded on American ships and brought home? Why must 3,000 soldiers be sent to a foreign country to protect a colony of 600? Are we deliberately hunting trouble in the orient?

If America wishes to protect her citizens, certainly there are enough of them in need of protection in America to keep both the army and navy busy! Let's get out of China and land in Dixie! There's where soldiers are really needed.

MR. FINCH ENLIGHTENS THE SOUTH ABOUT ILLINOIS

Defender 3-26-27 Chicago

C. J. Finch, if the name means anything to Defender readers, is, presumably, a member of the Race. He lives in Mississippi (by the grace of good white folks) and his "living," it is also presumed, is taken care of by that same group. He gives his address as Utica institute, which, if correct, is a terrible blow to that otherwise admirable school. But the point is that he has "explained" through the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News that our Race is in better circumstances in Mississippi than in Chicago, based upon his personal observations, and he gives the following reasons:

"Mr. Julius Rosenwald, the philanthropist, who has given millions of dollars for Negro schools, would not let a Colored woman cook for him. Judge George, a Negro, was made judge, but could not drive a milk wagon in Chicago, he can't work for Mr. Samuel Insull, unless he mops floors, just what we do in the South. He can't drive a city truck. His wife cannot become a city telephone operator. There are hotels in Chicago that refuse any Negro help even as bell boys. The Negro does not associate, or even meet, such as he does in the South, the better class of whites."

Isn't that sad, Brother Finch? We can be elected judges, to lay down the law to erring white people as well as erring persons of other races, but we can't drive a milk wagon. Isn't that something to weep about? We can own our own corporations and do everything in it from dictating the letters to mopping the floors if we so choose, but we can't work for Mr. Insull. We can go to any hotel in the city, walk in the front door and order our room or dinner if we have the money to pay for them, but we can't sit on the bench in a monkey uniform and jump when a white man taps a bell. Or if these hotels refuse us we can take the case to court and tell Judge George, or any other member of the Illinois bar about it, and have our case heard. If we can't get justice we can appeal to our state senator, our state representatives, our commerce and industrial commissioners. We can't drive a street car, but we can enter from either the front or rear door, and sit wherever we can find seats. And we not only drive city trucks, but we can pass the civil service examinations and DEMAND appointments that will permit us to make out pay rolls for all city truck drivers, both black and white. Isn't this a sad state of affairs?

The trouble with you, Brother Finch, is that you are on the wrong track. You knew, of course, if you dared to tell facts about Chicago you would not only be refused the columns of the Mississippi daily, but would would probably be decorating a tree by this time "for insulting a white woman." We of the North do not expect you to tell the truth; that is a physical impossibility. But we do expect you to keep your meaningless vaporings to yourself and quit humiliating your Race by openly espousing Mississippi's rotten code.

And remember, your "better class of white folks" in Mississippi who give you a hearing when you play traitor to your own people are not averse to abusing your wife and your daughter down there; up here that isn't done. If a white man wants a girl not of his race, he MARRIES HER. He doesn't hire her for a cook at three dollars a week and then use her to mother his illegitimate family.

Think these things over, Brother Finch, if you can think. And then go drown yourself—the odor that arises from the likes of you even stinks your good white folks; you know what it must do to the rest of us!

CLARENCE DARROW THE "BROTHER"

By ELLA ALBERT BROWN, A. B.
Preston News Service

It is indeed very strange that members of our group should have any feelings but those of gratitude for Clarence Darrow, the noted criminal lawyer, and champion of the oppressed. But this seems to be the case, from the many criticisms we read concerning his religious beliefs. Of what concern is it to us, whether he be agnostic, Jew, Mohammedan or Christian, if he extends a helping hand to those in need of assistance? The days of religious intolerance are long past and the privilege of believing or not believing is a personal liberty Mr. Darrow does not say he does not believe, he simply doubts, and the poet says, "There is more faith in honest doubt, than is contained in half your creeds."

The thing that should be of greatest concern to our group is what the man does for us and not what the man believes. That he has championed our cause, at the risk of his popularity, and almost his life, is of greatest moment. The friendship of one such man is worth the hatred of a dozen so-called Christians, who know not the Fatherhood of God nor the Brotherhood of man, and do not believe in fair play. Let us ask ourselves this one question. What can any man possibly gain by befriending Negroes? We have nothing to give him. He has all to lose and absolutely nothing to gain, so it must be only sincere compassion or a keen sense of justice that prompts him to plead our cause..

A recent Nordic speaker, referring to Mr Darrow, said, "Darrow talks like a monkey, acts like a monkey, and will die like a monkey." If this be true, oh for more Nordic monkeys, with the courage to stand up and defend publicly those who are despised and rejected of men.

MAR 2 - 1927

MAYBE YOU CAN ANSWER THIS ONE, CLARENCE

Mr. Clarence Darrow, who is spending several weeks at Fairhope, is quoted as making the following speech at the Negro Industial School in Baldwin County:

I can't help you, you will have to help yourselves, but I advise always an attitude of defiance toward the white man who calls himself "your friend." How has he manifested this friendship? By hanging and burning you; by making you do his work, and use his back door; refusing to let you enter the best hotels and to use the best coach in the train, and by making you sit in the rear of the street car. The only front place the white man has ever given you is in the battle line. There you can stop the bullets, but when you return home you can't use the sidewalks, you have to use the road. What can the colored man do to help himself? I see you pray, but I don't know why. Your God must be a "white" man, considering the way he treats you. No doubt there will be a "Jim Crow" law in your heaven when you get there. You can sing—I heard you sing—"Sweet Land of Liberty," but I don't see how you can. I don't sing it because I know it's not true. But you can work and gain a place for yourself if you can do your work better than the white man. You are being recognized and you have some friends who are not afraid to sit at the table with you. I have done so, and even drank bootleg liquor with you, and in what better way can friendship be manifested?

As a criminal lawyer Mr. Darrow is without a peer. As one who possess a towering intellect he is admired throughout the country. As an independent thinker he is refreshing. But as one to breed good will and tolerance between the white and black races of the South, Mr. Darrow's ability is surpassed only by his engulfing faith in God and his passionate efforts in behalf of the Christian religion. In short, on this question Mr. Darrow is in a strange sea with his paddles gone and his rudder swept away. On top of that he is seasick.

The Birmingham News thinks that Mr. Darrow is merely seeking publicity. Says that paper: There is more avid notoriety-seeker than this same Darrow; but he is going a bit too far when he comes down here and out of his ignorance and desire for the limelight endeavors to stir up trouble and ill-feeling between the two races, * * * and every intelligent Negro knows it."

The Eagle, however, does not believe that Mr. Darrow is talking with one facinated eye fixed on the front page of the press. He is old and his hide is tough, and we imagine he cares not a whoop about newspaper publicity. We believe that Mr. Darrow is enjoying himself according to his peculiar taste, i.e., by raising mental Hades. He enjoyed blowing off his ideas on the Negro question because they are radically different from Alabamians' ideas, and it was fun to him.

We confess that Alabama has Jim Crow laws; that whites and Negroes eat at separate places, and sleep not only in separate houses, but in houses located in separate parts of town. The reason for this is so simple that it distresses us that one with Mr. Darrow's remarkable inellect cannot see it. It is his: "East is east, and west is west, and never the twain," etc.

Before Mr. Darrow offers further advice to the Negroes we suggest that he first explain how the east may meet the west gracefully and without bloodshed. Then Jim Crow laws will take care of themselves.

Some Late Books

'BLACK APRIL," by Julia Peterkin. Bobbs-Merrill Company.

When Mr. Mencken attempted to put the South to its literary purgation some half dozen years ago, it plunged the section generally into a high state of choler. ; although there were a few liberal-minded spirits here and there who admitted, in part at least, some justice in the self-appointed doctor's diagnosis. Curiously enough, shortly following the agitation incident to the refusal to swallow Mr. Mencken's bitter pill, the South went round to work to bring about a literary renaissance. The emerging critics took their talents to New York; the new poets and novelists stayed at home. Among the first group, four have attained enviable prominence: Stark Young of Mississippi is recognized by the cognoscenti as the foremost dramatic critic in America; and the stamp of approval from such names as Joseph Wood Krutch, Hershell Brickel and Laurence Stallings has come to mean something. As for the novel, besides the high priest of American letters, James Branch Cabell, and his fellow townsman, Ellen Glasgow, James Boyd belongs to the South and Elizabeth Maddox Roberts and DuBose Heyward. Now Julia Peterkin, following up her rare and deeply moving group of stories "Green Thursday," with the novel "Black April," has set a definite and impressive seal upon the warm wax of a literary revival in the South. The trick has been done. The South is in the very foreground of literary activities today. In simple fairness it should be stated for whatever it is worth that H. L. Mencken sponsored, encouraged and beat the drum for Mrs. Peterkin when her own state of South Carolina pretty generally ignored her work, disapproved of it, or lacked the acumen to see its elements of greatness.

"Black April" is the story of negro life as it is lived today on a remote South Carolina plantation where the influence of whites plays an infinitesimal part in the struggles, the superstitions, the matings, the birthings, the dyings of a good natured, barbaric race living close to the soil. Across a background of cotton fields and negro quarters and song and love and hate stalks the towering figure of April, the foreman, domineering, iron-willed and iron-sinewed, a model for a Rodin, an unlettered superman, going always alone like an eagle, and in the midst of sweating agitation his spirits as lonely as God's.

In "Black April," besides opening up an invaluable mine of golden folk lore, Julia Peterkin has given us the most searching and perfect novel of the mind and heart of the negro race that has yet been achieved. As a picture of a people done on a broad canvas, it is executed in the manner of the spiritualized realism of the great Russians. In its epic quality it is another "Growth of the Soil" with more unforgettable characterization. April takes his place beside the Nigger of the Narcissus as one of the two most memorable dark protagonists in literature. Both Conrad and Mrs. Peterkin depict their heroes as dominating forces whose personalities are revealed through their impelling influence on others, with the difference that while Conrad keeps his hero almost entirely in the shadows, Mrs. Peterkin towards the end turns the full light of a scorching southern sun upon hers—and presents in April's dying one of the most heartrending scenes ever conceived—a scene symbolical of all dynamic humanity's struggle with an unfair fate. "Black April" is one of the few great achievements in the American novel. It is a masterpiece of its kind, as are a rare half dozen or so others: "The Scarlet Letter", "Jurgen", "Ethan Frome." Surely, and less certainly, perhaps, "Babbitt" and "My Antonia."—Hudson Strode.

Race Problem- 1927 I
United States.

TIMES
TOLEDO, O.

AUG 26 1927

cans who seem to take an impish delight in twisting the British lion's tail, those Englishmen who despise all things American, and all others subject to race hatred are a menace to the business of the world

A DAILY EDITORIAL
BY DR FRANK CRANE

Race Hatred

RACE hatred is the most pernicious and least intelligent form of mania extant. It causes and promotes war, is guilty of persecution and wreaks all other kind of injustice upon the human race.

A nation or a race should not be blamed for what separate individuals of that group commit.

This is the most common fault of critics. Because some preachers are vile, some lawyers are crooked, some doctors are venal, that is no sign that all the members of these various professions are wicked.

Because some scientists are atheists, all are not godless, and because some religionists denounce science, all religionists are not unscientific.

The truth is, that all members of any profession, race or nation are human and liable to error.

A great wave of satisfaction must have pervaded the country recently when Henry Ford announced that he was not responsible for the attacks in the Dearborn Independent upon Jews, that he deplored those attacks, and that he apologized for anything he may have said against the Jewish race.

Those who admire the business ability and the general character of Mr. Ford have often wondered why he attacked the Jews. It seems stranger to them that a man of so much common sense and balance could so far allow himself to come under the influence of ignorant propaganda.

Many will be slow to excuse Mr. Ford from all blame and say that he should have known all the time what was being carried on in his name, but the majority of us are glad to accept any excuse that he might give which will exculpate him from the crime of Jew baiting.

The Jews are upon the same standard as other nations. It is as absurd to accuse the entire Jewish race of evil as it is to accuse all Negroes, all Germans or all Japanese of wickedness. They are all human and they all have their peculiarities and we are not entirely free from objectionable qualities ourselves.

The world breathes easier to see that at last Mr. Ford has come out in the open and declared himself free of any desire to attack the Jewish race.

Those Frenchmen who persist in their efforts to make out all Germans to be criminals, those Ameri-

DARKEST AMERICA.

The judiciary committee of the Alabama house of representatives in the recent session by a large majority recommended for passage two remarkable bills. One provides for the prosecution of any person, firm, or corporation publishing or circulating a newspaper in which is "libelous matter" concerning any city, town, or the state. The plaintiff is to be entitled to cash damages as the jury may assess and no court shall have any authority to reduce or mitigate the verdict. Also the bill is to be retroactive for one year. The other bill provides that any person, firm, or corporation who publishes in any newspaper any false and libelous matter concerning the state of Alabama or its people, any county thereof or its people, or any city or town or its people, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and may be penalized up to $25,000."

The city of Chicago during Mr. Thompson's previous terms as mayor sued THE TRIBUNE and Chicago Daily News for civil libel based on news articles asserting that the city was bankrupt, insolvent, "broke," and improperly administered. THE TRIBUNE demurred on the ground that the recovery against it was contrary to the free speech provisions of the state constitution and to the 14th amendment of the federal constitution. It was so held by Judge Harry M. Fisher and, upon appeal, by the Supreme court of Illinois. The attempt in Alabama is to stifle publicity by drastic legislation, and we do not think such laws stand the test. An editor or publisher could be penalized under the retroactive paragraph of one of the laws for a publication which was not illegal when committed. He could be penalized for any piece of news which an offended local jury considered defamatory of their city or town. The exposure of undesirable conditions would become impossible in Alabama under such laws except at a cost which few newspapers could afford to meet.

We cannot think any American commonwealth is so benighted as to permit its press to be muzzled by such laws. But the fact that the judiciary committee of the house of representatives of Alabama recommends such legislation is significant of unwholesome influences in that state. The best citizenship of Alabama is in revolt against klanism and the ignorance and intolerance it represents. The best citizenship in Alabama, in Indiana, and in other communities afflicted by a recrudescence of intolerance will eventually win. But it will take courage, and sacrifice often, and patience. Men like Attorney General Gilliom of Indiana deserve strong support, for leadership is needed against the organized bigotries.

JULY FOURTHS may come and go,
but the fight for Negro Independence
has just started.

WITH THE
Young Worker

Negro Youth

A. GUSAHOFF.

It seems that the most important problem, for the bourgeois professors of the white and Negro race to solve, is to prove, that the American Negro is progressing, that the Negro of the olden days, who was isolated in the far south, on the cotton, textile, sugar and other plantations, working under the most miserable conditions of the slave system, is gradually bettering his conditions, and is securing for himself a place in the various industries of the North, as well, as in the industrialized South, among the always "superior" white workers.

These research workers, who are so much interested in the problems of the Negro, show to us with great pride and happiness, that the Negro is not only taking an active part in the industrial life of this country, but also in the political life, and that he is more and more becoming race concious (they bother very little about his class conciousness) and strives for closer cooperation with the white workers of this country.

It is of great importance to examine the existing situation, and really see if the conditions of the Negro in the United States have changed much, if the conditions of the Negro youth have changed any, and if they can be compared with those of white workers.

Lynchings.

A good example of the changed conditions, will be the fact, that even today lynchings are taking place in the various states of this great country. Of course the yearly average has decreased much, but still it does not look as if this barbaric method of disposing of people had been eliminated, which by the way, does not give much prestige to our "democratic" government, which promises protection to "all," who live under our "starry" flag.

Industrialization.

Another of the important changes, is the industrialization of the Negro in general, and the Youth specifically. The statistics given show that the bulk of the Negro population is gainfully employed in the various important and basic industries of this country. With the exception of the foreign born, a larger percentage of Negro men are engaged in gainfull occupations, than any other group of workers. Children make up a large per cent in industry.

The Negro usually works at a smaller wage than the white worker does which explains the necessity of a great number of children working in various industries in order to help their parents to make a half decent existence.

In one of the recent publications, which deal with the life of the Negro in the South, it is stated: that though a Negro of the South may work steady all his life, it will be impossible for him to have any money saved. Not because of his extravagant living, but because he is always underpaid, and never makes enough to live on.

The conditions of the Negro, especially the youth in the North is just as bad. That is because of the refusal of the A. F. of L. to accept them into the existing trade unions, and in general lack of organization. It is necessary to note that certain liberals, who seem to be so much concerned with the race problem, are developing the theory, that the Negro is "better off," by not joining the unions, because an employer would never pay the same wages to a Negro worker, when he can get a white

WHITE WOMEN LIKE "BLACK MAGIC"

Plead For Alleged Texas Voodoo Doctor Charged With Illegal Practice

SUPERSTITIOUS WHITES USED HIS "HOLY WATER"

White Cops, Detectives, Lawyers And Wives Listed Among Patients

HOUSTON, TEXAS.—A $200,000 bond put up by white women patients freed "Dr. Charles", arrested last week for practicing medicine illegally.

Friends of "Dr. Charles" allege it is only an effort on the part of jealous white physicians of the town who have lost much practice recently, to get rid of him.

White patients in "Dr. Charles'" office when the arrest was made admitted that they attended the clinic because they found local white physicians had been unable to help them.

Charles calls himself an African Hindu of Egyptian descent. Two blocks from his clinic is located St. Charles Baptist Temple. Police there found a book containing 800 names of patients, about half of them white and including city detectives, city police, their wives, leading white lawyers and a number of others.

CURED OF CANCER

One white woman told the investigators that she had almost been cured of cancer by the use of some reddish liquid.

One girl was treated for goiter, while the investigators looked on. A red band was applied to the girl's neck, then a red powder. Dr. Charles then dipped his fingers into water, rubbed them over the girl's neck and the treatment was ended.

"HOLY WATER"

The black magician admitted that his favorite remedy was "Holy Water" blessed by him over a pink candle.

An insanity treatment which he recommended required the use of certain white powders which were smelled by the patients. If the patient fainted, then the reddish powder and "Holy Water" from a tobasco sauce bottle was used to revive the patient.

Dr. Charles stated that he made no charges for his services. Usually patients left him, however, $1 a visit.

CAN'T READ OR WRITE

Dr. Charles can neither read nor write and says his gift comes from God for the benefit of suffering humanity. He was born in Louisiana but has lived most of his life in Texas.

REASONS FOR HATE

It is one of the curious intortions of the great problem of the races in this country that the white man hates the black man and the black man does not hate the white man—that the white man, the oppressor, should feel the bitter and venomous antipathy against the victim of his tyranny and exploitation; while the black man himself should find in his heart an almost inexplicable and unbelieveable kindness and generosity toward the overlord who so ruthlessly wields the nailed heel and fist against the neck of his victim. To white man, generally speaking, the sight or thought of a black man in any place, except the place of "hewer of wood and drawer of water" is the immediate cause for deep-seated and ineradicable resentment; to the black man the progress of the white man is rarely, if ever, the cause of adverse emotions, but rather a stimulant to adulation and admiration. The white man seems to hate per se the black man unless he is in the immediate state of direct and personal servitude; the black man, on the other hand, is not only devoid of antipathy to the white man as a white being per se, but actually seeks to explain and extenuate the white man's hatred toward him.

Why does this curious anomaly exist? Why is it that the man who has every reason to hate, in reality does not think of hating, and the man with no good reason for the manifestation of such sinister emotions spends a great part of his time cultivating them and in finding the so-called reasons for giving expression to them? We may find explanation of the white man's attitude in the doctrine that "he hates most those whom most he has wronged," but even this does not fully answer the situation for the reason that it does not explain the black man's "love" for the white man in the face of a set of circumstances that should tend to create anything but good will.

The real reason is that the white man has created such a perfect system of propaganda that he has whipped the great mass of whites into the state of racial frenzy and at the same time has subdued the black man into the false and fatuous belief that everything white is good and everything done by whites is great. He has created and handed to the black man a ready-made religion, which is predicated upon white angels with white robes, and white rivers of milk flowing beyond gates of pearl. He has idealized the white man in his literature and subjugated the black; he has propagandized the white man of the screen into a hero and the black man into a clown; he has by word of mouth passed along the good of the white man and the bad of the black, until as a matter of logical consequence the black man has more "love" for the white man and less respect for himself than the true facts of the case would warrant.

On the other hand, the white man has kept up a constant "rap-tap-tap," in his newspapers; he has beat a veritable "anvil chorus" of hate and malice; he has by a conspiracy of silence suppressed all, or nearly all, of the constructive news relating to us; and he has by unexpressed consent combined and conspired to broadcast with undue emphasis all that is shallow, mean, indecent and humiliating in our social and civic life. The inevitable result of this unwholesome and unnecessary propaganda is that the great masses of whites, fed upon this virulent poison, see and find in their hearts naught but hatred for the black folk whom they have been thus taught to despise. The one remedy for the whole situation—for this unnatural hatred of the black man by the white, and the undue "love" and "admiration" of the white man by the black—is "equality of propaganda" in the great papers, broadcasting stations and film studios, which practically fashion the great part of the thought of the nation. This must come sooner or later, because the black man is becoming too powerful and influential a minority to be forever ignored. He must be shown in the light of honor as well as humility; in the ways of progress as well as servitude; in the role of citizen as well as culprit if this nation expects him to fulfill the best traditions of civic virtue which the white man "claims" that he "hopes" the black man will attain.

MOST NORTHERN NEGROES stay "in their place." Yet even such perfect behavior is not enough to satisfy the American citizens of Seabright, New Jersey. In Seabright Negroes, decorous or indecorous, are simply not wanted, and if they do not realize this, well, we have a John Hall story. About three months ago Hall opposed a Klan lynching of another Negro near his home in Smithfield, Virginia. Following this he moved north to Seabright, hoping that he would be able to live peaceably. The Virginia Klan, however, determined that his "crime" should follow him and they forwarded his Virginia "anti-lynching record" to the Seabright Klan officials. Hall then received a threat telling him to leave town; he stayed and received more threats. Gradually this duress made him morose and melancholy and, finally, violently insane. The New Jersey State Hospital, however, refused to admit Hall because he was not a "legal" resident. Since the residents of Seabright did not want an insane man running wild in the community, there was only one thing left: John Hall's relatives must take him back to Smithfield. This they were induced to do, and now, having ousted Hall, the Jersey Klan is happy. And why not? It has discovered a new technique for getting rid of intelligent and outspoken and, therefore, undesirable Negroes.

AT LAST there is a sign of revolt against the increasing lawlessness of our police forces. From Wichita, Kansas, comes the good news that thirty-seven of the leading members of the bar of that city have organized to "de-Russianize the Police Department." Whether that slur on Russia is justified or not, these lawyers have been stirred

Race Problem - 1927 II
United States.

to action not only by the "third degree" but by the constant violation of every right of the citizen and of the person under arrest. People are arrested right and left on merest suspicion, then finger-printed and photographed before any charge has been filed against them. In many cases, the lawyers say, the persons arrested are promptly discharged because of total lack of evidence but their photographs and finger-prints remain in the Rogue's Gallery. Attorneys are constantly denied their right to see prisoners who are illegally held *incomunicado*. One case cited is that of a laboring man who was kept *incomunicado* for three days. Meanwhile his family was frantic at his disappearance, but he was not allowed to communicate with them until the police admitted that they had no evidence and released him. This sort of thing would bring about a revolution in England where they know and value their rights. In Wichita the new organization announces that it will teach its fellow-citizens what their rights are. Probably there is not a single large police force in America which does not daily violate the laws and the Constitution it is sworn to enforce.

THERE MUST BE NO LETDOWN IN the militarizing of the youthful minds of America, even in the summer time. This is the dictum of the United States Army and Navy "intelligence" departments. Of course, the fact that the regulations requiring compulsory attendance at military drill in many colleges cannot be used for these camps is for the present a handicap. So military drill is tinted with swimming and boating, tennis and track, baseball for some and polo for others; in fact, there are sports and recreation to suit every individual taste—a vacationist's Utopia with all expenses paid by the good old U. S. Army. If time permits, there may be some incidental rifle practice and also a little private contact between the straw dummy's stomach and the bayonet (just as in real war); then, to top the delightful summer sports program, there are a few psychology lectures on the proper attitude of a true patriot in time of war. In other words, say the militarists, we may have to coax the students to the Citizens Military Training Camps by camouflaging military drill under vacation programs, but we do get the fundamentals put across! And no one can gainsay them.

GOVERNOR FULLER of Massachusetts has been making an industrious, personal study of the Sacco-Vanzetti case in addition to the inquiry which his committee has been conducting, and it is unthinkable that out of these efforts—if intelligence and a desire to do justice have prevailed—there will come any decision but to set the prisoners free. There is a tendency after a lapse of seven years since the crime to emphasize unduly new phases and possibilities in regard to it. It seems to us that the already-known and undisputed facts are overwhelming in their force. Sacco and Vanzetti, as John Lawrence Hurley of the Suffolk Law School said six years ago, were convicted upon atmosphere, not evidence. The case against them consisted mainly of the testimony of identification witnesses and revolver experts. To us the testimony of the eye witnesses is practically valueless. They all saw the crime from factory windows or a considerable distance away, and when bullets began to fly were undoubtedly more concerned with their own safety than in trying to fix in memory the faces of the bandits, largely concealed by slouch hats. Not one of the identifying witnesses pretended to have known Sacco or Vanzetti before—the only circumstance that could give weight to such testimony. As to the revolver experts, the State's best witness, as it has since come out, was induced by the prosecuting attorney to make a statement which if not a deliberate falsehood was at least obviously misleading to the jury. Sacco and Vanzetti are not guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, as the law requires for their death. Thousands of persons entertain many doubts, both reasonable and sincere, in their behalf. The state of Massachusetts cannot ignore these doubts without making its reputation for justice a byword and a hissing in the civilized world.

HOW MUCH LOVE do the States have for their children? Not very much, if we judge by their legislation concerning children's compensation. Five States, the National Consumers League points out, make no provision for injured minors, while 17 States exclude illegally employed minors from compensation. In the remaining States, the study shows, compensation laws are "unequal, insufficient, and unjust. In 18 States the injured minor who is permanently totally disabled receives compensation for less than ten years"—he thus becomes an object of charity before he reaches the age of 30. "In 21 States," the report continues, "if he is permanently *partially* disabled, and his earning power has permanently decreased, his compensation ceases before he reaches the age of 25." "The intelligence that created mass production can make it safe," the authors of the report conclude. "When will it make work safe for the minors throughout this country? Mississippi and South Carolina, which have no compensation law, can enact one next year. Louisiana and Rhode Island, which exclude illegally employed minors from compensation, can amend their laws in 1928. What will they do?"

AS SURELY AS CHICKENS come home to roost, so certain is our Latin American policy to be attacked in future in any gathering in which persons from south of the Rio Grande are present, if any degree of freedom of expression prevails. Thus it is natural that the recent Pan-American Labor Congress, although meeting in Washington in the shadow of the Department of State, should have gone on record as against the Monroe Doctrine as interpreted in recent years. The original resolution, introduced by delegates representing Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Santo Domingo, charged the United States with thirty-five invasions in Latin America since 1898. The resolution was slightly toned down in committee, but as passed by the congress it attacked the use of the Monroe Doctrine to protect investments by citizens of the United States in Latin America. As worded presumably by Luis Morones, Secretary of Commerce, Labor, and Industry in Mexico, the resolution took issue with the recent assumption in Washington that "the person and property of a citizen of the United States are a part of the general domain of the United States as a nation, even when abroad." William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, made a fatuous attempt to uphold the Monroe Doctrine as intended to defend Latin American republics against European invasion. In practice it is used to justify the United States in policing and bossing her southern neighbors on the ground that otherwise some European nation would intervene. The assumption is not true, and if it were, would not justify our aggression.

been taken into local vice and bootlegging combinations to operate blind pigs with white capital.

Although the outlay for rent is less than is necessary on the south side, quarters are poorer, so that most of the newcomers are no better off than they were on the south side, Negro welfare workers believe. Negroes pay from $20 to $35 a month for deteriorated five to seven room stove-heated abodes on the west side. Rent is invariably advanced when a colored tenant takes over a property formerly occupied by whites—the increase sometimes amounting to 50 per cent. A few Negroes are endeavoring to buy their homes here, but the tendency is slight compared to that found on the south side.

There are some Negroes around Roosevelt and Crawford in the Lawndale district, but the other important west side Negro community lies between Washington boulevard and Kinzie street and from Ashland boulevard to California avenue, with Lake street as its main artery. The Negro residence area extends beyond these boundaries, but most of the business and church enterprises of the race are within this territory, which has long been settled by colored people. There has been a great influx since the war, but relations between the Negroes and the white residents are peaceful.

Most of Them Laborers.

Most of the Negroes in this community, which, according to N. G. Aubry, a Lake street pharmacist, numbers in excess of 8,000, are of the laboring class. Many of them own their own homes, which they keep in good order. There are a number of Negro real-estate dealers in this section as well as three drug stores, five undertakers and numerous barber shops, tailoring establishments and grocery stores.

worker to do the same work for the same price.

We all know that this is not true. That even in time of slack many white workers were let go, while the Negroes remained. We all know during the last investigation which was made not so long ago in the Pittsburgh district, in 239 steel mills it was proven that Negro workers are employed, and paid the same wage as the white and that the owners of these factories found Negro labor more reliable.

This bunk is being spread in order to keep the Negroes out of the unions with their own free will, and always be able to use them as scabs to break strikes of the white workers, and in such a manner still more strengthen race hatred.

What are the other chances, extended to the Negro and the Negro youth?

Where are these special privileges given to the Negro that bring them nearer to the white workers, except the privilege of slaving together, under the severest exploitation of the bosses.

America is famous for her public schools, and the education given free to all. Let us now compare the illiteracy among the whites and the Negroes.

The illiteracy among the whites is only 4.0 per cent of the entire population, while the illiteracy among the Negroes is 22.9 per cent. Why is it? It is because first, not as much money is spent for the Negro schools as for the schools of the white children, and second, because the Negro youth has to leave the schools much sooner and already in the early age, carry upon themselves the responsibility of his own upkeep.

There is only one time when no exceptions are made, and that is when the question of protecting American property is coming up. That is the only time when the Negro youth is reminded of being a citizen of this great democratic country, and appeals are made to him to join the army, navy, etc. and not let this country be ruined by foreigners.

What is there for the Negro youth and for the adult Negro to do? How can they solve their problem? The Negro youth ought to once for all understand that their emancipation is closely linked up with that of the entire working class. That they must fight first the battle of all the workers of this country, fight for their organization on class basis, for their admission into the trade unions and organize themselves into a strong class organization, which will be able to wage a fight against the entire capitalist system, and only then their problems will be solved.

The place of the Negro youth is in such militant organizations, as the Y. W. L. who fight for the interests of all the workers without any race differences.

Only with the downfall of capitalism which not only supports race discrimination but use it as a medium to keep away the workers of one race from another, will the problem of all the races be solved.

Moorefield Story Tells The N. A. A. C. P. That Courts Are Negro's Bulwark

Champion Of Human Rights Says Negro Should Use The Vote—Asks The Protection Of Negro In The United States

Indianapolis, June 23—Moorfield Storey, of Boston, former President of the American Bar Association, and National President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a message read at the opening mass meeting of the 14th Annual Conference here last night, called attention to the victories of the Association won this year before the U. S. Supreme Court as evidencing the protection given to the Negro in the courts of the land. Mr. Storey, who was secretary to Senator Charles Sumner during Reconstruction, could not make the journey from Boston to Indianapolis, because of his advanced age of 83 years, and sent a message to be read.

"We have had fresh evidence this year," said the message, "that the principles on which our liberty rests will be upheld by our courts. The attempt of New Orleans and the Supreme Court of Louisiana to overrule the Supreme Court of the United States and maintain a segregation ordinance was a pitiful failure when its advocates came before the court.

"The attempt of Texas to exclude colored Democrats from Democratic caucuses failed as soon as it came to the bar of the Supreme Court and the door was opened so that colored voters can take part in the government under which they live, and now it is for them to use their power.

Negroes Should Use Vote

"Voters count. People who cannot or do not vote do not count in making the laws under which we live, and it is encouraging to see that some of the political contestants in the South are beginning to realize that the colored vote is a force which can be used and which is large enough to carry many elections. Sooner or later there will be white men as anxious to bring out and use the colored vote as they have been to suppress it.

Aiken, S. C. "Plague Spot"

Referring to lynching in the South and particularly to the lynching in Aiken, South Carolina, Mr. Storey's message said:

"The proud old State of South Carolina found its Governor, its courts, its leading journals powerless to enforce the law against a group of well-known men in Aiken, who had murdered three Negroes charged with crime, of whom one had been acquitted and two others were relieved from conviction by the Supreme Court and granted a new trial. The New York World, after investigation by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, day after day published the facts, the evidence was convincing. But the grand jury closed their ears and obstinately refused to indict the murderers. The country cannot tolerate plague spots like this and every man who values his country's honor must do all that in him lies to end them."

Asks Protection Of Negro In U. S.

Criticising the sending of fleets and soldiers to protect Americans abroad, while American Negroes were not safeguarded in their fundamental citizenship rights in their own country, Mr. Storey's message said:

"Citizens whom the United States drafts into her armies, whom she taxes, on whom she imposes all the obligations of citizens, are certainly in their own homes entitled to protection against outrage. We are spending hundreds of millions and employing thousands of officers to punish men for selling, carrying or drinking liquor, beer and wine, and not a cent to punish men for cruel murder, not an officer to enforce the right of twelve millions of American citizens. The President without consulting Congress and without power under the Constitution taxes us all and sends our soldiers as police preserve order in Nicaragua, but finds no power to punish murder in our own States.

"The Constitutional Amendments won by four years of Civil War which secure the fundamental rights of our own citizens are treated as dead letters with the result that 86,341 votes elect 8 representatives in the South while it take 592,246 to elect the same number in the North. The white voter loses his own rights when he ceases to protect the right of his colored brothers."

Peonage Disclosed by Floods

Mr. Storey in his message also alluded to the peonage conditions disclosed by the Mississippi River floods as existing on delta plantations.

The floods in the South have brought out how nearly slaves are the colored workers on Southern plantations," said the message. "These conditions cannot last. Our duty is to bring out the truth and make our fellow-citizens realize what barbarism thrives under beneficent laws which we do not enforce.

"Be of good cheer, my friends, stand together, fight on in the courts and in public meetings. Look back on what we have won since 1865, and look forward with fresh courage to the future with assured faith that victory awaits us."

NEGRO COLONY ON WEST SIDE LATEST

15,000 Make Up Newest Community Where Three Races Mingle Peacefully.

Chicago Daily News

(The Negro has become an important economic, political and social factor in the life of Chicago. A staff writer made a careful study of the Chicago Negro community and its relations to other racial and economic groups. Aspects of Negro life and thought as observed by The Daily News investigator are set forth in twelve articles, of which this is the tenth.)

BY CARROLL BINDER.

Sons of Ham now vie with sons of Abraham for bargains in the push-cart purlieus of Maxwell street market. Abraham's children still have a monopoly on the trading, but they have had to make a concession to the newcomers in the west side ghetto by putting in stock articles of food never contemplated by the Mosaic dietary laws.

At least 15,000 Negroes now live between 12th and 14th streets and Canal street and Ashland boulevard—the newest of Chicago's emerging Negro communities. A few thousand more are clustered about Polk and Taylor streets in the 1700 block west. Colorful Maxwell street is a favorite trading center for these new westsiders.

Heavy emigration to more desirable parts of the city by the Jewish residents of Roosevelt road district worried the owners of run-down property in this section. Some one thought of the Negroes and journeyed to the south side with tales of low rents and freedom to expand. The south side community was still in the throes of a housing shortage and recruits for the west side were readily found. Negro newcomers to Chicago were also steered to the west side, with the result that Negro leaders on the west side are able to claim a voting strength of 4,000 in the 20th ward and 3,500 in the 26th ward.

Having themselves known what it is to be a minority race, the Jews of the west side have given a cordial welcome to their darker neighbors. Jewish children play with Negro children on terms of equality and comradeship. Jewish and Negro families share the humble dwelling houses of the west side in perfect concord. The remnant of Italians in the district maintain something of a reserve toward their new neighbors, but I heard nothing but praise for the Jews and Negroes from representatives of both races.

Negro Invading Business.

Trade and professional life is still principally in Jewish hands, but Negro barber shops, poolrooms, undertaking establishments and other personal services are being introduced into the community. Already there are two Negro dentists, four Negro physicians and two Negro lawyers practicing in this community, which is less than four years old. Two drug stores have been opened by Negroes and other business establishments are contemplated.

Just as in all pioneer communities the newcomers thought early of their churches. A Methodist and a Baptist church function now, and a third church is being arranged for. There are several store-front churches, and at Throop and 14th streets an old-time camp meeting is being held under a canvas tent.

Morris Eller is said to have adopted a friendly attitude toward his new constituents, and the Negroes claim to have been influential factors in the recent election. They supported the winning candidates for alderman in both the 20th and 26th wards—outvoting the Jews in the former and polling second in the latter ward, according to their leaders.

Several Negro lodges have already been formed in the new community, and local Negro leaders are trying to arouse interest in a day nursery. The health situation is very poor, Dr. R. H. Jackson, Northwestern university alumnus, who is practicing at 1403 Blue Island avenue, reports. Many of the houses occupied by Negroes are devoid of screens, and flies are a serious problem in warm weather. The newcomers are mostly unskilled laborers of low income. The colony has none of the wealthy race leaders to be found on the south side.

Vice Lords Absent.

South side vice lords have not extended their operations to this new Negro community, but loose women from the south side have come over to 14th street to ply their trade, and Negro men of suitable talents have

Continued on Page 6, Col. 2

Race Problem — 1927

United States, — Book Reviews.

RACIAL SELF-CONCEIT.

Here is a college professor who is iconoclastic enough to regard the doctrine of racial superiority as merely a manifestation of racial self-conceit. He has done this unheard of thing, despite all the theories of Aryanism, Gobinism, Teutonism, Social Selectionism, Gallicism, Anglo-Saxonism and Nordicism. The name of this professor is given as Frank H. Hankins and his book, in which he demolishes the doctrine of superior races, is entitled "The Racial Basis of Civilization: a Critique of the Nordic Doctrine."

We do not know whether this is the same college professor who was recently quoted as predicting that the Negro race in the United States would become extinct within the next two hundred years, but in this volume he deals more with the past than the future. In fact, according to a review of his book by a brother professor, he takes issue with the idea of tribal supremacy as the product of elaborate myths of racial origin. In the United States, it is stated that the institution of slavery, combined with immigration and provincialism, have tended to produce Ku-Kluxery, contempt for the darker people to the South and other manifestations of racial bigotry. This view of the matter should interest John Powell, the founder of the Anglo-Saxon clubs of Virginia, and his benighted followers.

The Nordic theory is referred to as arising toward the end of the last century, especially in Germany, and spreading to England and America, where it took the form of "a rising tide of adulation of the blond dolichocephal as the embodiment of all that was great in creativ genius, organizing ability and power o leadership." It was coupled with the belief "that the salvation of the world depended upon the maintenance of Nordic domination." This is "the white man's burden," that according to an observant traveler in the Southland is keeping the poor whites of the South Carolina coast regions and the Georgia hills saturnine and unprogressive.

BOOK CHAT

— by —

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

"The Lonesome Road"

By PAUL GREEN, published by Robert M. McBride & Company, 7 West 16th St., New York City. Price $2.00. By mail $2.10.

THIS is not the first time that I have called the attention of readers of Book Chat to the plays of Paul Green. And if I have been more enthusiastic before the popular vote has not been with me, for only today has Paul Green arrived. "In Abraham's Bosom," with Julius Bledsoe in the leading part, is making a run at the Provincetown Playhouse in New York. If it continues for any length of time, Paul Green will take his place with the successes at the center of our theatrical world.

The volume under review contains six one-act plays, all tragedies. Doubtless six of Eugene O'Neill's one-act plays, or a dozen for that matter, would all be tragedies, for Eugene O'Neill is essentially a tragedian.

But Paul Green has shown us that he has a light and lovely touch, and it is distinctly disappointing and lacking in verity to find his aspiring North Carolina Negroes always meeting failure. By no chance does anyone of his Negroes win through.

One of the plays, "White Dresses," tells of the love of a light colored girl for a white man and of the impossibility of their ever indulging their passion, since, unknown to one another, they are half brother and sister.

Another, "The End of the Row," also depicts the love of mulatto and white, this time of a girl of some education.

She is hated by her companions because she knows more than they and she ends by giving herself to the white man. Two others, "The Prayer Meeting" and "The Hot Iron," have only Negro characters. But the gloom is thick here also.

In the first, an old mammy sees all the younger generation go to destruction; in the second, the best play in the book, a wife and children are sacrificed to a brutal husband until at length—but I won't tell this ending, only that it is as frightful as it could well be made.

Two scenes from "In Abraham's Bosom" are given here. As presented in New York, it is in seven scenes. The first scene, and the first play in the book, is an exquisite bit of artistry. Abraham wants to study and to teach and everyone but his wife hates his books and jeers at him.

He travels "The Lonesome Road" without sympathy from his fellows. The Negroes close his school, only one little boy wanting to stay on. But I won't spoil the play by telling the story. Its ending is stark tragedy. As acted at the Provincetown, it has great moments, but it is monotonous in its hopelessness.

The N. A. A. C. P. has been blamed often for drawing as tragic a picture as it does of the South, but Paul Green's section of North Carolina is worse than anything we have ever put into an annual report. Lynchings and burnings are sporadic, but thwarted ambition in "The Lonesome Road" is the rule. No one can rise from his deadening environment.

Are there to be no new Negro themes? The light colored girl and the white man, how tired we are of them! The statement: 'White blood coming to de top. Dat make him wanta climb up and be sump'n"—we have heard that so often and know it is so foolish. This is surely the talk of yesterday.

I do not doubt that Mr. Green has seen all that he depicts. He tells us that he grew up to know well a bit of the farmland of North Carolina. But it is disappointing that a man who could write "The No 'Count Boy" should bring out such a volume as "The Lonesome Road." It is as sad as Eric Waldron's "Tropic Death".

LANGSTON HUGHES

(From Chicago Whip)

Mr. Langston Hughes, poet "low-rate" of Harlem, has just released his latest collection in a volume and dedicated it to Carl Van Vechten, a literary gutter-rat. It is well and wise that such a volume be dedicated to Van Vechten because he at least will revel in the lecherous lust-reeking characters that Hughes finds time to poetize about. Hughes captions his book "Fine Clothes to The Jew" and shows how poverty-stricken blacks sell their raiment to pawn-brokers, not an infrequent thing among the literary craftsmen of his group. These poems are unsanitary, insipid and repulsing. Again the harlot is brought to light, the crapsooter and the gin-bibber are made to talk in the lingo of their land. Hughes submits these feeble creations as a work of art. If the younger artists have no finer source of inspiration than "sinister shuttered houses" then they would do well to encase their pens and find a job. This work is a sad commentary on the psychology of the "new Negro."

When April saw the toes he began to laugh...April half rose to his feet and shouted:

"Look! my Gawd! Is you ever see sich a t'ing in you' life? My toes is come off! Dey runs by dey-se'f!"...

He tottered, for the bottom of the tub was slippery footing for his broken feet, and with a crumple he fell forward on the floor.

The close is full and in perfect harmony with the gruesome story. The black tyrant feels his absent toes and feet...

"Uncle—my feets is cold—I feels death up to my knees—"

"Son, you ain't got no feets, neither knees! Is you forgot?"

"No, I ain' forgot. But I feels 'em—dey's cold.

At the last he has but a single request. He resented loss of dignity in the shortened figure of a man he would make in cold and undissembling death. He turns to Uncle Bill.

"Uncle—" April's breath stifled, his eyes widened with the strain, but he forced his lips to twist out the words he wanted to say.

"Bury me in a man-size box—You un'erstan'? A man-size box—I been—six-feet-fo'—Uncle—Six-feet-fo'!"

The blaze in his eyes fell back... The tide had turned.

A powerful book, whether a first or a cresting last one. It is one of the most enduring stories, we think, of those that have been fashioned by the whites out of the dark material, the flesh and blood of these jungle-folk held and estranged, but not transformed, so long in slavery or in the hardly mitigated serfdom of the swamp and marsh.

In a review of "Six Months in the Field of Fiction," Edwin Clark, in the New York Times Book Review, June 26, says of this story: "The laurels for first place among native novels appear to belong to Julia Peterkin for her first novel, 'Black April'."

African Civilization Centuries Older Than White Races

MARY WHITE OVINGTON,
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"WONDERFUL ETHIOPIANS OF THE ANCIENT CUSHITE EMPIRE"

By Drusicalla DunJee Houston. Published by The Universal Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Price $2.50

This volume purports to tell the story of the Cushites and their influence upon ancient civilization. It is the result of enormous reading of very many authorities. The author quotes from this man and that, but gives us no footnotes, no bibliography and no index, so one is uncertain as to the authorativeness of the information retailed. Only a man well learned in ancient history could evaluate the volume. To the layman it seems a piece of special pleading by a reader (not a scholar) who, however, presents such a mass of facts that one cannot but be impressed by the majesty of the Cushite dynasties and by the former greatness of black men.

"Our story," Mrs. Houston says, "will deal with the ancient Cushite Empire of Ethiopia that covered three continents and held unbroken sway for three thousand years." She goes on to tell us: "When the Celt and Teuton call the Ethiopian of the new world 'Uncle' and 'Auntie' they are using titles that are scientifically true." The Cushite had the first great civilization and thus influenced all civilizations to follow. It was he who tamed the wild animals and gave us the domestic cow, horse and sheep. He took the wild grasses and grain and from them made the cereals that have become the staple food of man. He built the most magnificent of all ancient ruins. The Sphinx was his, and the caverns of Salsette and Elephante, wonders of Hindu architecture. He worked in metals, and designed the tools with which we conquer the forces of nature to-day. He first evolved a religion of altar and ritual. "The hearth, the altar and the forge," these were given to the world by the Ethiopian.

Mrs. Houston quotes many authorities to prove that the Ethiopian was always master of Egypt. That is, when he ceased to rule on the throne he ruled through the priesthood and through the realm of ideas. Flinders Petrie believes that Egypt was not influenced by any oriental civilization. And not only Egypt but Chaldea, Arabia, India were primarily Cushite in their culture. Thus we learn that civilization did not originate on that Asian plain, by the Euphrates, as we used to be told, but in Africa by the upper sources of the Nile. Here black people, whose features are carved on the wonderful monuments that are left for us to gaze upon, gave to the world much of what it still uses to-day. "The modern man," Mrs. Houston rightly says, "little realizes how much the ancients contributed to our modes of thought, to our comforts and to our business." Certainly, only very recently has the modern man ever heard of the many things that this author tells of the Ethiopians of the Cushite Empire.

If one goes through the book carefully one can pick out many remarkable facts, given on the best present day authority, of the majesty, beauty and practicality of this ancient race. Those who are anti-Negro will answer to such facts: "Ethiopians are not the same race as the Negroes who were brought from the West Coast to America." Well, if they aren't, they look mighty like them. The pictures in this volume are pictures of Negroes, whatever names may be placed under them. The white American does not hesitate to claim the culture of the Greeks and the Latins though he may be as different in feature and intellect, as Calvin Coolidge is from Pericles. But no white man can lay claim to this Cushite civilization, and every Negro rightly can.

One feels in laying down this book how foolish have been the old time statements that the white race was centuries ahead of the African. It is just the other way. The Negro has had the greater civilization. In Africa he is now decadent. The white race is younger, more vigorous. The two together ought in America to produce a noble culture and a powerful, just State.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.
JUL 3 1927

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...is unusual for a writer to win such praise and recognition by a first venture in fiction as Mrs. Julia Peterkin has so decisively won by her story of real Negro life, "Black April." The novel has been accepted at once by many of the best critics as not only a fine achievement by a new writer, but as a fine achievement if by the most seasoned veteran along the firing line.

It is a bit of fiction, however, to class Mrs. Peterkin among the "new" writers. This is her first full-sized book, but she has been doing some rarely fine work in fiction and sketches of Negro life for some time. "Green Thursday" made a considerable flutter among certain dove-cotes, as showing the advent of a fresh and brilliant talent at work in a lush and alluring new field. Some of her short stories had won her a reputation, and others had served to establish it, months—a couple of years perhaps—before the sunburst of "Black April" lifted out of the murk and fogs of the tidal marshes of the South Carolina coast. She was not, therefore, unknown, but her fuller avatar was rather expected.

In "Black April" she makes her assured entrance upon the stage, not as a debut but in answer to a ringing call before a very successful "curtain."

This story has been called a group of sketches and a collection of Negro folklore and superstitions, with attention paid to one or two picturesque and vigorous characters, rather than a novel in the generally accepted notion of what a novel is or should be. But there is no such general notion, and if there were, there are not two stories going the rounds to-day that could be brought together under the same rules or formula. It all goes back to what Henry James held, that the only obligation the fabulist is under is that the story must be interesting. Make it interesting, and all else will be gladly forgiven and more gladly forgotten.

"Black April" is, however, a novel and tells an absorbing story. It is true that it tells its harrowing though engaging tale through a swift series of incidents, rather than plot; but the incidents march forward with a fine coherence and a lush development toward a definitely foreseen end. In fact, the story of "Black April" is, translated to an alien soil and to alien souls, a Greek tragedy, drenched and dripping with inexorable fate.

We question if a more adequate and fitting opening to a story may be found even in Poe. In a way it recalls the House of Usher, in the rayless gloom of the scene, the portentous hush that smothers the life and breath of the swamp and forest and river. The Fates seem to have "set" the scene for their favorite "Tragedy Man, and its hero the Conquering Worm." There is ominous darkness, into which sinks swiftly the thin new moon, bad for "birthing" the coming baby, and into which also ebbs the dreadful and woe-presaging tide.

Many writers, in sea-coasts, have made use of the suggestion of the flood and ebb of the tide, but we do not recall another that has made better and more telling use of it than has Julia Peterkin in this story. The entire story, is, in a way, bracketed within two ebb-tides, the one that flows dismally back into the obliterating swamps on the first night, when Li'l' Breeze's mother is birthing him amid all the clattering and terrifying works of the devil; and the tide that ebbs to the swamps and sea as Black April's restless spirit also moves out with the receding waters.

"Granny," mutters Old Breeze to the ancient midwife, "better make haste. De tide'll soon turn. Ebb tide ain' to be trusted, you know."

And, at the end as Black April is dying:

"The blaze in his eyes fell back, cold, dim. A long shudder swept over him. The tide had turned."

Over and under many a frightful ebb-tide, that flowed between these two fateful ones, the grim story, as destinate and doomed as the tragedy of Elektra or Medeia, floods and stagnates, and recedes, as if into the dark out of which it seemed to emerge in the beginning.

The story is, if anything, too rich, too full for its low swamp banks to contain. There is every known superstition and cunjuh and spell and witchcraft known to the jungles of the Kongo or the slave-haunted marshes of the coast. If the Negro's superstitions and charms and voodoo were lost, they could, as we say, be restored from these pages, richly encrusted with this lore, like the silt and detritus after ebb-tide in the rice fields.

But these superstitions are not flung pell-mell into the story. They are made to work, each its charm and spell. For instance, much of the movement of the rather slender plot is driven forward by these Negro fetishes and charms and spells. They constitute a large part of the life and ritual of faith on the plantation and are the motive power in the daily acts and thoughts of these black folk. Nothing is done or planned without the intercession of the spirits, and the enemy is cursed deep and witheringly by means of some potent spell.

Black April is brought to his awful fate through the cunjuh of a death-sheet from the bed of a dying person, unwittingly laid over him while asleep. An accompanying curse, aided by the death-sheet, rots away his toes and his feet. The giant, six-feet-four, master of the isolated swamp plantation, terror to men and women, and the father of nearly all the children in the promiscuous black community, Turk and heathen brute in one, yet a vigorous and appealing character, is brought low, a maimed, pest-eaten, horrible creature, broken in body but his spirit still aflame—all through the curse and the charm of one he had wronged. He had enough curses to crush him, and enough spells had been woven and wrought to destroy him, one sure if the others failed.

This burly Negro, a creature fresh from the jungle and as untamed as a gorilla, is yet one of the most original and vigorous creations we have seen in recent fiction. He holds the allegiance of all the Negroes about him through terror and also through their boundless admiration and envy of his fearful strength and blind courage, which feared nothing except the spirits, and defied their spells and the witchcraft of the devil himself.

Of the richly varied incidents of the story those most typical of the Negro of this region will be, of course, most valued. Mrs. Peterkin has been a close and shrewd and thrifty observer of the Negro of her terrain, the rice-fields and the swamps and lowlands along the coastal belt. There are in this book descriptions of fights, as between Sherry and April, between the two giant women furies, Big Sue and Leah, a fight to the death, over envy and jealousy and a theft, that are as full of thrill as a bull fight in the arena of Seville or a death-grapple by gladiators in the Roman amphitheater. Huge, fearsome, titanic struggles, battles that suggest the jungle slime and the pitiless law of the jungle.

Through the story the shadowy life of Li'l' Breeze runs like a dark ripple in the swamp grass or over the scum-infested surface of the fevered lagoons. He lightens the grim sense of fate and tragedy that hangs sometimes too heavy to endure, and interprets the life of the plantation like a small piping Greek chorus. Really a charming little black imp.

And Joy has a peculiar attraction to the reader, with her slender girlish frame, frightfully burdened beyond her strength, the plaything of grim fate, the victim of both Sherry and April, yet preserving, in some mysterious way, a charm and an appeal.

There are many strong characters, all drawn with clever understanding and sympathy, and all clear and distinct one from the other, and the group withdrawn from the encircling and howling herd.

The dialect of the story, as sparingly and adroitly used by Mrs. Peterkin, is difficult to define, yet perfectly familiar and clear. It is not the Gullah of Ambrose Gonzales's "Black Border"—not so rich and lush and sonorous and satisfying—yet it has certain haunting memories and accents and melodies of the Gullah. "You don' mind me bein' dis way, enty?" asks the mutilated Black April of his new wife, Joy. "Enty" is "pyo" Gullah, and a delight to ear and mind. But it is wise, we think, not to use so much dialect as to make the reading and understanding of the story too difficult. Mrs. Peterkin often simplifies the dialect, with her white unsophisticate readers in view, leaving just enough to retain the savor and the harsh tang of the curious speech. Also, Mrs. Peterkin's dialect is not that of the midland swamp Negroes of Ned Adams, in his fine recently "Congaree Sketches." But [it] is kin to both, and touches both Gullah and Congaree, because used by ultimately the same race.

Some of the scenes are quite gruesome, and send a shudder through a reader not seasoned to the Negro life and manners of the coast swamps. As a brief example, Uncle Bill, the medicine man, the Shaman, and spell-weaver of the community, has prepared a brew to cure Black April's gangrened legs, an awful brew, and frightfully hot. April sticks in his feet.

"It's 'bout right, enty?" Joy asks.

"I dunno," April gloomed. "I can' feel 'em"... But Joy's wide-opened eyes stared at the tub. She was gone plumb fool! Plumb daffy!

"Uncle Bill—Looka! Fo' Gawd's sake...The medicine must a' been too strong!"...

Breeze's eyes followed Joy's to the tub. He stared, too. He saw what made her teeth click together. April's toes!

They had come loose from his feet, and floated around in the tub...

We shall hear more of Black April, in the literature of criticism, both this giant character and the book of which he is the central force.

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And Joy has a peculiar attraction to the reader, with her slender girlish frame, frightfully burdened beyond her strength, the plaything of grim fate, the victim of both Sherry and April, yet preserving, in some mysterious way, a charm and an appeal.

There are many strong characters, all drawn with clever understanding and sympathy, and all clear and distinct one from the other, and the group withdrawn from the encircling and howling herd.

The dialect of the story, as sparingly and adroitly used by Mrs. Peterkin, is difficult to define, yet perfectly familiar and clear. It is not the Gullah of Ambrose Gonzales's "Black Border"—not so rich and lush and sonorous and satisfying—yet it has certain haunting memories and accents and melodies of the Gullah. "You don' mind me bein' dis way, enty?" asks the mutilated Black April of his new wife, Joy. "Enty" is "pyo" Gullah, and a delight to ear and mind. But it is wise, we think, not to use so much dialect as to make the reading and understanding of the story too difficult. Mrs. Peterkin often simplifies the dialect, with her white unsophisticate readers in view, leaving just enough to retain the savor and the harsh tang of the curious speech. Also, Mrs. Peterkin's dialect is not ... of the midland swamp Negroes ... Ned Adams, in his fine recently ... "Congaree Sketches." But it is kin to both, and touches both Gullah and Congaree, because used by ultimately the same race.

Some of the scenes are quite gruesome, and send a shudder through a reader not seasoned to the Negro life and manners of the coast and swamps. As a brief example, Uncle Bill, the medicine man, the Shaman, and spell-weaver of the community, has prepared a brew to cure Black April's gangrened legs, an awful brew, and frightfully hot. April sticks in his feet.

"It's 'bout right, enty?" Joy asks.

"I dunno," April gloomed. "I can' feel 'em"...

But Joy's wide-opened eyes stared at the tub. She was gone plumb fool! Plumb daffy!

"Uncle Bill—Looka! Fo' Gawd's sake...The medicine must a' been too strong!"...

Breeze's eyes followed Joy's to the tub. He stared, too. He saw what made her teeth click together. April's toes!

They had come loose from his feet, and floated around in the tub...

Race Problem - 1927

Mexico and Central America

MEXICO'S FIRST PRESIDENT A MULATTO SLAVE

Rogers Abroad Throws Light On The "George Washington" Of Mexico

LED REVOLUTION AGAINST SPANISH

First Work As President Was To Build Schools And Emancipate Slaves

NEW YORK.—Mexico's first president and head of the republic was a mulatto slave.

J. A. Rogers, author and journalist, who has been in Europe for the past year, has unearthed some very interesting information about Vincente Guerrero, Liberator of Mexico.

While in Paris he ran across a description of Guerrero in Larousse, the French encyclopedia, stating that he was 'esclave mulatre", meaning "mulatto slave".

In the December number of "The Messenger", Mr. Rogers tells the interesting story of this Mexican George Washington, who would be jim-crowed if he lived in the United States today.

Guerrero was elected president in 1825 after leading the revolt against Spain.

Built Schools

He at once set about improving the conditions of the masses composed largely of Indians and half-breeds. He ordered schools to be built and established free libraries. Reading had been forbidden by the Spaniards, and the inquisition had been active. Guerrero further established a coinage, regulated the gambling houses, and ordered a suspension of the death penalty. But that was not all. He had been inspired by the American Constitution, but, going further, than that document he ordered the immediate freedom of every slave in the republic. A reading of the Mexican Constitution, much of it the work of Guerrero, shows it to be one of the most liberal in existence.

Emancipation

"Guerrero's emancipation proclamation passed almost unnoticed because chattel slaves were few—all except in one part of the republic where it made a tremendous stir—Texas. The Texans were Americans who had migrated into Mexico under the leadership of Stephen Austin. The land had been granted them by the Spanish viceroy, and they had sought there a haven from the agitation against slavery then going on in their own land. The slaveholders had jumped from the frying pan into the fire."

Thus, a Negro slave became the George Washington of Mexico.

ANNEXING ANOTHER COLONY

Casting the last bit of pretense and hypocrisy aside, the United States Government has grabbed little Nicaragua. For years a detachment of American Marines was kept at the capital of the country encouraging the politicians to work steadily in the interest of American business as represented by the mahogany and fruit companies. Alarmed by the success of the Labor government in Mexico which had taken over the land and given it to the peons and anxious to protect the investments of Yankees in Latin-American countries from possibly a similar fate, the United States Government stepped into the picture recently when Sacasa, the Liberal leader, friendly to Mexico, was about to gain the Presidency of Nicaragua. The Marines proceeded to make Nicaragua safe for Wall Street, as they helped to make the world safe for it ten years ago. Thousands of soldiers of the sea were piled into the country to "protect" the handful of Americans there. Neutral zones were declared in such number that there was nowhere for the contending Nicaraguan forces to fight. Ammunition belonging to the Liberals was thrown into the river. The forces of the legal President were routed by American bullets and an American-owned puppet put in his place.

Now, Dr. W. P. Cumberland, present financial advisor to our Haitian puppet government, has been ordered to Nicaragua "to supervise the proposed reorganization of its financial structure." Ironically enough, part of this financing provides for floating an immediate loan of $2,000,000 to meet claims against the Nicaraguan "government" arising from damages incurred while the Nicaraguans were recently resisting the domination of their country by the United States. This is the same sort of thing our government put over on Haiti and Santa Domingo. It is reported that additional loans totaling $22,000,000 will be extended to settle all claims and to build an inter-ocean railway to speed the exploitation of the country and its people. Out of this sum the Nicaraguans are also to pay for the supervision of their elections (where they will vote for American-picked candidates) by our Leathernecks; the entire expenses of our Army of Occupation while it was grabbing the country; and all claims of the United Fruit Company and other big American plantation owners. Brown Brothers, the New York bankers who formerly owned Nicaragua, have turned it over to a group of Wall Street bankers headed by J. & W. Seligman & Company, who will underwrite all of the loans. Of course this money will never leave the United States and the coffers of our investment bankers. No Nicaraguan will ever see it, except a mite in the form of salary as an American catspaw.

e we have a clear case of a government which cannot pro- millions of its citizens at home, spending millions of dol- rs and sacrificing the lives of its soldiers to capture a numerically weaker neighbor, and then being paid by the investment bankers for its trouble.

Of course, Nicaragua still has her national flag and remains in the family of nations, but only nominally. In reality she takes her place alongside of Haiti, which belongs to the National City Bank, and of Cuba, which is a satrapy of the Sugar Trust. Henceforth, under the lash of "effciency" and "improved methods" the dark-skinned workers of Nicaragua, formerly pawns in the frequent revolutions financed by alien schemers and headed by rival generals, will sweat to pay off money "lent" to them by their American masters. So the American Empire follows its star of destiny.

RACE WAR HERE IF ANNEX MEXICO

SO SAYS SPEAKER AT FORD FORUM—WHITES OF U. S. WILL PROSCRIBE DARK MEXICANS AND THEY WILL FIGHT—BUT OUT WEST THEY ACCEPT MEXICANS.

Sunday night at Ford Hall, Frank Tannebaum in his speech on "Misunderstood Mexico" said; "When people talk of intervention in Mexico they do not mean intervention but annexation and now I am going to say what I will be blamed for; understand, I have no prejudice against creed or color but there are many in these United States that have, and if we have annexation with Mexico the ten millions of Negroes in this country and the many millions of mixed bloods, Negroes and Indians in Mexico will be treated with the same predjudice that the colored people are now treated here, and the Mexicans have ben trained to fight for centuries. Cannot you see America would have a race war and no one can tell how it will end? We should strive to avoid that.

BLAMES CATHOLICS FOR MEXICAN ROWS

Dr. Elliott, Methodist Editor Says Their Past Methods Caused Present Bans.

VEILED ATTACK ON KLAN

Dr. Belting at Conference Chides Those Who 'Fear' Non-Protestant Will Go to White House.

Special to The New York Times.

ASBURY PARK, N. J., March 9.—Anti-Catholic legislation in Mexico was attributed to the Catholics themselves, and the wave of nationalism now sweeping China was laid at the door of American missionaries by the Rev. Dr. George Elliott of New York City, in an address before the ninety-first New Jersey Conference of Methodist Episcopal Churches this afternoon.

Business sessions were opened this morning with the reading of the reports of the four district superintendents. The Rev. Dr. Herbert J. Belting of Red Bank, Superintendent of the New Brunswick District, delivered a veiled attack on the Ku Klux Klan in his report.

Dr. Elliott, who is editor of the Methodist Review, declared it was essential that Christians practice Christianity as well as preach it if the world was to be won over to religion.

"The situation in Mexico, where laws now are inimical to the interests of Catholics," said Dr. Elliott, "have been brought about by the Catholics themselves. For years the Catholics there have controlled a great proportion of the land yet they have done little to increase the educational advantages of the country. The Catholics in my opinion are largely responsible for their own difficulties."

In discussing China he said the situation there had been brought about by the missionaries, "who have given the forward-looking Chinese people a new line of reasoning. The Christian teaching has created a new Chinese spirit and it is this that is being manifest in the democratic spirit of a large part of the Chinese people."

Dr. Elliott saw strong possibilities of the eventual Christianizing of Japan.

Superintendent Belting's report began with the remark that he had something to say that merited "very careful consideration." He denounced the "unholy hands" that desecrate by burning the cross, the "most holy symbol in Christendom." He deplored the reputed animosity to Catholics and Negroes which has been laid to the Klan and daclared that Protestants should "learn what they preach" when they attack alleged Catholic attempts to control legislation.

"We have no more authority or right to attempt to control legislation ourselves," he said. "There is a lot of fear being expressed that a non-Protestant will get in the White House. I say that I would rather have a black man with a white heart in that exalted position than a white man with a black heart."

WAR DECLARED ON LOWER CALIF. AND MEXICAN LAND AND DEVELOPMENT CO.

For the past five months or more we have written and caused to be published weekly, in one or two of the local Negro papers, a series of articles written under the caption of "War Declared on the Lower California Mexican Land and Development Co." Naturally the question arises, "What have we accomplished?"

We offer no answer to this question, but simply leave it with the persons—and there are many of them—who have read these articles. In order that we might assist such persons who read these articles to arrive at a more definite and conclusive answer, we would state that we had first chosen this method of procedure only as a means to an end. First we thought that we would arouse the gentleman (we could plainly call his name but will refrain just here) who had been the chief instigator of all of the false acts and malignant deeds in this company's affairs, to a sense of his duty and that he would at least try to make some amends for such misdeeds. Did we accomplish that? Not so that you could notice it.

Secondly, we thought that with such representative men occupying seats on its Board of Directors they would from the very beginning have taken a look into the affairs of the company of which they constituted its Board, to see that the skirts and undergarments of the organization were clean and kept clean. Before we write further we might again state to the public through these columns who or what persons constitute the present Board of Directors of the company. They are as follows: Messrs. Theo. W. Troy, A. J. Roberts, Rev. A. P. Shaw, Robert Head, Jas. Evans, A. Chavis, Ellsworth Saunders, Hugh E. Macbeth, Louis Bryant and J. H. Stevens.

We are sorry to state that the writers of these articles have not had a chance to take this matter up personally with all of the above directors. but with some of them we have and their answers to us have been that they are satisfied with Hugh E. Macbeth's actions and satisfied with the status of the company's affairs. While still there is another group that, when we approach them on this matter of which we are now writing, seem to get plenty of "kick and grin" out of the affairs, but offer no support for a housecleaning campaign.

We want to deviate from our subject matter just a moment here to tell you of a friendly critic who sometimes tells us there are some things that we say in our articles at times that could be left out. We are about to say something now that he may not think expedient, so we here pause for an apology. The following is not for you, friend critic. Some smart Alec of a critic is going to say that we should not have openly published the names of all of our directors and let the people know that they are mixed up in the affair with such as this. We believe and accept that most of the members of the Board are Christian gentlemen, and we know that Christian gentlemen never get angry when the truth and nothing but the truth is spoken. Is not that so, fellows? Most of these men still retain our respect and confidence, while the wrong-doing and the loose-tonguedness we openly place at the feet of Hugh E. Macbeth.

Not succeeding in getting the co-operation and support from our directors, it has driven us to the third and last stage to right our company's affairs. What does that mean? To frankly answer this question, it simply means to say that we have sent to Sacramento and got the entire files of the Lower California Mexican Land and Development Company, and have put this bunch of records and non-records into two of Los Angeles' most prominent lawyers to see what they will be able to do about it. We make no predictions of the outcome. Watch and see. We now have in our possession a letter from Senor Ricardo Romero, the Mexican trustee of the lands in Mexico. He specifically and openly states that he is acting as trustee for the eight men only who originally purchased the lands. No records exist in the Republic of Mexico which hold him or the lands responsible for the moneys which have been collected and spent in exchange for stock of the Lower California Mexican Land and Development Company. We may again repeat to the stockholders that the stock which you hold is not worth the paper on which it is printed.

By AUDITING COMMITTEE
J. H. STEVENS,
C. A. TROY,
J. N. LITTLEJOHN.

Race Problem - Central America - 1927

Lawyers - 1927

Central America

Colored Judge of British Honduras Visits N. O.; On Six Months Furlough

The Honorable Edward Edgar Eldred Metzgen, judge of one of the district courts of Belize, British Honduras, and who visited the editorial rooms of the National Negro Voice at 307 Pythian Temple, is in our city on a six months furlough.

National Negro Voice

Mr. Metzgen is a colored British subject of his educational training and of wide lagal and business experience.

1-8-27

Mr. Moraud Metzgen, a brother to the judge, is the chief internal revenue officer at Belize, Honduras. His brother is well acquainted with New Orleans, having visited the city several times.

New Orleans La.

The judge has been in the city about ten days and says he is delighted with the city and treatment he has received from those whom he has met.

The Metzgens of Honduras are descendants from an old and honorable Danish family of Copenhagen, Denmark.

The judge is stopping at 523 S. Roman St.; any one desiring to visit him can find him at this address.

There is published in Honduras a handbook of information relative to the country, its products,industries, commerce, religious and educational advantages, etc.; any one desiring one of these books may write to Mr. Moraud Metzgen, at Broadwalter, British Honduras, who will send the book which cost $1.25.

Race Problem - 1927

West Indies,

CUBA BARS HAITIAN LABORERS

Washington, Feb. 10 (CPB)—According to a release just issued by the U. S. Department of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture in Cuba is reported to have informed the Cuban Sugar Mill Owners' and Planters' Association, which petitioned unrestricted authorization to import as many Jamaican and Hatian laborers as might be deemed necessary for the harvesting of the 1927 crop, that the Government cannot allow the free entry of such laborers except when it is absolutely necessary, and with the provision that the companies or persons bringing them into the country offer the nedessary guarantee that as soon as the crop is harvested they will be repatriated.

May Ask Congress to Make Porto Rico State

San Juan, Porto Rico, March 16.—According to a statement credited to Senator William H. Hale, who is spending a short time traveling over this island and studying conditions, he plans to introduce a bill in congress next December asking for Porto Rican statehood.

Representative Edgar Wilkies of Pennsylvania, chairman of the house committee on insular affairs, is also spending some time here for the purpose of making a thorough study of conditions on the island.

HAITI CONTRACT TO U. S.

Negotiations for Irrigating Rich Valley are Successful

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, June 3.—Official announcement of the signing of a contract for irrigating the Artibonite Valley, in Haiti, is expected tomorrow.

Negotiations have been going on for months between the Haitian government and Co-Representative William A. Rodenberg of Illinois, representing American capital. The valley is considered to be potentially the most productive area in Haiti, but since French colonial times it has yielded little more than its inhabitants require.

Under the contract's terms Haitians are enabled to share in the enterprise, it is understood. A statement issued at the American Legation said: "The treaty officials' consideration of this contract was animated throughout by desire to protect Haitian interests. The officials consider that the rights of the inhabitants and of the Haitian Government are scrupulously maintained."

Talk of Acquiring British West Indies a Hardy Annual

(From the Chicago Tribune)

CHICAGO, June 3.—In your editorial of yesterday's date, "The British West Indies and the Naval Conference," you advocated upon the United States negotiate for the British West Indies, giving as your chief reason that "the Caribbean is an American ocean." Canada is also an American country, but that is no reason why it should be owned by the United States. In case of a war with Great Britain, Canada can be used more effectively as a basis of operation by Great Britain to harm the United States than the British West Indies. The Caribbean sea may be an American ocean, but it is not a United States ocean.

You talk about the British West Indies only as so much land. These islands are inhabited almost entirely by black men and women. White people are also there, and white and black men and women mix and are treated on an equal basis in every shape, manner and form. There is no segregation and no lynching. The British West Indians do not want and will resent the idea of being governed by the United States.

England is solvent and willing to pay her war debts. Why don't you suggest negotiating for the French West Indies?

JOSIAH GORDON.

Long Life to Christopher Braithwaite

New York has seen far too little of Barbadoes' strenuous, genial, eloquent legislator, Hon. Christopher Braithwaite, who sails shortly for his home and post. What it has seen of him it has admired and applauded. He represents the newer type of colored officials everywhere, who has ceased being the tool of some political machine for the purpose of milking his own people. He represents the independent progressive school, whose profession is new problems solving at so much per problem, but whose duty to himself and his own demands sincere and substantial service. England has neglected the West Indian Islands. It has held a tight reign upon them. Their progress has been in spite rather than because of Great Britain.

In all this work the real strong West Indian leaders are laboring heroically. Christopher Braithwaite is among them. Our racial problems are one. Therefore we are one. More power to leaders like Braithwaite.

N. Y.
HERALD TRIBUNE

MAY 28 1927

City in Search of an Author

By Arthur Ruhl

CRISTOBAL, Canal Zone.

IF COLON had never been cleaned up and the canal never built—if old Colon were still the dump on the beach it used to be, a string of leprous shacks, in which you might get drunk or robbed or wake up to find that some beachcomber had died of yellow fever overnight in front of your door—it might be wilder than it is now, but scarcely more curious and of the theater.

Nature intended this strip of tropical beach to be a strip of tropical beach, but man willed otherwise. Nearly everybody and everything on the "Atlantic side," as they say in the Zone (for, of course, Panama City faces the Pacific), has, therefore, the air of having been brought here, of being the symbol or sample of something rooted somewhere else. And ordinary things acquire, because of what they suggest, quite extraordinary qualities, just as a tin can by the river's brim a tin can may be and nothing more, but may tear your heart out with its familiar label if stumbled onto in the middle of the Sahara.

* * *

You emerge from your big white fruiter and the suspended animation of a week or so on a tropical sea, tramp down the dockshed past scuttling little electric trucks steered by Jamaica Negroes bossed by Yankee foremen, and it is not boxes and bales but whole civilizations and the tremendous adventure of commerce that you see as you pass California sardines for Talcuahuano, Chile; Waukegan barbed wire for Amapala, Honduras; Bordeaux wine for Bluefields, Italian olive oil for La Libertad, and something marked "Vorsicht" which is going to cross the continental divide via the canal, go down the west coast to Antofagasta, be swung out into a lighter, hauled through the surf, and finally end up in a little one-story stone shop in the thin cold air of the Bolivian highlands.

You cross the street to get into the shade, the sweat trickling down the backs of your hands, hear a vaguely familiar sound of rubber-soled feet, the slap of a ball and a referee's whistle, and, lo and behold, it is the Cristobal Y. M. C. A. basketball game, and all just as if it were in West Twenty-third Street!

A Negress shuffles by, face opaque and inscrutable, neck nodding in rhythm with her proud, bored, slightly camel-like walk; the palms overhead rustle stiffly in the tepid trades, and you are just slipping into a tropic revery when your eyes are slapped suddenly by the sharp metallic definiteness of a bronze sign reading, "New York Life" or "Chase National Bank."

* * *

An invisible line separates American Cristobal from Panamanian Colon. On the one side of it the Eighteenth Amendment and other American idiosyncrasies, including coal pockets that can fill a liner's bunkers almost as easily as a man fills a bushel basket; on the other one is east of Suez and welcome to raise any and every sort of thirst.

Hindus and Chinamen and all their silks and Oriental gimcracks, barkeeps and dance-hall girls, Jamaica Negroes "British objects"—with their flat singsong, Caribbean mongrels of every conceivable crossing of tropical beachcomber blood, carry on here what is left of the old Colon life against an exotic background of rectilinear streets, cash registers, traffic policemen, and all the Occidental gimcracks which American industrialism and salesmanship combine to try to make people think they want.

Constantly crossed by the American life from either end, swept and disinfected out of its natural squalor, the old bazaar and bagnio quarter seems quite to belong to the theater. Its flimsy rookeries are stage "sets"; its people, the more real they are, seem the more "authentic" types from plays like "Rain" or "White Cargoes," and as you drift under the high wooden arcades, mechanical pianos clattering, phonographs squeaking, smells and accents evoking a dozen different civilizations and settings at once, you constantly have the feeling that the only thing Colon needs is "lines" and a plot.

* * *

A tropical smell of garlic, fried fish, pineapple and wood smoke is suddenly cut across by an odor that belongs a couple of thousand miles away—the cool, beery breath of the old-time American saloon. And here, indeed, it is: Style, early Coney Island; vast bar, heavy mahogany woodwork, mirrors, a giant barkeep (out of "The Deluge"), with just the right air of cynical wisdom; good nature in so far as the latter is commercially profitable; the ability, if need be, to break anybody's head with a bung starter.

Obviously such a phenomenon, obsolescent even in its native habitat, doesn't belong on a steaming Caribbean beach. It's a part, like everything else here, of some sort of play. You no sooner sit down (with an Englishman whom you last saw in Finland, whose ship happens to be tied up in the next slip, and whom you quite naturally—this being Panama—bumped into as soon as you struck the street) and give the order, when bang—there's a shot!

Naturally. There would be. Or maybe it wasn't a shot—only the backfire from an army truck. Anyhow, everybody piles into the streets. Here the setting is even more cunningly worked out. Against a background of ramshackle wooden arcades, gobs in spotless white, skin-tight around the hips; Panamanian policemen, girls with mango-colored flesh looking out from upper windows, distant dance music and warm street lamps, a bareheaded mestizo, livid with fury, is shrieking "Plata! Plata!" which means money, and asserting that a white man, whose make-up suggests a Kentucky colonel or a mild sort of Simon Legree, has stolen his $150. Saying so, he lunges forward as if, had he but a knife, he would carve the other's heart out, while the white man, with a superb gesture, also lunges forward and hisses the expletive "You ——— ———!" so much in vogue nowadays in our robuster popular plays.

Will the white man kill the other man? Will the other man get his money? At any rate it's delightful; the suspense excellent, the setting perfect, and it seems that surely now the action must begin. However—and that's the trouble with Colon—nothing does begin. The lines aren't ready, policemen and friends push in, the mestizo fades away, Simon Legree drifts into the bar to tell his troubles and have a drink, and the whole situation comes to nothing.

* * *

You drift down the street—a flock of gabbling American tourists, a huge Negro woman squatting over a charcoal brazier; smells of greasy cazuelas, of rum, sweat, suddenly cut into by the cool sizzle and slightly cloying vanilla-and-chocolate breath of an American soda water fountain and drug store. Across the street, behind swinging half doors, American sailors dancing with cedar and lemon-colored girls in pink skirts to a marimba orchestra.

How gently, not to say shyly, that giant with the blond pompadour—born in Dakota, probably, from a German mother by a Swedish father—pushes round his partner, under whose dusky skin, gray with powder, sizzle all the criss-crossing strains from the Caribs and Conquistadores down. Poor, lonesome gob! . . .

But for the matter of that, poor girl! Nothing ahead, rather too much behind, almost white in spite of it, and clutching now for an instant, in the arms of this red-faced Yankee, the exultation of those who sauter la barriere.

However that may be—honk! honk! . . . And a motor car slides coolly by, in the rear seat two smart young naval officers in white. Ah! Our old friend Pinkerton, out of "Madama Butterfly," and for an instant a bar or two of Puccini's music seems to rise above the pianos and phonographs.

* * *

This sort of thing goes on indefinitely, not to say to the point of dizziness, in this extraordinary town. There's almost nothing you don't see a sample of, in that half-mile stroll from the ship down to the Washington Hotel. Slatternly Magdalens stand on the sidewalk in front of the little booths, decorated with picture postcards, rotogravure photographs and Japanese fans, in which they ply their ancient trade. And a few blocks further, at the shore end of the road, you come on the low stone Anglican façade—as much of a stage-set as any of the rest, with the palms and the warmly swashing surf behind it—of Christ Church by the Sea.

You wait for the stage bells to toll and for the young curate to come out the ivied door, but the bells are silent and the curate doesn't come. With the steamer sailing in the morning, it seems out of the question to try to arrange the plots and supply the lines that all that scenery back there in the town is waiting for, at any rate tonight, and there's nothing to do but take a swim in the Washington's tank, if it's still open, or go back to the ship.

Porto Ricans in Santo Domingo.

An experiment in finding work for a Porto Rican colony in Arizona was only a dubious success. But a tide of emigration is now flowing from Porto Rico to Santo Domingo.

Six times the size of Porto Rico and with half a million less population, Santo Domingo is bidding for tillers of the soil. The Government is offering supplies, seeds, and even housing, to the Porto Ricans. Twenty thousand of them have gone to Santo Domingo, according to a report made by ORTIZ ARZENO, the Dominican Consul for Porto Rico.

With a common language, the two peoples are sympathetic. There are stories that the Dominicans sometimes taunt immigrants from the sister isle with being Americans. But the time soon comes when Porto Rican farmers are almost indistinguishable from their neighbors.

RAFAEL ESPAILLAT, Secretary of Agriculture, says that there is a strong reason for offering land to Porto Ricans: they lack territory at home and they speak Spanish. Products can be marketed in Cuba and the United States. Determination to work and the will to face hardships should insure the success of the Porto Rican colonists.

Haitian Delegates Arrested

WASHINGTON, D. C., [illegible] telegram telling of the arrest of Haitian delegates to the Pan-American Labor Congress including seven editors of independent newspapers, was read by president William Green at the opening of the session here Monday.

Race Problem — 1927
West Indies

BAHAMANS ARE HAPPY OPTIMISTS

British Officer Finds Colored Population Of Island Splendid Subjects. Submissiveness Liked.

NEW YORK, Mar. 23 — (Special Release) The following description and estimate of the colored population of the Bahama Islands was written by a member of the British Colonial Service.

"The colored inhabitants of the Bahama Islands, numbering some 53,000 souls, are the descendants of the slaves brought from the West Coast of Africa in the palmiest days of the slave trade. In 1807 it was made illegal for any British subject to engage in the traffic, though it was not until Aug. 1, 1838, that slavery was abolished in the Bahamas. This anniversary is still celebrated, with much noisy rejoicing, by the less "advanced" members of the Negro community.

"The pure-blooded Negro in the Bahamas, as elsewhere, is a much more attractive personality than his halfcaste brother. He has better manners and a more cheerful disposition and if he is incurable lazy that is a fault for which is environment is largely responsible, and one which even the white man does not wholly escape in these latitudes. The halfcaste, on the other hand, is usually morose and suspicious, ever on the lookout for slights, and not frequently attributing to his white neighbors a hostile attitude that does not exist.

"It is to this hypersensitive and suspicious point of view that most of the racial feeling throughout the world is due. In the Bahamas there is comparatively little of it, in spite of persistent attempts by a certain section of the half-caste community (many of whom hail from other parts of the West Indies) to make a racial issue out of every trifling incident. On the whole, the Bahamian Negro gets along exceeding well with the "conch" as the native-born white Bahamian is called, and regards him as a friend.

In The Legislature

"The result of this may be seen in the personnel of the local Legislature. Although the colored inhabitants outnumber the whites by more than twenty to one, there are only nine colored representatives elected to the House of Assembly as against twenty whites. Even if these numbers were reversed the whites would still, in proportion, be overrepresented. Nor is this due to any unfair discrimination against the colored population in the letter of the electoral law or in the spirit of its application. The franchise is a very low one, and is, in effect, manhood suffrage, the occupation of property of an annual rental value of $5 being sufficient to place a man on the electoral register.

"The American visitor to the Bahamas finds in the colored native a never-ending source of interest and amusement. He is polite and anxious to oblige; he is musical in his own inimitable way, and he is the fortunate possessor of a sense of humor and a philosophy of the life which carries him smiling (when he is not sleeping) through the troubles of a not too comfortable existence.

"A drive around the quaint old streets of Nassau in one of the curious horse-drawn cabs, is an experience that should not be missed. When one has discovered that the wheels of the ancient vehicle will not fall off and that the poor old horse that draws it is really alive, there is a chance to enjoy the free-and-easy conversation of the driver and his pungent observations on men and politics. One returns from such a drive with disquieting uncertainty as to the advantages of wealth and education.

On the Outer Islands

"It is, however, to the more remote islands of the Bahamas that one must go to find the true descendants of the slaves who were brought from Africa Here the Negro is not spoiled by too much civilization and the thin veneer of Christianity that generations of missionaries have spread only conceals from the most superfical observer the true paganism that lies beneath. There are innumerable churches and an abundant show of external religion, but of true Christianity there is very little. 'Obeah' has by no means disappeared, altho it is seldom or never mentioned, and the relatives of the dead do not fail to place offerings of food on the grave of the dear departed as soon as the back of the clergyman who conducted the funeral service has been turned.

"But if he is a pagan the inhabitant of the outer islands is a cheery and resourceful soul. He exists under appalling conditions which he is too lazy to improve. His dwelling is a small shack which has to be closed tightly up at night to keep out the mosquito. His food is mainly cornmeal and shell-fish. The water he drinks is often brackish. He wrings a scanty living out of a rocky and uncompromising soil, or, if he is a fisherman, he endures acute discomfort and runs unconscionable risks for a pitifully small return. And yet, with it all, he is a confirmed optimist. He is always about to reap the greatest crop that has ever been seen or to make the biggest catch of fish or sponge that has ever been heard of, and when these dreams fail to materialize he laughs and starts again.

"Three times between July and October, 1926, did a hurricane sweep over the Bahamas, and on each occasion the loss of life and property was considerable. The Negro inhabitants in the outer islands, who never live much above the starvation line, lost their growing crops and most of their fishing vessels, and were for a time faced with a real need of food. The spirit in which they met these successive disasters, and the way in which they cooperated with the government in the work of reconstruction, would have done no discredit to a richer and more advanced people."

Bahama Negroes Found to Be Cheery Optimists

The following description and estimate of the colored population of the Bahama Islands was written by a member of the British Colonial Service.

"The colored inhabitants of the Bahama Islands, numbering some 54,000 souls, are the descendants of the slaves brought from the West Coast of Africa in the palmiest days of the slave trade. In 1807 it was made illegal for any British subject to engage in the traffic, though it was not until August 1, 1838, that slavery was abolished in the Bahamas. This anniversary is still celebrated, with much noisy rejoicing, by the less "advanced" members of the negro community.

"The pure-blooded negro in the Bahamas, as elsewhere, is a much more attractive personality than his half-caste brother. He has better manners and a more cheerful disposition, and if he is incurably lazy that is a fault for which his environmant is largely responsible, and one which even the white man does not wholly escape in these latitudes. The half-caste, on the other hand, is usually morose and suspicious, ever on the lookout for slights, and not infrequently attributing to his white neighbors a hostile attitude that does not exist.

"It is to this hypersensitive and suspicious point of view that most of the racial feeling throughout the world is due. In the Bahamas there is comparatively little of it, in spite of persistent attempts by a certain section of the half-caste community, many of whom hail from other parts of the West Indies) to make a racial issue out of every trifling incident. On the whole, the Bahamian negro gets along exceedingly well with the 'conch,' as the native-born white Bahamian is called, and regards him as a friend.

"The result of this may be seen in the personnel of the local legislature. Although the colored inhabitants outnumber the whites more than twenty to one, there are only nine colored representatives elected to the House of Assembly as against twenty whites. Even if these numbers were reversed the whites would still, in proportion, be overrepresented. Nor is this due to any unfair discrimination against the colored population in the letter of the electoral law or in the spirit of its application. The franchise is a very low one, and is, in effect, manhood suffrage, the occupation of property of an annual rental value of $5 being sufficient to place a man on the electoral register.

"The American visitor to the Bahamas finds in the colored native a never ending source of interest and amusement. He is polite and anxious to oblige; he is musical in his own inimitable way, and he is the fortunate possessor of a sense of humor and a philosophy of life which carries him smiling (when he is not sleeping) through the troubles of a not too comfortable existence.

"A drive around the quaint old streets of Nassau in one of the curious horse-drawn cabs, is an experience that should not be missed. When one has discovered that the wheels of the ancient vehicle will not fall off and that the poor old horse that draws it is really alive, there is a chance to enjoy the free-and-easy conversation of the driver and his pungent observations on men and politics. One returns from such a drive with disquieting uncertainty as to the advantages of wealth and education.

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President Borno, of Haitii, has excluded Senator King, of Utah, from the Island. Senator King favors Haitian liberty and the unfettering of the yoke of American government and American finance. President King is a manikin and a marionette who dances when his bosses in Washington pull the strings. He is a disgrace to the memory of Toussaint the Opener. He is a traitor to the cause of liberty and he stands between his people and sunlight. He is a creature of unutterable contempt, without the slightest vestige of independence in his makeup. We would rather Haitii uncivilized and primitive than see it exploited so ruthlessly and enslaved so cruelly. Borno should not be borne with by the islanders.

FINANCES GOOD COURTS BAD IN HAITI

American High Commissioner Praises Borno But Urges Judicial Changes

CONTRADICTS SENATOR KING'S CRITICISM

Latter Declared Haitian People To Be In State Of Political Servitude

BY LOUIS R. LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—During the past year the American treaty officials have been directing their efforts toward increasing the productive wealth of Haiti to the ultimate end of strengthening and improving the general economic condition, Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American High Commissioner to Haiti, declared in his fifth annual report to the Secretary of State, which was made public by the State Department Monday.

In addition, he reported, the Haitian government and the treaty officials have continued the general governing program for the stabilization of Haitian finances, the maintenance of law and order, the construction of public works, and the improvement of the public health service.

A bumper coffee crop in a period of exceptionally high and abnormal prices and the reelection of President Borno contributed to the stability and prosperity of Haiti in 1926, General Russell stated.

"Confidence among business men, which, on account of the usual sensational rumors which precede a presidential election in Haiti had been trembling in the balance, was restored immediately upon the promulgation of the results of the election, "General Russell reports. "This fact contributed largely in making the past year the greatest in the history of the Republic from a financial and business point of view."

As a result of the visit of President Borno to the United States in last June he returned to Haiti imbued with a stronger desire to further the progress and development of his country and to make it a republic in being as well as in name, General Russell states.

Judiciary Scorned

The Haitian judiciary system is in need of complete renovation. "The courts are, if such could be possible less effective than ever and their inefficiency and incompetency more notorious," General Russell reports. "Trials by jury are farcial."

There has been no reduction in the United States forces in Haiti. They consist of a skeleton brigade of United States marines and a mine sweeper of 950 tons displacement. Martial law has only been exercised upon the rarest occasions, says General Russell.

The customs receipts for the past year were unprecedented. The total receipts amounted to .$9,072,929.62. Of this amount the sum of $8,118,966.35 was from custom revenues.

The actual debt reducing amortization was $1,384,836.90. The required reduction was only $717,218.36. The total public debt amounts to $18,849,000.

As a result of the favorable year just closed the Haitian people have been benefitted materially, says General Russell. They are better fed, better clothed, and better housed than ever before.

The commerce of Haiti during the past year has been most satisfactory, it is reported. There has been a healthy growth of shipping entering the harbors of the Republic and a gradual increase in traffic across the Dominican border.

Educational System

The Haitian Government believes that its educational system should be designed to furnish agricultural education to the rural and industrial education to the urban population, the American high commissioner states. He says that "the Haitian Government considers it not only essential but vital that the Haitian people be taught to use their hands."

General Russell also states in his report:

"The efforts that have been made and are being made to foster the further increase of production in Haiti will soon show results and with the passing of an appropriate revenue law and the renovation of the Haitian judiciary, the advance toward the stabilization of government will be most marked

"As in past years President Borno has cooperated in every way for the carrying out of the provisions of the treaty of 1915, and has made the marked improvement of last year possible.

"The treaty officials have consistently, tactfully and energetically carried out their duties and the efficient management of the respective departments under their control has largely contributed to the remarkable progress which is being made in the bringing of happiness and prosperity to the Haitian people."

Contradicts Sen. King

Statements in the report of General Russell are contradictory of those made upon the floor of the Senate by Senator William H. King, Democrat, of Utah, who was recently barred by President Borno from visiting Haiti because of derogatory remarks made by the Senator concerning the Haitian president in demanding that the American forces be withdrawn from the island republic.

In a speech in the Senate of February 1, last, Senator King declared:

"First let it be remembered that by every standard of morality and justice there was no treaty. Our forces were in possession of the country. We had destroyed the legislative branch of the government and taken possession of all governmental agencies of the country. We set up a shadow government. It was not a Haitian government. A few Haitians were put into position, but they were named by Naval officers of the United States and they did the will of those who named them. One of them we called a President, and he was required to sign a treaty prepared by the United States."

Senator King described the reelection of President Borno as a farce. This "shadow president," he said, was chosen by members of an assembly which he had appointed. "The Haitian people," he declared, "are in a condition of political servitude."

CHAPMAN BARES CHAOS IN HAITI

Washington, D. C., April 6.—(Special)—Representative Virgil Chapman of Kentucky has just returned from Haiti. "That island is in a terrible shape politically," he said. "There is endless squalor and penury. The Haitians are not capable of self government. If the marines and American gunboats were taken away, the government would not last one week. The rebellious element in Haiti is very great."

HAITIAN PRESIDENT REFUSES TO LET UNITED STATES SENATOR LAND

Washington, D. C. March 26—(ANP)—The official announcement that the Haitian government had decided to exclude Senator William S. King of Utah has caused some concern here and many are discussing the various angles the least of which is not the belief that President Borno was acting "under order."

Those fostering this belief are pointing to the fact that while Borno is the nominal president of Haiti, the real ruler of the destiny of the Island is Brigadier General John H. Russell, the American High Commission on the Island and it is strongly felt that if the General would say the word, Senator King would be permitted to land.

The senator from Utah had planned to make a personal survey of conditions in Haiti, but has been blocked by the edict of President Borno, prohibiting him from landding. The reason given by the Haitian government for the decision is that Senator King has persistently made disparaging statements concerning President Borno. Senator King, although a Democrat, holds the view of American Negroes and the rebellious element of the Haitian citizenry that the Haitians are capable of governing themselves and their country and that the United StatesMarines, headed by Brigadier General Russell should be removed from the Island.

Race Problem 1927
West Indies.

WON'T DEPORT VIRGIN ISLAND LABOR LEADER

Conspiracy of Harding, Hughes & Co. Fails

Reginald Grant Barrow, a Bishop of the Episcopal Church and pastor of the Christ African Orthodox Church, Brooklyn, will not be deported to the Virgin Islands.

This was decided when Federal Judge John C. Knox, of the Southern District, New York, upheld the writ of habeaus corpus which had been obtained by his attorneys.

Persecuted Four Years.

Barrow's release comes after more than four years of persecution at the hands of various government officials who considered him "a dangerous individual." He had been for a number of years active in the agitation for improved conditions among the workers in the Virgin Islands, with the result that he incurred the enmity of the authorities there.

Barrow came to the United States after he had been ordered out of the Virgin Islands under the threat of prosecution. When the governor of the Islands discovered that he had come to this country, he called to the attention of the U. S. authorities to that fact, urging them to expel him from this country.

Governor's Hate Follows.

Declaring that Barrow's further stay in the United States was "undesirable," Henry H. Hough, the American governor of the Virgin Islands, writing to the U. S. department of labor complained that he had been active in labor agitation on the Islands, and especially at St. Croix.

"The element of which he is a member," wrote Hough, "has done more to disrupt the business and inundate the composure of Saint Croix than any other one thing. The working people of their group have been taught, amongst other things, to do as little work as possible, on the theory that eventually the plantation owners would have to give up their estates and in the end the estates will fall to the people."

He Served Labor.

The American governor then called the attention of the department of labor official to an enclosed newspaper article which accused Barrow of "serving in the ranks of labor in various capacities in connection with the St. Croix labor unions," as indicative "of the manner in which he mixes his religion with politics."

Documents offered at the hearing before Judge Knox by attorneys for Barrow brought out illuminating correspondence between officials on the Virgin Islands and U. S. government officials at Washington.

Hughes, Harding Campaigned.

Ex-Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, the late Warren G. Harding, and Former Secretary of the Navy Denby were involved in the campaign to make things uncomfortable for Barrow while he remained in the United States.

Writing to the secretary of labor, Denby stated that his department "would be pleased if the department of labor could see its way clear to support the decision and action already taken by the government of the Virgin Islands."

STATE FACTS TO PROVE U. S. IS USURPING

Senator King Attacks Occupation Policy

(Continued From Last Week)

One of them we called a president, and he was required to sign a treaty prepared by the United States. The Haitian people were threatened by the secretary of the navy of the United States that if the treaty was not signed we would proceed to what was called the "pacification" of the island, which meant, as everybody knew, a war with all of the horrors attending war, prosecuted by this mighty nation against a weak and feeble people.

Under these circumstances this shadow president signed the treaty. Shortly thereafter a demand was made by the United States that the treaty which, as I have said, required by limitation at the end of 10 years, should be extended for a further period of 10 years. This demand was acceeded to by the puppet officials named by the United States, but this so-called treaty, which purported to extend the life of the former treaty for 10 years, or until 1935, was never reported to the senate of the United States and was never ratified by it.

I do not know why this oppressive act of our government was not brought to the attention of the senate. Perhaps it was feared that the senate would not approve the so-called treaty signed in 1915. If it is claimed that our marines are occupying Haiti under that treaty, then with its expiration the right of occupation ceased. I insist, however, that we were trespassers there in the beginning; but even if the trespass was legalized by the so-called treaty which I have denounced as having been forced upon the Haitians, it is no longer a living instrument. It has no binding force, and our marines have no right upon Haitian soil.

HAVE FORGOTTEN OUR TROOPS IN HAITI

Mr. President, we were much concerned a few days ago when it was learned that a limited number of marines were landed in Nicaragua, and there was much agitation in the United States for fear that troops might be sent to Mexico. We seem to have forgotten that several thousand marines under arms and under the protection of the guns of our fleet landed upon Haitian soil in 1915 and from that day until the present have been in control of that country. There was no reason for invading Haiti or attacking a friendly people. No American rights were threatened, no American citizens were in danger of any harm, none had been killed, and no property belonging to American citizens or any foreign residents or citizens was jeopardized.

This bill carries millions of dollars to meet the expenses of our government in keeping military forces in Haiti for the next fiscal year. We are taxing the American people in order to maintain upon foreign soil a large military force against the will of the people of that land. We are there against their will, and our conduct there has aroused, in Latin American states, a feeling of resentment and growing apprehension as to the future policy of this republic in dealing with small countries and weak states in Central and South America.

The Haitian people resented the forcing upon them, at the point of the bayonet, of a so-called constitution which permitted American capitalists to acquire lands in Haiti. In the constitution under which Haiti operated at the time of our invasion aliens were prohibited from acquiring land. This was a wise provision, because the area of arable land was limited, and the people feared that if foreigners were allowed to acquire landed estates in Haiti there was danger of a system of peonage which would be destructive of the liberty of the people and prevent economic and industrial development. American corporations under this new constitution have acquired very valuable holdings, and thousands of Haitians, fearing American rule and distrusting the future of their country under American occupancy, have left their homes and gone to Cuba and other islands in the Caribbean sea.

INVESTIGATE HAITI'S INDUSTRIAL STATUS

Recently a commission of American citizens went to Haiti for the purpose of investigating the political, economic, and industrial conditions there prevailing. After months of patient and exhaustive inquiry, they have made a report, a copy of which I have before me. If time permitted, I would read to the senate from this document. It is soon to be published in book form, and I hope senators will acquaint themselves with the views of this commission. Among the members of the commission were Prof. Paul H. Douglas and Miss Emily C. Balch.

Mr. President, the United States should at once announce its purpose to withdraw from Haiti by the 1st of January of next year. It should provide for the holding of elections for delegates to a constitutional convention. Having superseded by military force the old constitution of Haiti, opportunity should be given the Haitian people to adopt a constitution which they regard as adequate and suitable to their needs. After the constitution has been prepared provision should be made for its submission to the people, and upon its adoption the Haitian people should be permitted to hold an election to fill the various offices provided for in such constitution. When this is done, and such officers have been elected and have taken the oath of office required by the constitution and have evidenced their readiness to enter upon the duties of their respective offices, we should transfer to them the authority which we now exercise and leave the country to the Haitian people and the control of their government in their own hands.

HAITI, UNDER AN IRON HEEL

(Detroit Independent)

When Senator King, of Utah, was barred from entrance into Haiti a few weeks ago, by order of President Borno, on the alleged grounds that the Senator was an undesirable foreign agitator, many of us took the matter as a great joke at the expense of Senator King. The mere fact that a white American had been denied permission to land on the shores of that Negro Republic seemed short of just and merited rebuke against an individual of a race prone to transgress upon the rights and territorial holdings of darker peoples. The amazing thing about the whole situation was the fact that white Americans, especially those in high official capacities, seemed to have laughed loudest at Senator King's embarrassment. This in itself should have made us marvel; for under ordinary circumstances, such a rebuff by Haiti to a Senator of the United States would have called forth a storm of indignation in this country.

Senator King's object in visiting Haiti was the same as the noble motive which prompted him years ago to investigate conditions in Santo Domingo. It was Senator King who caused Santo Domingo to be eventually released from American military rule, and he now seeks the same kind of liberation for Haiti. The United States Government apparently did not want Senator King to investigate conditions in Haiti, which has been groaning under the heel of American military control since 1915. President Borno evidently holds a similar unwillingness to have the search light of publicity thrown upon Haiti under existing American Marine domination. They do not want the world to learn just what is being done in Haiti. The Haitian Constitution, which stipulated that no alien could hold land in that country, has been nullified since American occupation began, and it is whispered that white American capitalists are being encouraged to invest in the rich lands of Haiti. Another ten years of American occupation of the island, and the white American investments in Haiti will probably be so large that Haiti will forever afterward be virtually under the domination of this country.

Fully two-thirds of the wealth of Mexico is owned by Americans and other foreign capitalists. That is why certain people in the United States think they have a right to dictate Mexican policies and when their dollars in Mexico are threatened, they yell for armed American intervention.

If Haiti or Mexico were powerful nations with formidable armies and navies, their right to self-government and self-determination would not be questioned by this or any other power. History teaches us, however, that weak nations do not always remain weak, and that strong ones do not eternally remain strong. China has been weak and supine for centuries, being dominated by foreign dollars and alien control; but China is rapidly growing strong—alarmingly strong—and foreigners are fleeing from her shores.

Senator King did not succeed in

landing on Haitian soil, but he has succeeded in directing public attention to Haiti. He has aroused a strong feeling in the hearts of many that all is not well in the Haitian Republic.

SANTO DOMINGO INVITES WHITE SETTLERS NOW

PHILADELPHIA.—Santo Domingo is seeking white immigrants to develop her natural resources, according to press dispatches and corroborated by the Dominican Consulate in this city.

Special inducements in the form of land grants are being tendered white settlers, and already two colonies of foreign agriculturists have been established. One of these is the Boneo and the other Villa Vasquez, in the Monte Christi district.

These colonies which are composed of Spanish, Belgians and Germans are said to be growing rapidly. 25 acres of land and a house provided with electric lights and modern conveniences are included in the inducements to whites.

At present there are 900,000 inhabitants in the island, three-fourths of which are colored.

Pacific Coast Hears Haitian Radio Program

Portland, Ore., March 1.—(P. C. N.)—Long distance radio fans residing throughout the Pacific Coast States are greatly enthused over the fact that they are able to pick up HHK every Friday between 8 and 9 p. m., quite distinctly and enjoy the programs of the U. S. Marine Band stationed at Port au Prince.

HHK, the only broadcasting station in Haiti, operates on 361 meters with 1000 watts. The announcer is Capt. John H. Craigo, United States Marine Corps. Although the equipment of HHK is the best and rated at 1000 watts, it became run down in the hands of the unskilled native operators, and not until it was overhauled did it function properly.

For Educational Purposes.

The purpose of this station opened early last fall is education. With few exceptions, the native Haitians do not read, and few of them speak French or English. All talks, therefore, are made in the local patois of dalect employed by the majorty. Orchesera rectals were arranged as purely entertainment features, an it is those that the radio fans on the Pacific Coast hear.

In Port au Prince the public square is now the scene of fairly large gatherings when music from native and visiting orchestras is being broadcast from HHK. A powerful public address system is used there to amplify the broadcasts and several thousand natives now enjoy the weekly concerts.

"HAITI PROSPERING," SAYS U. S. FOREIGN DIPLOMAT

WASHINGTON, Mar. 28—Describing 1926 as a "banner year" for Haiti and crediting the country's unequaled economic and financial prosperity largely to the re-election of President Borno and a bumper coffee crop during a period of high prices, the fifth annual report of Brig.-Gen. Russell, American High Commissioner to Haiti, was made public by the State Department.

He advised that conditions in the little republic, from which Senator King, Democrat, Utah, who planned an investigation visit, has been excluded by President Borno, are satisfactory and progressing. His only criticism was leveled at the judiciary, but after declaring the courts' "inefficiency and incompetency more notorious" than in the past, he explained that the system soon will be reorganized so that "no one will fear to take his case to court"

BAHAMA NEGROES CHEERY OPTIMISTS

Always About to Reap Greatest Crops and Make Biggest Ocean Hauls.

WHERE 'OBEAH' IS PRACTICED

Weird Rites Still Hold Sway on the Outer Islands, but Are Seldom Mentioned.

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In the Legislature.

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Race Problem - 1927
West Indies.

HAITI SPURNS A SENATOR

THE EXCLUSION of U. S. Senator King of Utah, from Haiti by President Borno calls to mind the discovery of that republic by Columbus, December 6, 1492, the romance of its Spanish and then French ownership and control, its hectic fight for independence, its endless schisms and revolutions and, finally its passing under the protection of the United States in 1915.

The history of Haiti and its rich traditions are as thrilling as the Arabian Nights or Ancient Roman or Greek mythology. Heirs to the French language, customs, manners and temperaments, the Haitians had 112 years in which to demonstrate to the world of the ability of the blacks, left to their own devices, to govern themselves. They had the urge, inspiration and leadership of such men as Toussaint L'Overture, Dessalines, Christophe, Clerveaux, Francois, Biasson, and many others who fought for her liberties, founded the Republic and administered her laws. Nature has favored her with a tropical climate, fertile, productive soil, rich minerals in abundance, rare hardwoods, coffee, cotton, tobacco, cocoa and sugar. It is situated on the sea, its harbor being one of the deepest and largest in the world; and it abounds in lofty, picturesque and luxuriant mountains. Yet these 2,000,000 Negroes failed in the essentials of self-government.

From 1849 until the intervention of the United States in July, 1915, there was an interminable procession of presidents, most of whom abdicated between suns and scampered off to France or some nearby friendly Republic to escape asassination. There was always a continuity of internercine strife and disorder, with faction against faction.

By 1911 the official life of Haiti's presidents was less than a year. In 1911 the president, Gen. Simon, was overthrown by a revolution and Cincinnatus Leconte was elected to the office, but in January, 1912, he, the palace and his offices were blown to atoms.

Tancrede Auguste was elected in August, 1912, and was poisoned eight months afterwards .In May, 1913, Michea Creste became head of the Republic only to flee to Jamaica in 1914 to save his life. Orestes Zamor was next and took office February, 1914, but was later thrown into prison and was succeeded by Devilman Theodore, who held office from November 1914, to February, 1915, when he was overthrown by Vilbrun Guillaume Sam, who immediately threw into prison and had slaughtered 160 of his opposers.

His enemies enraged at him, sought him out to slay him, and in July, 1915, he fled to the French Legation for protection, but they ruthlessly entered against and over the protests of the French Consul, dragged him out, murdered him and distributed parts of his body about the city.

It was about this time that the United States intervened under the pretext that Haiti would not pay her debts. So in July, 1915, American Marines landed in Port Au Prince.

Of the 25 presidents who held office in Haiti from the founding of the republic in 1803 to 1915, 15 were driven out by revolution, of whom 13 were banished to foreign lands, while two were allowed to remain in Haiti to die. Three died violent deaths, while in office at the hands of assassins. Three more died in office from causes unexplained. One died of wounds received from revolutionists, and one by committing suicide. Only one of the twenty-five finished his term and retired from office alive and well. President Daitiguenave, elected shortly after the American occupation, was succeeded by the present President Borno.

With such a record under French and old world influence, if not control, President Borno is determined to try out, it seems, without interference, however kindly the intent might be, of such men as Senators King and Borah, who believe in self-determination of small nations, and who would free Haiti from American influence and control.

In spite of its many weaknesses democratic government as exemplified by the United States in self-government to a great extent, though not wholly so, in progress, commerce, education—the thing most needful in Haiti—is not a failure, and if, in spite of some of the scandals and drawbacks of its experimental stage in the island, the natives can be weaned and educated away from their former conception anr practices of the functions of government and can be persuaded to adopt our own form, no doubt in a short while when stable government has been established, they will then and so will we, see the value of the rigorous test and training to which she is now being put and subjected.

It is well that we condemn and end many abuses past or present of those who administer so important a trust. But our future destiny is tied up with that of Haiti, Liberia, Abyssinia and Africa. Any move to establish them and firmly entrench them among the standardized civilized nations is a step up for them and for us. Let us watch and wait. They all need to be schooled in the applied science of government.

President Borno's Absurdity

If there was anything else needed to convince anybody that President Borno, of Haiti, is merely a puppet President and a pawn in the nice little game of imperialism the Washington Government and American capitalists are conenviently playing in that Republic—an empty name we admit—to further reduce that individual to an absurdity, he furnishes it in his executive order excluding Senator King from the Island. Who would believe that President Borno, who looks into the muzzle of American rifles and upon glistening American bayonets every day of his life, would be irrational enough to exclude a United States Senator from Haiti without prior understanding that such action would be pleasing to the Kellogg—Coolidge foreign diplomacy, which has become rather less esteemed of late. The Hon. Mr. Borno acted no more upon his own initiative in excluding Senator King than he acts upon his own initative in his daily official moves which are inspired from Washington. And the Washington Government's pretentions on behalf of Senator King were so weak as to be amusing.

What are the developments to date in this little farce? Briefly thus: Senator King, Democrat, of Utah, unequivocal foe of American occupation in Haiti, who has on the floor of the Senate persistently demanded the withdrawal of the occupation forces and the restoration of the Haitian affairs into the hands of the Haitians, sought to visit the Island to procure first hand information on the military drama this country chooses to enact on a foreign and friendly, but helpless nation. President Borno forthwith considered the Senator personna non grata, and of course, denied him the right to land. Hearing of the matter, the American State Department requested Brigadier General John S. Russell, in charge of the occupation, to intervene amicably in the Senator's behalf. President Borno held to his order. And the State Department declared, Haiti being an independent country there was nothing more Washington could do in his behalf.

No there was nothing more Washington could do in Senator King's behalf, being the man he is. It is not likely that he was going to Haiti to write a beautiful report on the virtues of the occupation, but intended returning home with a good supply of first hand information to be moulded into ammunition to fire on our Government's imperialism in the little Republic. And it was not meant that he should have that opportunity to the discomfort of the administration, so there was nothing more the State Department could do to facilitate his entry into the country. And Borno, simply played to the convenience of the defenders of the occupation, including, of course, the administration at Washington and General Russell, his overlords.

But the humor of the situation comes in the State Department's pretentions of Haitian independence. Whoever thought the United States respected the independence of Haiti, and where is the previous evidence that it does? It has taken over the Haitian customs without respect to Haitian sovereignty. It lands marines on the Island without respect to Haitian sovereignty, and the acts of its marines do not show that they have been given to respect this independence. But it is convenient for the State Department to set this sovereignty on par with that of the world's most powerful nations when a known enemy of our holy military adventure seeks to get over there to learn at first hand just how holy it is. And Mr. Borno knows perfectly well that he holds office by virtue of the prop this holy adventure of American militaryism sustains under him. And he is sustained because of his loyalty to our gun and dollar diplomacy in the Republic, from which he basks and fattens.

Our Cute Likeness, Haiti

The (Balto.) Evening Sun.

J. H. Russell, who bears the double title of Brigadier-General and American High Commissioner to the Haitian Government, reports to the State Department that Haiti is booming along in lively fashion, with notable advances to be recorded in public health, but suffers severely from a shaky and unreliable judiciary, the juries of which are particularly untrustworthy.

Well, so might read the report of the Martian High Commissioner to the American Government, if there were one — and who knows that there is not? Our public finances are the most beautiful ever, witness the current proof that the Treasury Department last winter once more under-guessed the surplus; our public works surpass anything since the time of the Romans, and our public education and public health are so extensive as to be postively embarrassing.

But our judiciary system? Well, there have been cases here as in Haiti, where postponements have been remarkable for duration. We are still wrestling with Mr. Sinclair, for example. There are cases where witnesses have disappeared. Ask Senator Walsh about the gentlemen in the oil scandals who lit out for Europe and fingered their noses at us. There have been cases where witnesses have forgotten their facts. Revert to the Daugherty-Miller trials. And as to juries going against the Government, what of the youthful citizens who passed the guilt of Doheny and Fall in the conspiracy cases?

All in all, it looks very much as though the dark-hued ward in the Carribean is the spitting image of us. She looks so much like us, indeed, that we are afraid some malicious neighbor will crack an unseemly joke about our fatherly interest in her. The chief difference in fact, is that in Haiti they propose to do something about their one ill, while we slump helplessly in the belief that we can do nothing about ours. But what will the Haitians do? The double-titled Russell indicates that the juries are the worst feature of the Haitian judicial system, and he declares that the Haitian Government is bent on reform. Does that mean that the Haitians are to reform the juries out of existence, with the benediction of our Mr. Russell?

WEEK'S BEST EDITORIAL

PRESIDENT BORNO'S ABSURDITY

(From Norfolk Journal and Guide)

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SENATOR KING AND HAITI

(The New Republic)

United States Senator William H. King is not permitted to visit Haiti and inquire into conditions there. The Haitian government "considers him undesirable" and "forbids access to him." The reasons alleged are that Senator King has criticized the President of Haiti, and that his presence in the country would "provoke a political agitation" on the part of dissatisfied elements. The refusal to admit him would be of the most extraordinary and serious character, even if Haiti were a free and independent country. But everyone knows it is not. The government of Haiti is a puppet of the United States. It is maintained in power by the armed forces of this country, and it does precisely what the American State Department wants it to do. It is inconceivable that "President" Borno should have taken this extraordinary stand without consulting the Americans by whose bayonets he is kept both in office and alive. The State Department fought, with every means in its power, against the suggestion that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee should visit the Carribbean countries and find out what is being done there under the American flag. It is equally opposed to the unofficial visits to these countries which a number of progressive Senators have planned during the Congressional recess. Only the most naive can fail to interpret the action of the Haitian government correctly. It is another link in the chain of evidence that the American State Department proposes to do what it pleases in Latin America, to suppress or distort the facts so that public opinion may be misled, and to defy that opinion if, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, news of what is going on does leak out.

President Borno, head of the government of Haiti has refused admission to a United States Senator on the grounds that his presence might stir up trouble in the little republic. It will be remembered that President Borno is by no means popular in his little republic and that it is claimed that he is kept in place because he agrees with the United States policy there. This senator has constantly opposed the U. S. rule and has often spoken out in defense of the rights of the citizens of that place. They are in favor of his visit. The President alone refuses. Time may come when that president will need some of the esteem of his subjects. Certainly he has not added to the esteem in which he is held by American Negroes by this latest act.

Good for Mobile!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of April 6 appears the following:

> On March 8 Clarence Darrow was forced to leave Mobile, Alabama, after being threatened with lynching because in a speech to Negroes in a school-building he deplored lynching and Southern justice. Police with drawn revolvers guarded Mr. Darrow out of town. Ku Klux handbills denouncing him were passed around to the crowd that pursued him.

This is at least 99 per cent untrue. Some portion of the Darrow speech referred to, made to Negroes, has called forth unfavorable comment here, but such criticism never assumed the proportion of threatened mob violence. "Armed guards" and all such are figments of sensationalism.

Mobile, Alabama, April 7 LEON SCHWARZ,
City Commissioner

[We are delighted to print Mr. Schwarz's statement. Independent investigation confirms his denial of reports in usually reliable newspapers.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Race Problem - 1927
West Indies.

Haiti Thumbs Its Nose

SENATOR KING, of Utah, has been barred from Haiti by President Borno on account of his opinions.

Senator King thinks Haiti is run by bayonets and President Borno is a sycophantic attache of the United States Government. President Borno and the Government of Haiti resent this opinion.

Barring a man because his personal opinions differ from your own is not unknown in this country. The Indian Englishman, Saklatvala, member of Parliament, was barred; so was the former Prime Minister of Rumania. Haiti—or rather President Borno—is only repeating, with his tongue in his cheek, the lesson he has learned from us.

Why we barred Saklatvala has never been made clear. Maybe the government was afraid of him—afraid of an hysterical gentleman discredited in his own adopted country. Why Haiti bars Senator King is perfectly clear. It thumbs its nose at him. Haiti is not afraid of what he will see and report, but it is irrepressibly humorous.

Except by Senator King, its gesture will not therefore be taken seriously. We have been made a butt, but we are not in a position to resent it.

ROBEHT HERRICK OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN ARTICLE IN NEW YORK WORLD, ADVISES U. S. TO WITHDRAW HAITIAN OCCUPATION

Robert Herrick of Massachusetts a distinguished scholar, and writer, in a special article written for the New York Sunday World of April 10, after a visit to Haiti, advises the United States to get out of that country, charges the marines with serious misconduct, and declares that the occupational force is incompetent to handle the job which has been assigned them.

The World, in publishing Mr. Herrick's article, takes pains to disavow sympathy, stating that it "does not necessarily subscribe to the statements and opinions expressed." Writes Mr Herrick:

It is easy enough to discover what is the matter with the American "occupation" in Haiti. The agreeable young Lieutenant of Marines who was taking me to see Mr. L. remarked confidentially as we approached his office: "You know he's colored. I don't know how you feel, but I am from Tennessee, and I hate to shake hands with a nigger." 4-16-27

"Well," I replied "I'm from Massachusetts and don't mind it at all." So we went on to Mr. L's office, and after introducing me the Lieutenant left.

I found Mr. L. a well educated gentlemen, higher in the scale of civilization than the young Lieutenant from Tennessee, more cultivated and a more experienced man of the world. After showing me from his quite considerable library some early French histories of the island that are hard to come at, he waited, and I plumped the question, "What do you think of the American occupation?" "I was in favor of it," he replied thoughtfully, "and still am, in spite of some disagreeable features—they have done much good to this country. * * * * But I wish it were being carried out by a different class of men."

"You mean not so many from the South?" (I had noted that nine out of ten of the American occupational force whom I had met hailed from some State South of the Mason and Dixon line. This may be merely accidental, or the marine service may appeal more to the Southerner than to the Northerner, but the "occupation" began under a Secretary of the Navy from South Carolina!)

"Yes," he agreed, "not so many with an inherited prejudice against the black, a conviction as to his inferiority." He went on to give me the story of the occupation in his small town.

Barred From Clubs

"We have a club here, a pleasant place, and when your men first came we invited them there. They were glad to come to our dances and dance with our young women. But when American women began coming to Haiti your men did not want them to attend our dances and dance with our young men. So now we and they have passed rules excluding each other from our social functions. A great pity!"

Distinctly so, I thought Americans should leave their women at home if they have the color prejudice. Then recalling certain dismal facts communicated to me by a personnel officer of the marines as to what befalls our young men set adrift in the tropics without their own women—the appalling wreckage, physical and moral of the occupation to date—I hestitated to make judgment. The situation is too complex. But it is a pity that the young American wives, of whom I had met a number of charming ones, were of such a useless, flapperish type, who would not learn the language and help their men-folk to a better understanding of the people and the country they were living in. Instead they held themselves aloof, circulating aimlessly among their own kind at bridge and luncheon.

The Drinking Americans.

Much the same comment as Mr. L's I had heard put more coarsely by a light colored hotel proprietor at Port au Prince, who had ample opportunity to observe the American moeurs among his numerous patrons. "Fill 'em up with a few drinks of rum, and they begin cussin' the 'nigger.' That isn't pleasant for us."

My own brief experience in the island confirmed this. Whenever the amiable young American officers, of whom I had met scores, had had a few drinks—and the occasions for having a drink in Haiti are innumerable—they would almost invariably begin cursing native and his country. They consider the Negro hopelessly inferior as a human being: they dislike him, actively, and they dislike his country.

"We spell it Hate-I," the young officer remarked. In a word they are the wrong people to be doing this job. It is doubtful whether any branch of our army or navy is fitted to undertake, the difficult and complex task. I believe a much better personnel could be found in civilian life, if the same methods were employed in building it up that the English use in recruiting their occupational force for the Sudan, for example. In comparison with the young men in the Sudan service, which is not essentially different from Haiti, the American of our occupational force is an ignorant, prejudiced, small-town product, who doesn't want to understand the problem before him, who wants to "get by" respectably and be transferred to some more agreeable post. Those who accept the three years service in the Haitian gendarmerie are merely bribed by the higher rank and allowances made them; petty officers, Sergeants, gunners' mates and Corporals become First and Second Lieutenants with pay of over $200 a month.

Officers Were Drunk.

Of more importance, especially to Americans, is the effect upon the men engaged in this work themselves, and plain words said in all kindness must be used. Americans released from the rigors of Prohibition drink far too much for their own good and that of the service. It is dangerous for white men to drink freely in the tropics. Alcohol undermines rather than sustains the resistant forces, the popular idea to the contrary. And Americans do not carry their drink well, not half so well as the despised native who is supposed to be filled with "taffia" most of the time. The drunkenness one sees in Haiti, public and private, is not that of the colored population.

At a social gathering of Americans, in a semi-public place, I saw several officers quite drunk and others with their wives, vulgarly hilarious. Of course this sort of thing is known among the natives and does not increase their respect for Americans.

I shall refrain from going into the darker problem of disease contracted by Americans in our tropical service. That is a depressing page. As the personnel officer said to me on the eve of the departure after three years of service in Haiti, "If the folks back home knew the facts, which are often covered up in the records, if they realized the number of our men shipped back to the States wrecked and rotten, they would never stand for the occupation. It is costing them too much!"

That sums up the whole matter. The occupation is costing our people in one way or another too much.

Our imperialists should count the cost, to themselves, of their Roman holiday. The profits are largely illusory.

HAITIAN PRESIDENT REFUSES TO ADMIT SENATOR KING OF UNITED STATES

The two foremost Negro Republics in the world have recently shown signs of quickened sense of self-determination—whatever that may mean. The attitude of Liberia toward the activities of foreign missionaries and the attitude of Haiti toward the newly-appointed American representative give us something for mental food when we desire to browse in the field of international politics as it concerns the relationship of Negro republics to the stronger nations.

It is well known that the outside world, at least the Christian part of it, has calculated on Liberia as the basis for Missionary operation in Africa. The failure of many missionary expeditions so far has been attributed to the need of such basis and the conclusion that a Negro republic established on the African continent would hold the key to the situation was both logical and inevitable. Accordingly, missionary efforts in recent years have been largely confined to educational projects contemplating the preparation of natives for work in the interior.

The announcement of President King of Liberia a few months ago that foreign missionaries were not wanted in Liberia and would not be welcomed nor admitted except they become citizens of that country was taken without any apparent emotion or excitement in this country. This policy imposed by the Liberian government was intended as a protective measure, and, to all intents and purposes, was well meant. It was a part of the policy of Liberia for Liberians. At the same time it encouraged the immigration of Negroes and offered for sale thousands of acres of land at a nominal price. By this means, it apparently hoped to recruit both its finances and its citizenry.

Whether excluding foreign missionaries will help Liberia toward this goal is the question that arises at once. Whether foreign missionaries have handicapped it in the process of self-determination is the other question that arises when one seeks the reason for this action. To be rid of foreign influence in working out its plans for the future is easily sure to have been a factor in determining its policy. It is significant that other backward nations have the same feeling as is at present demonstrated in the Chinese revolution and the Chinese attitude toward foreigners.

The fact is that foreign missionary activities and foreign commercial and political influence go together, the one trailed by the other, and there lies one angle on which the action may be interpreted. The case of Haiti is different from that of Liberia only in its purely political aspects and its apparent absence of pariotic motives.

It is known by informed people that the affairs of Haiti are administered by American influence and this is all that has kept down the revolution that will come eventually, would have come years ago, and, by this time, been settled. The settlement of Haitian affairs has been stayed by American pressure. Whether the profit is to Haiti or America may be a question but there is none about the credit that is American. President Borno flatly refuses the landing of Senator King of Utah, duly appointed representative of the government that influences the policy of Haiti. Such incidents are not unusual between nations whose relations are strained. But they are rare between governments co-ordinating on the same policy. It must appear that President Coolidge made a mistake in the selection, or President Borno is not willing to risk any selection that he himself does not dictate.

Perhaps, from his knowledge of Senator King, President Borno considers King to be sympathetic toward his political enemies. In view of the fact that King represents the government which perpetuates the protectorate under which Borno holds his office, he (Borno) must be looking out for his own hide. From the outside, it looks somewhat like a tangle but there is method enough in it to make its design suit the inside situation. Any outside sentiment for Haitian freedom must be shadowed by this ludicrous diplomacy to make sure that the process of self-determination as applied to this republic may run its course and eventuate with honor both to the present administration and its protector. Any inside sentiment is under the pressure of military power as the result of the pathetic weakness of the Borno regime. But the lid must come off eventually. Haiti must some day be free and recover her commercial and political independence. The question of which will be left after she pays the price of self-determination may now seem to be important, but the old spirit of liberty will be a sufficient basis on which to rebuild a new Haiti. That cannot be consumed even by devil dogs in riotous living. That spirit is indigenous to the soil.

WITCH HUNTING and kindred occupations continue to be our favorite national pastime. On March 8 Clarence Darrow was forced to leave Mobile, Alabama, after being threatened with lynching because in a speech to Negroes in a school building he deplored lynching and Southern justice. Police with drawn revolvers guarded Mr. Darrow out of town; Ku Klux Klan handbills denouncing him were passed around to the crowd that pursued him. In California, where the infamous criminal-syndicalism law has been extended for two years, the Burlingame *Advance-Star* has these thoughts on the subject:

> Thanks to the efforts of that splendid organization, the American Legion, California's criminal-syndicalism law will remain safe upon the statute-books for another two years. . . . It is the fellow who mistakes license for liberty who wants the law . . . stricken from the statute-books. . . . They want to slander, to libel, and to traduce . . . they want to practice free love and destroy religion and because they can't they rail about the lack of freedom of action.

In California also Leland Stanford University has officially withdrawn from a national oratorical contest held under the Better America Federation, the subject to be some aspect of the Constitution of the United States. The students' executive committee said:

> We feel that the purpose and conduct of the contest is not in accordance with our ideals of free thinking. The contest is arranged as propaganda for the unchanging permanence of the Constitution and not in the spirit of unbiased liberty. . . . At a previous contest a Stanford student presented what he believed to be honest criticism of the Constitution and one of the judges left the platform during the speech. We do not care to participate under these conditions.

NOR IS THE HOME OF THE FREE the only country in which free speech is under a cloud. Our neighbor on the north, Canada, has just sentenced to sixty days in jail a Toronto editor judged to have published blasphemous utterances in his paper, the *Christian Inquirer*. The judge in the case was a Sunday-school superintendent and his charge to the jury was not a marvel of unbiased open-mindedness:

> Our conception of God is so much a part of every life that it is an integral part of our national life. The Bible, the Holy Scriptures, are to us as the revelation of God's will concerning us and all His people. . . .

After this identification of church, state, and people, the words of the court to the effect that disbelief in these universally held doctrines was pardonable if uttered in "respectful terms" naturally fell on the deaf ears of the jury. The blasphemer, Ernest V. Sterry, was found guilty forthwith for referring to God as "this touchy Jehovah" and "an irate old party." His sentence carries with it a recommendation for deportation to England at the end of the two months. Time was when Hyde Park in London would have been sanctuary for even this amount of unbridled license. But England is learning fast from us, and the soap-boxers even there are all too often hauled down from their thrones by irate policemen.

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WITCH HUNTING and kindred occupations continue to be our favorite national pastime. On March 8 Clarence Darrow was forced to leave Mobile, Alabama, after being threatened with lynching because in a speech to Negroes in a school building he deplored lynching and Southern justice. Police with drawn revolvers guarded Mr. Darrow out of town; Ku Klux Klan handbills denouncing him were passed around to the crowd that pursued him. In California, where the infamous criminal-syndicalism law has been extended for two years, the Burlingame *Advance-Star* has these thoughts on the subject:

> Thanks to the efforts of that splendid organization, the American Legion, California's criminal-syndicalism law will remain safe upon the statute-books for another two years. . . . It is the fellow who mistakes license for liberty who wants the law . . . stricken from the statute-books. . . . They want to slander, to libel, and to traduce . . . they want to practice free love and destroy religion and because they can't they rail about the lack of freedom of action.

In California also Leland Stanford University has officially withdrawn from a national oratorical contest held under the Better America Federation, the subject to be some aspect of the Constitution of the United States. The students' executive committee said:

> . . . We feel that the purpose and conduct of the contest is not in accordance with our ideals of free thinking. The contest is arranged as propaganda for the unchanging permanence of the Constitution and not in the spirit of unbiased liberty. . . . At a previous contest a Stanford student presented what he believed to be honest criticism of the Constitution and one of the judges left the platform during the speech. We do not care to participate under these conditions.

NOR IS THE HOME OF THE FREE the only country in which free speech is under a cloud. Our neighbor on the north, Canada, has just sentenced to sixty days in jail a Toronto editor judged to have published blasphemous utterances in his paper, the *Christian Inquirer*. The judge in the case was a Sunday-school superintendent and his charge to the jury was not a marvel of unbiased open-mindedness:

> Our conception of God is so much a part of every life that it is an integral part of our national life. The Bible, the Holy Scriptures, are to us as the revelation of God's will concerning us and all His people. . . .

After this identification of church, state, and people, the words of the court to the effect that disbelief in these universally held doctrines was pardonable if uttered in "respectful terms" naturally fell on the deaf ears of the jury. The blasphemer, Ernest V. Sterry, was found guilty forthwith for referring to God as "this touchy Jehovah" and "an irate old party." His sentence carries with it a recommendation for deportation to England at the end of the two months. Time was when Hyde Park in London would have been sanctuary for even this amount of unbridled license. But England is learning fast from us, and the soap-boxers even there are all too often hauled down from their thrones by irate policemen.

Race Problem - 1927
West Indies.

BLADE
TOLEDO, O.

MAR 21 1927

Within His Rights

PRESIDENT BORNO of the Negro republic of Haiti acted within his rights when he barred William H. King, Democratic Mormon senator from Utah. Senator King, cruising in the West Indies, had announced his intention of stopping at Haiti. The Haitian government would not have it that way, for Senator King said last year in the senate that President Borno had been elected illegally. Be that as it may, the United States government recognizes the Borno government which, in justification of its exclusion of Senator King, said:

> "His (Senator King's) presence in Haiti would provoke political agitation, the consequences of which would be disastrous to the population which is now accustomed to peace and labor."

Secretary Kellogg considered President Borno's action an affront to the United States senate and a discredit to Haiti, and said so, but he issued this statement:

> "Haiti is a sovereign republic and fully within her rights in saying who shall land there and there is nothing more which the United States can do about it. Senator King has been so notified."

The United States always has reserved to itself the right to exclude or deport undesirable aliens. The United States determines when and why aliens are undesirable. No other country is consulted. We cannot consistently refuse to recognize the fact that other nations, even a nation as small as Haiti, has exactly the same privilege.

President Borno's judgment may be questioned seriously, but his rights in the case cannot.

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Birmingham, Ala., T

MAR 15 1927

News

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Senator King is out on a sort of personally conducted, snooping and nosing expedition, hoping to find something discreditable to the United States in its cooperative administration of affairs in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. He has been one of the most blatant and ignorant of critics of the policy of the United States in those two countries—where this government is, by invitation, endeavoring to aid them to financial, educational and general rehabilitation. He has been as reckless with charges as Sherman was with fire in his trip through Georgia. At long range and largely out of his imagination, King has been a sort of professional weeper and deplorer that we were depriving the dear Haitians of liberty; that the marines were at times converting bandits, robbers and murderers into inoffensive individuals via the Springfield method, and that the miserable grafting native politicians who had brought Haiti to the verge of utter savagery and disorganization were not allowed to continue to steal, to work damage, and to oppress.

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Senator King Blames Commissioner For Failure to Rescind Haiti Orde

NEW YORK, March 25.—(AP)—Senator William H. King, democrat, o Utah, declared tonight that the refusal of the state department to hav the order of President Borno barrin him from Haiti withdrawn was "a effort to keep alive the fiction o Haitian independence, and had onl served "to focus the attention o Americans upon the domination by this government of Haitian affairs."

In an interview at the Hotel Pennsylvania, after he had disembarked from the U. S. transport St. Mihiel, on which he came from Santo Domingo, Senator King said that if the state department had so desired, it could have compelled the Haitian president to withdraw his order.

Senator King exhibited copies of the order and subsequent correspondance between Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, high commissioner in Haiti, and Gen. J. S. Burrill, American army officer in charge of the Haitian gendarmes, to prove that the final decision on the order rested with the American high commissioner.

The senator from Utah said that he had refrained from forcing the issue by attempting to enter Haiti in the face of the order barring him because he felt bound to recognize the authority of a de facto government, although he said he believed that government to be illegal and maintained only by the presence of American marines.

He also said he feared that if he had gone to Port Au Prince, a demonstration might have been followed by a clash between political opponents of Borno and his supporters.

"I intend to continue my efforts to have an independent government established in Haiti and American marines withdrawn," he said. "I will not make an issue of this incident but will use it, however in connection with the fight for the withdrawal of American forces from that country."

Senator King said he first was informed of Borno's order barring him while he was in Porto Rico, when the Haitian consul there informed him by letter that he was considered by President Borno as undesirable and would be denied access to Haitian territory.

When he reached Santo Domingo he said his attention was called to the order of the Haitian president barring him.

The senator said he then wrote to the state department protesting the order and intimating strongly that if the state department saw fit it could, through General Russell, have the order rescinded.

The state department's reply, Senator King said, was that it had advised President Borno, through the Haitian minister, that refusal to permit the senator to visit Haiti would result in "unpleasant consequences to all concerned."

KING DISCUSSES SNUB BY HAITI

New York, March 26.—(AP)—Senator William H. King, democrat, of Utah, back in the United States today after his unsuccessful attempt to enter Haiti, blamed his exclusion on the attitude of the state deportment at Washington.

President Borno notified Senator King, when the latter was in Porto Rico and Santo Domingo, that the senator was regarded as an "undesirable" and would not be granted access to Haitian territory.

"President Borno has no power but what he gets from the state department and General John H. Russell, American high commissioner in Haiti," the senator said upon his arrival on the army transport St. Mihiel. "He is merely a puppet. If the state department and General Russell had demanded that I be admitted, President Borno's opposition would have been swept away."

The senator exhibited a copy of President Borno's order to General J. S. Burrill, American officer in charge of the gendarmerie in Haiti, and copies of correspondence showing that the order to exclude him had been referred to General Russell, the high commissioner, who in turn had instructed the gendarmerie chief to carry out the orders of President Borno.

"The attitude of the state department," the senator said, "regarding the exclusion incident indicates that it was an effort to keep alive the fiction of Haitian independence. It has served to focus the attention of Americans upon the domination by this government of Haitian affairs.

"As for the state department's instructions to General Russell to use his good offices with President Borno to persuade him to allow me to enter Haiti, that was a mere subterfuge."

SENATOR KING TELLS OF BARRING B YHAITI

Accuses State Department of Acquiescing in Exclusion by Not Demanding Entry.

BORNO ITS PUPPET, HE SAYS

Will Not Ask Investigation, but Again Will Demand Recall of Marines From Island.

Returning on the transport St. Mihiel from a Caribbean tour on which he was barred from Haiti as undesirable, United States Senator William H. King of Utah said last night that the State Department and the United States High Commissioner to Haiti had really participated in his exclusion by failing to employ what he termed their dominance over President Borno of Haiti to force the President to admit him.

In an interview in the Hotel Pennsylvania the Senator said:

"President Borno has no power but what he gets from the State Department and General John H. Russell, the High Commissioner. He is merely a puppet. If the State Department and General Russell had demanded that I be admitted, President Boro would have raised the ban at once. By their failure to do this, the State Department and General Russell acquiesced in my exclusion."

"As for the State Department's instructions to General Russell to use his good offices with President Borno to persuade him to allow me to enter Haiti, that was a mere subterfuge," went on the Senator. "I repeat that if the State Department and General Russell had said genuinely to President Borno: 'Let King in,' all opposition would have vanished at once."

Gendarmes at Border.

The Senator then turned to the exclusion order of President Borno which directed General J. S. Turrill, American head of the Haitian gendarmaria, to strengthen his forces at the border to prevent Senator King's entrance. Smiling at this reference to the extra precautions to guard against his entry, the Senator asserted that General Turrill had brought the order to the attention of High Commissioner Russell and asked for instructions from him. General Russell, the Senator said, told General Russell to carry out President Borno's orders.

Senator King said he wished to make it clear that he never had intended an attempt to enter Haiti in defiance of the exclusion order. He said he felt that he should recognize the ruling of a de facto Government, no matter how tyrranous, and that another reason was that he feared that if he did go into Haiti opponents of his "anti-imperialist program" would have precipitated a conflict between the crowds that planned to welcoem him and the gendarmerie, and that the onus of the ditsurbance would then have been placed on the welcomers.

To Renew Demand in Senate.

Asserting that he would again move in the Senate to force evacuation of our military forces from Haiti, the Sentor said he would not ask any Senatorial investigation of the exclusion incident.

"That is purely a personal matter and it is officially finished as far as I am concerned," he said. "Of course, when I take up the fight in the Senate again for Haitian independence I shall probably mention it to illustrate certain points, but I shall not ask for any investigation."

"The entire circumstances surrounding the exclusion show that it was an effort to kep alive the fiction of Haitian independence," he said, and added, "It has really served to focus the attention of Americans upon the domination by this Government of Haitian affairs."

Attacks Government's Policy.

In terms similar to those which he has used in the past to attack the United States policy in Haiti, the Senator attacked what he termed the "imperialistic" policy there. He said that only a very small portion of the population supported President Borno and that, if American military domination ended, Mr. Borno would depart at once.

"But I am sure that within a year or two Haiti will be free of such domination and that public opinion there and here will force the granting of genuine independence," he said.

"The policy of our country in Haiti, in Santo Domingo and in Nicaragua has reacted against us seriously in Central and South America," he declared.

Senator King said that when returning on the transport he had spoken to 300 soldiers on board regarding Latin-American conditions and that he had referred to his exclusion. He denied, however, that his talk has caused criticism by the officers of the vessel or by any of the ten Congressmen who were also on the ship.

Senator King turned from foreign policy to the next Presidential campaign and asserted that if the Democrats could unite they would sweep the country. He said there was any number of Democratic candidates available and mentioned Governor Smith, whom he called "a very popular and dramatic figure"; Governor Ritchie of Maryland, Edwin T. Meredith of Iowa, Cordell Hull of Tennessee, Senator Reed of Missouri, Governor Donaghey of Ohio and several others as worthy aspirants for the nomination. Prohibition, he said, was a dead issue.

The Senator will go to Washington today.

Race Problem - 1927

West Indies.

Haiti.

The issue is, therefore, squarely joined whether we should continue to bear the white man's burden, which incidentally is costing us at least $1,000,000 a year, or whether we should call for the election of a Congress and the formation of a government and then withdraw. Our withdrawal would probably be followed by a slump in administrative standards, and revolutions might well occur. The former mullatto governing class might also continue, as before to oppress the black peasantry. These are all real dangers. But I am enough of an old-fashioned American to believe that we have no right, under the standards of international morality, to impose our rule upon an alien and unwilling people and that weak nations can ultimately develop best by working through their own political problems.

The Press in Haiti

THE oppression of Haitian editors under the American occupation was discussed by a Haitian, Carlos Martins at the International Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism, held recently in Brussels. Excerpts from his address follow.

After the American occupation of Haiti was established and in the proclamation launched by M. Louis Borno to announce his election to the presidency under guard of American marines, he had menaced the press with the thunders of martial law. A short time afterward, because of an article by Maitre S. Villard, notary, published in the *Nouvelliste* of Port-au-Prince, President Borno sent the author and the two editors, M. Ernest G. Chauvet and M. Fred. Duvigneaud, before the American court martial, which condemned the three journalists to imprisonment for six months, and to a fine of $300 each. This proceeding made more noise in the United States than in Haiti.

An order arrived from Washington to set them free. Then the High Commissioner cooked up with his marionette-president the most iniquitous of laws against the freedom of the press, which the Council of State ratified. And with the complicity of the examining magistrates, corruptly appointed by M. Louis Borno, "preventive imprisonment" has become the most formidable weapon in the hands of the American occupation against the newspaper men.

Let us examine these laws briefly: Under these press laws, which might be more justly termed "ukases against the press," every offense that may be committed by the press is a flagrant offense; that is to say, the government prosecutor can send a journalist to prison arbitrarily, without considering the time which may have elapsed since the publication of the incriminating article. The government's legal representative in the courts may order a summons issued against a newspaper man at any time he sees fit; and, after a pretended examination of the offending article may convert that summons into an order for imprisonment!

The manager and the editor of a newspaper are imprisoned with the writer of the article, as in the recent proceedings against M. Charles Moravia and M. Maurice Debrosse, editor-proprietor and manager of the *Temps*. In 1924 they also imprisoned the pressman of the *Poste's* printing establishment, as an accomplice in a pretended offense against the press laws. In 1925 they went still further, and locked up all the compositors of the *Courrier Haitien*, while, under the direction of an American officer, gendarmes brought coffee sacks and piled into them all the type in the composing room, which they took in a truck to the record office of the civil tribunal. . . .

It should be remembered not only that these ukases against the press are the work of the American occupation, but the agents who execute these orders are American officers. The chief of police and his deputy, the chief and the under-chief of the gendarmerie, and all the officers of public authority belong to the United States Marine Corps. It is unnecessary to say that the director of the penitentiary where they confine newspaper men is an American drawn from the Expeditionary Corps, assisted by two officers of the same origin. What happens to a newspaper man thus arbitrarily cast into prison? He stays there, without examination by a magistrate, without the judgment of a court. And if an American philanthropic society, knowing of the case, makes an appeal to the State Department at Washington, the invariable response is: "It is the native government which has acted, and we are powerless to interfere in the domestic affairs of Haiti, especially as we know from the reports of our High Commissioner that the Haitian government has proceeded by virtue of the powers conferred upon it by the national press laws, duly enacted and promulgated." . . .

More than that, the Haitian penal code provides that any one detained in a house of arrest has a right to an examination within twenty-four hours, but the examining magistrate named by the phantom-president, in agreement with the High Commissioner, as always, permits weeks to go by without calling the prisoner to his office to question him as to his identity and on the subject of the accusation. In general those who are so disposed may obtain the "favor" of being called before the examining magistrate on presenting a request for provisory liberty under caution (release on bail). But that request became useless with the ukase of 1923, which stipulated that provisory liberty could not be accorded to a newspaper man unless the magistrate's conclusions were in accord with the views of the government prosecutor. That is to say, the official casting a man into prison had the sole power to release his victim!

However, M. Pouget, editor of the *Poste*, when he was accused of an offense against the press laws and refused provisory liberty, denounced the unconstitutionality of this ruling to the Court of Cassation, on the ground that by virtue of the principle of the separation of powers, written in the constitution, the agent of the executive power might draw his conclusions as to the party to an action but could not deliver sentences, and that the judge alone possessed this high power. The complete bench of the Court of Cassation declared, in effect, that the law was unconstitutional, and consequently inoperative.

Very promptly when this decree had been pronounced, the High Commissioner and his president caused a new law to be registered by their Council of State to replace that declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Under this new law it was no longer necessary that the examining magistrate's decision should be in conformity with the views of the prosecuting officer, but worse than that, neither the magistrate nor any other court was permitted to accord provisory freedom, with or without bail, to newspaper men undergoing preventive imprisonment. . . .

Recourse was had anew to the Court of Cassation, and again the law was decreed to be unconstitutional. But during all these proceedings, the newspaper men remained in prison, which was the object of the reigning dictatorship.

After these two reversals by Haitian justice, a third law was imposed. This time, in conformity with ordinary law, the right of provisory liberty was admitted, but the bail for each succeeding accusation by the prosecuting officer, and for each co-author or accomplice in the offense named by the court was fixed at $2,000 in cash; neither realty deeds nor the bonds of the Haitian Republic can be substituted for this purpose.

But, you ask, how can the editor of a newspaper, locked up in jail, be implicated in a new offense against the press laws, since he is no longer writing? That is the unbelievable paradox of a military dictatorship. Under the regulations of the penitentiary, enforced by an American officer, an imprisoned newspaper man cannot write. If a scrap of writing is found in a cell, the penalty is transfer to a dungeon, on bread and water. But if a new offense against the press laws is committed by his substitute, the editor is taken from prison to court to receive a new order of imprisonment as an accomplice. At the same time the author and the new manager may be sent to join him in the penitentiary. For a newspaper to be able to free its editor, its manager, and their collaborators would require a large liquid fortune. . . .

M. Louis-Eduard Pouget was arrested on December 26, 1924, because of an article on Charles XII, king of Sweden, who was killed in the year 1718. M. Louis Borno considered this to be "provocation for his assassination," and his master, General John H. Russell, a "recommendation for the assassination of functionaries." After five days of preventive imprisonment, M Pouget was taken from his cell to receive a new order of imprisonment as "the artisan of a plot to bring about the assassination of President Louis Borno." He demanded a hearing before an examining magistrate on this accusation. The only response was to confine him to a secret cell, day and night. He went on a hunger strike, in order to compel the attendance of a magistrate. After eight days, in the course of which he was much weakened, an examining magistrate appeared at the penitentiary to question him. He was permitted to quit his cell, but was not released from prison until seven months later, July 31, 1925; and from that day to this, no legal document has ever set forth whether such a plot existed or not. However, during that period, an individual who did not know M. Pouget, and whom M. Pouget did not know, was taken before the prosecuting officer who threatened to send him to prison if he did not agree to make a declaration that the editor of the *Poste* had offered him money to assassinate M. Borno. He refused to agree and was locked up, but upon provisory liberation, he went to the editorial rooms of the *Poste* and made this revelation which was published. No one would have dared to lie about so grave a matter. The government contented itself with ordering the magistrate to docket the case, and replied to the inquiries of M. Pouget's lawyer, "the examination is proceeding normally. . . .

The comedy of "reelection" was played on April 12, 1926 On March 26, they arrested the editor of the *Poste*, who had published the official documents proving the constitutional ineligibility of M. Borno, who was born in 1865, son of a foreigner

naturalized as a Haitian nine years later; but M. Pouget's arrest was under an accusation of publishing "false news," because he demanded that the government "make an official declaration" to reassure the people regarding a report that a territorial concession had been sold to the United States for the establishment of a naval base. The government prosecutor held that this rumor was not true, and that consequently the journal had published false information. Two days later a fresh order of imprisonment was issued against M. Pouget as an accomplice of M. Latortue. Maitre Lys Latortue, an attorney of the Gonaives bar, had announced in the *Poste* that the Americans no longer permitted the Haitians to go bathing in Lapierre, a bathing beach near Gonaives, during the time that Americans were bathing. M. Latortue asked these gentlemen in khaki if they had taken these beaches as their own property, their naval base. Naval base! This offense of "giving false news of a nature to disturb the public peace," occasioned the imprisonment of Latortue as its author, and the second order of imprisonment against M. Pouget as his accomplice.

On April 16, American bayonets having again precipitated M. Borno into the presidency, two American officers came to release M. Latortue, M. Pouget, and his manager from the penitentiary. M. Pouget had not been called before an examining magistrate in this second affair. He related the incident in his newspaper, with this comment: "One does not know by whose order, that of the dictator or the under-dictator, he was set at liberty, but it certainly was not by the court, for he had never been interrogated by the examining magistrate. But the American High Commissioner was moved. When he gave the order to free his prisoners, he did not know the state of the case. . . ."

To correct this mistake, on June 16, 1926, the examining magistrate called the editor of the *Poste* before him for examination on the March offense and informed him that he himself had ordered that the editor be restored to liberty. This gives a correct idea of the insolence of the Yankee dictatorship in Haiti.

The epilogue is grotesque. Toward the end of 1926, the High Commissioner caused a decree of amnesty to be issued through M. Borno, couched in generous terms, in favor of the newspaper men who had not been brought to trial, and including all accusations made by the government prosecutor, and those which had been brought without authority, not to mention those which were based on the phantom plot of 1924!

A Voice From a Haitian Jail

THE NATION has received a letter dated July 26, 192' from the penitentiary at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, reading as follows:

> The undersigned make it their duty to express to you their deep appreciation of the editorial printed in your issue of July 20 concerning their arrest and confinement.
>
> We are still in jail and forbidden to have ink, paper, and pencil in our possession; that is why we are addressing you in such an informal way.
>
> Please accept our best thanks and continue to help us in your most esteemed paper, using all your influence in our favor.
>
> We are, dear sir,
>
> Yours very sincerely,
>
> The Editor of the *Temps*, Charles Moravia
> The Editor of the *Nouvelliste*, Ern. G. Chauvet
> The Editor of the *Courrier Haïtien*, Jolibois Fils
> The Editor of the *Haïtien*, Jean Charles Pressoir
> The Editor of the *Variétés*, Clamart Ricourt
> The Editor of the *Petit Capois*, Edmond Liautand
> The Editor of *Stella*, Luc E. Fouché
> The President of L'Union Patriotique and of L' Association Fraternelle des Travailleurs, P. Thoby.
> The Secretary-General of L'Union Patriotique, Victor Cauvin

The communication from the penitentiary in Port-au-Prince then goes on to tell of the difficulties with the cable company as follows:

1. We were arrested on June 24 and are still in jail.
2. Only seven of us have been interrogated by the judge.
3. On the 16th of July Mr. Petit, secretary of L'Association Fraternelle des Travailleurs of which Mr. P. Thoby is the president, wrote a cablegram to Mr. William Green, president of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in order to inform him that Mr. Thoby was going to sail for New York in order to attend the 5th congress, when he was arrested, and that Haiti therefore would not be represented at said congress. The cablegram was received by All America Cable, Inc., and paid for, on the 16th, but the company returned it to the sender on the 21st of July with a letter saying that the Haitian Government had forbidden the sending of the cable. That's the gag! And Haiti is so prevented from being heard in the States.

On the 22nd of July we asked one of our friends outside, the same Mr. Petit, to cable to Mr. Green. The cablegram read as follows: "Read editorial *The Nation* of July 20th. Take action in favor of jailed members."

All America Cable accepted the cablegram, but asked the sender to write "Take defense," instead of "Take action."

I wish you might investigate the case, asking All America Cable, Inc., (New York Office) what they know about that thing and urging them to explain if there was any state of war that justifies such a censorship not only against us but against such a personage as Green, who has a right, I suppose, to be notified as to the reasons why a delegate to the congress he is presiding over cannot attend thereto.

What means the changing of words and what if the cablegram was coded?

The censorship is against you, *The Nation*, against any American paper and organization, and that is an unbelievable thing.

Please communicate the fact to an American daily that may take up the matter with All America Cable and let the American public know how the Haitian people is forbidden to cry when it is being crushed.

Haiti Gets New U. S. Financial Adviser

Washington. — It has been announced at the department of state that President Coolidge has selected Arthur G. Millspaugh to succeed Dr Cumberland, both white, as the financial adviser and general receiver to the Haitian government. Mr. Millspaugh, who is a native of the state of Michigan, has been the administrator general of finance for Persia since 1922, having been selected for that important work because of his thorough knowledge of financial affairs.

President Borno of Haiti is understood to have approved the selection of Millspaugh, who resigned recently as adviser to the Persian government, owing, it is reported, to the attitude of the Persian authorities in proposing to change his contract in such a way as to remove his authority over fiscal matters.

Haiti

Race Problem - 1927

West Indies

WHY WITHDRAW FROM HAITI.

Withdrawal of the United States military control from Haiti is recommended from a new quarter in the report of a committee of six sent to that country a year ago by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This committee made a thorough study of existing conditions and its findings have been published in a book entitled "Occupied Haiti," edited by Emily Greene Balch, a member of the league and former professor of political economy at Wellesley College. The other members of the investigating committee were Mrs Charlotte Atwood, teacher of English at Dunbar High School, Washington; Miss Zonia Baber and Prof. Paul H. Douglass of the University of Chicago, Mrs. Addie W. Hunton and Mrs. J. Harold Watson.

While noting an improvement in the tone of the American administration of Haitian affairs since 1915 and an apparent stoppage of cruelty, abuse of power and violence in the treatment of the natives, the report maintains that "the fact that the situation rests on force makes the American rule deeply repugnant to all Haitians who still prize the independence that they have suffered so much to win." The impression recorded by the authors of this report is that the directing officials of the present American administration are honest and able in their aims to serve the people of Haiti. Nevertheless, it is asserted that it is not true that Americans are in Haiti solely as disinterested benefactors, and that "we cannot show clean hands in our business dealings there." This phase of the matter is referred to in guarded terms, as follows:

> "If the officials have tried to benefit the people of Hayti, as we believe they have, it is also true that the occupation has cared for American financial interests there at the expense of poor and weak neighbors."
>
> Our relations with Latin America are poisoned by the feelings roused by several instances of an imperialistic tendency on the part of the United States, and of all the instances our actions in Hayti are perhaps the most flagrant."

A much stronger exposition of the exploitation of the Haitian people and the subversion of their government in the interest of American capitalists was contained in the reports made by James Weldon Johnson and Herbert Seligman several years ago and published by the Nation, the liberal weekly edited by Oswald G. Villard. Nevertheless, Prof. Douglass and his associates did well to uncover the financial greed that has characterized the imperialistic policy pursued toward Haiti under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

The report of the Women's Peace Committee made the following recommendations in order to effect a withdrawal of the American occupation and restoration of Haitian independence: That an official committee be sent immediately to Haiti to study transition arrangements with leading Haitian and American officers there. That the present American administration be demilitarized while it lasts and that American non-commissioned officers in the gendarmerie be replaced by Haitians or suitable commissioned Marine Corps officers. That the protocol of 1919, which provides for an American Receiver General of Customs, be modified. That the banks controlled by American capital be asked to pay the market rate of interest on government deposits. That legal title to the land be secured to peasant proprietors and occupants. That the Rockefeller Foundation continue in some form to aid the health work in Haiti. That after the election of a parliament responsible to the people, a second commission be appointed by the President to confer with Haitian leaders for final arrangements.

These recommendations appear to be moderate enough to enlist the approval of those Americans who are not committed to the policy of exploitation which seems to have been fastened upon the military and naval branches of the government. True regard for the interests of the Haitian people would dictate that they be given a voice in managing their internal affairs, if they are ever to regain self-government. The Haitians achieved their independence from French rule over a century ago and aided the North American colonists to fight against the British, at the battle of Savannah. It is a queer return of evil for good, that makes the descendants of these same colonists the instruments to rob the Haitians of the independence they won under Toussaint L'Ouverture by their unaided efforts.

It is futile for such journalistic apologists as the New York Herald Tribune to plead that "the occupation is an effort to lay the foundations of order, economic betterment and financial solvency." It is grotesque camouflage to call it "a measure of self-protection on our part, with benevolent intentions toward the Haitian people." The Gehenna of the nations is paved with intentions of that sort.

As the report suggests, the United States Senate should act on the resolution presented by Senator King of Utah in April 1926, directing a reconsideration of the Haitian claims to independence. The Haitian leaders themselves who head the movement for independence, should show a determination to improve the condition of the peasants by the spread of education, sanitation and aiding in their industrial progress. Independence must be extended to the masses of the people and exploitation banned, whether practised by invading Americans or the higher class of Haitians.

Poor Haiti!

MESSRS. JOLIBOIS, Chauvet, Pressoir, Moravia, Liautaud, Ricourt, and Fouché, patriotic editors of Haitian newspapers, are in jail today because they dared speak out against the shackling of their country. They protested when Archbishop Caruana told newspaper reporters in Havana that President Borno, America's puppet-president, was a public-spirited citizen; and Mr. Borno gave point to their protests by promptly clapping them into jail, boldly asserting that "never in our national life was the press as free as it is today, but I will not stand for my country to be insulted in foreign lands. These men will remain in prison until I think of them again." Under the benign protection of the United States Marine Corps, President Borno can play the Mussolini role to his heart's content.

The fact is that Haiti has never known a stricter censorship than today, and with reason. For the United States is engaged in mopping up, and President Borno is supposed to do the dirty work of keeping things dark. When Franklin Roosevelt wrote a constitution for Haiti in 1916 he still suffered a bit from pre-war inhibitions. He left several loopholes. Among other things, he left the judiciary independent and in Haitian hands. Doubtless the petty Haitian judiciary is, in its way, corrupt, but it is also patriotic. When a big American landowner goes into a Haitian court today, and faces a poverty-stricken Haitian nobody, the nobody nevertheless is likely to have the best of it. And, as American land holdings in Haiti are increasing, it seems obviously desirable to change such a state of things. So the constitution is being amended.

The new constitution makes at least three important changes. Instead of guaranteeing liberty of the press—a guaranty which Mr. Borno has honored chiefly in the breach—it limits the guaranty to conditions "determined by law." Instead of providing for trial by jury in all criminal cases it limits jury trial to cases prescribed by law, and leaves interpretation of laws to the Legislature. (Since no legislative elections have been held since Smedley Butler, pistol in hand, dissolved the Haitian Senate more than ten years ago, legislative functions meanwhile being exercised by presidential appointees, this should leave Mr. Borno very comfortable.) A further constitutional change provides that the President shall appoint all judges except justices of the peace, and that he may remove even his own appointees for cause. This provision is important in its effect upon land titles, particularly American-held titles, which hitherto have suffered in the Haitian courts and now seem assured of due respect. Since Haiti has had only the most irregular system of title registration, this system of presidentially appointed judges to pass upon all land claims should achieve marvellous results. Still another constitutional change extends the normal presidential term from four to six years, and provides that a president may not be reelected after ten years in office. Mr. Borno's term expires in 1930, but, as he will then have served only eight years, this permits him to retain the office until 1936.

Behind all this constitutional patchwork lies the shadow of the sixty-year concession in the Artibonite valley granted to former United States Representative Rodenberg of Illinois. Supposedly it is for the development of water power; and there has been talk of rubber plantations there; but rumors are current in Haiti that it also includes oil lands. It is of no value unless a large number of land claims can be adjudicated satisfactorily to the American concessionaires.

One of the newspapers whose editor is now in jail has claimed that the "annulment of titles which will be made by order of the American Occupation will convey the lands of the peasants to the National Board of Survey and then the Occupation will give them to Mr. Rodenberg." Here lies the explanation of the mass imprisonment of Port-au-Prince's editors, and of President Borno's cavalier declaration that they shall stay in jail until he happens to think of them again. At root, as in all Haiti's recent misery, the interests of United States capitalists are responsible.

Was it for such dirty business that the Marines were brought back from Nicaragua to their old quarters in Haiti? Has the American conscience been so deadened by marine-corps publicity that there will be no stout protest against such bullyragging of a helpless little nation? Is there no voice in America, save those of Haiti's old-times friends like Senators King and Borah, to demand that these things shall stop? Here, rather than in Europe, America's good name is most vitally at stake.

Haiti.

Race Problem-1927

West Indies.

Haiti — A Case in Point

Paul H. Douglas

The nature of our military control over the Republic of Haiti is but little understood by even intelligent Americans who have been confused by the conflicting reports concerning our administration.

The Republic of Haiti is nominally independent, with a President and his Cabinet, a Council of State which serves as the Haitian legislature; a diplomatic service, and with membership in the League of Nations. In reality, its government is almost completely controlled by the United States; and the President, Louis Borno, who appoints not only the members of his Cabinet but also those of the Council of State, is but a puppet in the hands of the American government. Brigadier General John H. Russell of the Marines is the American High Commissioner to Haiti and its real ruler. Behind the President's palace is quartered a regiment of American marines. These marines perform a double function. They prevent President Borno from being assasinated and they enable General Russell to offer the Haitian Government (in the words which a British under-secretary once uttered concerning the purpose of the British forces in Egypt) authoritative advice. The Haitian gendarme is, in addition, officered by American marines and American officials are in charge of finances, public works and public health.

No act can be considered by the Council of State unless it is first submitted to the American High Commissioner. If he approves, the Council of State can pass the measure; but if he disapproves, the matter is to be "jointly adjusted," which in the realities of the situation means that it cannot be passed. The unimportance of the Council is still further indicated not only by the fact that its members are appointed by the President, but also in that they hold office only at his pleasure. It is this body which in turn elects the President. The extraordinary spectacle is then presented of the President appointing the body which elects him. It is not difficult matter, therefore, for the President to get himself re-elected when his term expires. There is every inducement indeed for him to want to remain President. First in a country where the average annual per capita income is only approximately $20, the is paid $24,000 a year and is given a beautiful palace, with an annual allowance of $12,000 for expenses, plus secretaries, automobilesfi and liberal contingent fund. It is not to be wondered at that President Borno, after making some judicious changes in the personnel of the Council of State, should have been re-elected by that body last spring for another term of four years.

How, then, did our control over the Republic of Haiti originate, and what have been the steps in its development? Throughout 11914 and the first part of 1915, the United States sought to secure control over the collection of customs, although Haiti was meeting the interest on her foreign loans and was only a few years in arrears in her amortization payments. Despite the frequent revolutions in Haiti during this period, in which, incidentally, no foreigners were injured, the various governments all refused to turn over the administration of their customs to the Americans. Only July 27, 1915, a revolution against the President Guillaume Sam, which had been gathering strength in the north, broke out in the capital city of Port au Prince and drove the President to seek sanctuary in the French Legation. While he was there, one of his generals determined to shoot all of the political opponents whom the President had for some weeks been collecting in prison. He accordingly went from cell to cell to cell and murdered no fewer than 164. This massacre so inflamed the citizens of the city that a mob broke into the French Legation, murdered Sam, and then paraded the streets with the fragments of his body.

The next day American marines and sailors were landed, under the command of Admiral Caperton, to restore order. Admiral Caperton issued a proclamation assuring the Haitians that we had no designs on their independence and that we were there only temporarily to restore order. Order was restored, but the marines did not withdraw. A meeting of Congress was called to elect a President, and after some lobbying the candidate favored by the Americans, Dartiguenave, was chosen. We immediately presented him a treaty to ratify which gave us control not only over the collection of the customs but also over the fixation of the budget and its expenditure. A gendarmerie, officered by Americans appointed by the President of the United States, was to be set up and control over public works and sanitation was given to us. It was also provided that "should the necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." We have interpreted this clause as an authorization for the maintainance of a force of marines on the island, although the Haitians have never accepted this interpretation. The treaty was to run for ten years or more and could be renewed for a further term of ten years at the request of etiher party..

The Haitian Congress refused at first to ratify this treaty, and Admiral Caperton, who had seized all of the custom houses, then shut off the payment of salaries to the Haitian officials. Since the Haitians had but little surplus, they soon began to be in financial difficulties. In early October, Secretary Daniels authorized Admiral Caperton to pay the ensuing salaries, but ordered that the back salaries should not be paid until the treaty was ratified. This was sufficient to win over the lower house, but the Senate was made of sterner stuff and still refused to ratify. Daniels accordingly cabled Caperton on November 10th, ordering him to call a meeting of the President and Cabinet and "to make the following statement to them on your own authority":

"I am confident if the treaty fails of ratification that my government has the intention to retain control in Haiti until the desired end is accomplished and that it will forthwith proceed to the complete pacification of Haiti * * * will be supported in the effort to secure stable conditions and lasting peace in Haiti, whereas those offering opposition can only expect such treatment as their conduct merits * * * Rumors of bribery to defeat the treaty are rife, but are not believed. Should they prove true, those who accept or give bribery will be vigorously prosecuted."

This plain threat of violence carried the day, and the Senate almost immediately ratified the treaty, with, however, twenty-three reservations, which we have always refused to recognize.

The treaty was renewed for a second term of ten years in March, 1917 by a memorandum signed by M. Borno (who was then Secretary of State) and the American Minister. The Haitians claim that this extension, which took place only ten months after the final ratification of the original treaty, is invalid, because it was not ratified by either the Haitian Congress or the American Senate. The Haitians urge that if the consent of these bodies was necessary for the original approval of the treaty, formal approval by at least one of them was equally necessary for its extension. They claim, therefore, that even under the treaty the terms of American control expired last May, while the Americans claim that the treaty does not expire until 1936. After that date, the Americans admit, however, that a new treaty will be necessary if we are legally to continue in control.

In the spring of 1916, President Dartiguenave feared that Congress would impeach him and ordered a lieutenant in the Haitian gendarmerie to dissolve Congress. New elections were held, and when the new Congress assembled in 1917 it found itself confronted with the draft of a new constitution, which had been prepared by Franklin D. Roosevelt, the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy. This made the radical change of granting foreigners the right to own land,—a privilege which had been jealously forbidden by the Haitians ever since they had won their freedom from the French over a century before. Even the new Congress refused, therefore, to ratify this constitution. After pressure by the American occupation, President Dartiguenave ordered Smedley D. Butler, the chief of the gendarmerie, to dissolve the Congress. The American commander of the occupation has since testified that he was ready to dissolve Congress had the President finally refused. Since then there has been no Haitian Congress.

The Americans were then left in a quandary. They wanted the constitution to be ratified, but there was apparently no body to ratify it. They then bethought themselves of a plebiscite and therefore had the constitution printed for distribution and called for a public vote upon it. This enthusiasm for a plebiscite is amusing, in view of the oft-repeated argument which our government officials have advanced that the Haitians are incapable of self-government because ninety per cent are illiterate. But while they may now be too illiterate to elect their representatives, they were not then too illiterate to pass upon the merits of a complicated constitution. When the Haitians came to vote, they found the polling places policed by American marines and the American officers of the gendarmerie. Two sets of ballots were prepared; white signifying approval and blue rejection. From the testimony which our committee took on the island, it is established that the voters were given whtie ballots. They were free, however, to ask the armed Americans for blue ballots and hence it has been claimed that it was a fair election! With such pressure exerted, it is not surprising that the results were announced as 98,294 for, as compared with only 769 against. The Haitians have a facetious habit of wondering where the 769 negative ballots came from.

But this constitution provides for a Haitian Congress of two houses, which is to serve as the legislative branch of the government and which is to meet in joint session every four years to elect a President. But no such Congress has ever met. The constitution provides that this Congress "shall be elected in January of even years and the President shall designate the year." The Presidents and the American occupation have interpreted this to mean, however, that the President may designate the year, and they have accordingly refused thus far to call for elections. The Americans are thus in virtually complete control of the government save for the schools and the courts, and the orders of the latter are not followed by the occupation when they are distasteful.

Such have been the methods by which we have acquired control. Our administrative record has been a mixed one, with a distinct tendency towards improvement in the last few years. We have built several hundreds miles of roads and have connected the main cities, although some of the roads, from 1917 to 1902 were built by forced labor with many excesses. We have put down the marauding bands of cacos and have given greater security to the peasants in bringing their produce into market. There has been but one revolution since our occupation, although at least 2,500 Haitians and probably more were killed in this. We have collected customs honestly and, best of all, we have vastly improved the hospital service and are giving 40,000 free treatments a month—a service which is badly needed by a people ridden with tuberculosis, malaria and syphilis.

But there have, unfortunately, been less favorable features of our administration. We have insisted that the Haitians recognize the claims of the bondholders of the National Railroad of Haiti. These claims are based on a concession secured in 1910 by an American adventurer by the name of MacDonald, which even the Americans admit was obtained by fraud and corruption. The bonds were originally sold in France, but before their validation evidently passed at bargain prceis into the hands of Americans, and at present the major holdings of this issue are in the hands of the National City Bank. The Haitians will ultimately pay over eight million dollars for this worthless railroad, which was built in three disconnected parts. We have also permitted certain objectional features in the renewal of the contract between the Bank of Haiti, which is now owned completely by the National City Bank, and the Haitian government. By this contract, the Haitian government grants the bank the right of receiving the surplus, which now amounts to approximately three million dollars, without paying Haiti any interest. Two millions of this surplus is deposited in New York with the National City Bank, which pays, as an act of grace, 2½ per cent, although other banks have offered 3½ per cent for the account. On the one million deposited in Haiti, however, no interest at all is paid, despite the fact that it furnishes a reserve for loans which the bank makes at nine per cent.

Finally, we have twice permitted President Borno to throw his political opponent, Charles Moravia, into prison without trial, and we have several times imprisoned the editor of a Haitian newspaper, M. Jolibois, and his assistants for charging that General Russel misappropriated funds during the war. From all that I can learn, this charge is false, but it is certainly a dangerous principle to commit men to prison upon executive fiat without the right of trial by jury.

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Praise was given the American educational system by those now successfully engaged in the professions here, men born in the West Indies who came to the United States to take advantage of the opportunities for a high school and college education.

In 1912 the West Indian population in Harlem was 10,000. Today it is 60,000. The combined Negro population of the community is put at more than 250,000. Between 1914 and 1915, unchecked by immigration restrictions, natives from the Islands of the Seas began to pour into New York City in large numbers. They left their motherland either to improve their economic status or to get an education.

There has been a marked falling off in the number of newcomers from the islands to the United States during the last two years. This appreciable decrease has been due to an interpretation of the new United States immigration laws in which the British West Indies is included in Great Britain's quota. Instead of coming to these shores by the hundreds monthly the present figure is approximately ten.

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"Can the American people stand for such a regime?

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The other names attached to the letter are Percival Thoby, Victor Cauvin, representative of the Grand Masonic Lodge of New York and secretary general of L'Union Patriotique; Ern. G. Chauvet, former vice consul at New York and editor of "Le Nouveliste"; Jalibois Fils, editor of "Le Petit Capois," and Lac Fouche, editor of the "Stella," "Le Courier Haitien and correspondent of the Federations of Labor of Santo Domingo and Nicaragua; Jean C. Pressoir, editor of "Le Haitien"; Clamant Ricourt, editor of "Les Varieties"; Edmond Liautand, editor of

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Race Problem - 1927

Haiti.

West Indies.

THE SUBJUGATION OF HAITI goes on from month to month with the busy public of the United States ignorant of or indifferent to the injustices and brutalities of an occupation which is not only illegal in itself but has got nowhere in the direction of reconciling the natives to it. In our International Relations Section this week we print a translation of a powerful address before the International Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism in Brussels, in which are detailed some of the outrages against freedom of the press in Haiti. We also publish a letter received by *The Nation* from the penitentiary in Port-au-Prince, signed by seven editors and two others under detention. Although arrested on June 24, two of the prisoners had not yet been arraigned when the letter was written a month later. Neither American nor Haitian law seem to have any standing with our new *conquistadores*. They are in Haiti to make it safe for American investment and exploitation—and law and justice do not in the least matter.

HAITI BALKS THE DICTATOR

Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, high commissioner in Haiti, has returned to the United States on vacation and to take up with Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, and President Coolidge some drastic measures for the reform of the courts and judiciary in Haiti's faulty system of justice to President Brig. Gen. Russell says:

"I am anxious to prove the complete failure of Haitian justice, administration of which is not covered by treaty. It is impossible at present fo Americans and other foreigners to conduct cases in the courts. Each time they lose the decision, since the judges and juries always are raising the color issue. Recently numerous American cases were handled to the dissatisfaction of the Americans. A Haitian robbed a business man. After confessing, the robber was released unanimously by the Haitian jury, after which he took up proceedings against the prosecuting firm."

The General has presented the facts on Haiti's faulty sytem of justice to Preisdent Borno. Following his visit with Secretary Kellogg there will be a new treaty covering the abolition of the life appointments for judges and giving the president authority to dismiss them.

"Each time they lost the decision, since the judge and juries are always raising the color issue," bellows and kicks Gen. Russell, who roused to the great injustice done the white Americans in meeting out justice to them by the native Haitians that he rushes off for Washington, to the Secretary of State, and to the President to do something about it. And what he wants them to do is low, mean, despicable. He wants them to override the constitution of the Haitians, reform their judiciary so that the court will function as the American white man desires them to function in his favor only.

While the President and the State Department are engaged in investigating the courts of Haiti, we will be glad to furnish them plenty of data, statistics and thousands of witnesses of how the courts in the southern states have functioned in a prejudicial manner, and so continue to function.

We respectfully and emphatically call the attention of those executives to the fact that in the courts of the south when Negroes are tried in the courts "Each time they lose always raising the color issue."

What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The white American introduced discrimination into Haiti. They are getting in full measure what they gave. The white Americans are unfair, partial prejudicial, seeking always to rob others of freedom and liberty and to use the rights, privileges and powers of weaker races and nations, the white loudly proclaiming themselves to be Christian benefactors of humanity at home and abroad.

If the President and Secretary of State can reach the powerful hand of state way down into Haiti, then it seems only plausable and possible that they should and can reach it into the southern states and likewise establish justice and equality in the courts in the "land of the free and the home of the brave."

We wonder if it is not possible for the American Negroes to join with Brig. Gen. Russell in petitioning the government against lynching, discrimination, jim-crowism, and would our appeal get the same immediate consideration as the Haitian matter?

It seems an opportune time here and now with this paralell case before our highest representatives—a case in all points identical to that of our own in the United States when reversed.

The Haitian judges and juries are to be congratulated upon their fearlessness, honesty and impartiality. Their attitude in acquiring all of the fine points of despicable American prejudice from the masters themselves and the art of turning it back upon them with such directness and force that they cried out to their government for relief, is a feat worthy of more than passing notice. The sense of appropriateness of things and then fitness of application is not lost to the Haitians.

Long live the spirit of Haiti.

OCCUPATION IN HAITI SCORED BY HAITIAN AT PAN-AFRICAN MEET

Special to the Journal and Guide

New York City, August —Speaking before the fourth Pan-African Congress here last week, M. Dantes Bellegarde, a distinguished Haitian, through the congress' official interpreter, Prof. Rayford Logan, severely scored the American occupation in Haiti.

"The American Occupation has destroyed the confidence and respect that the Haitian formerly held for the Americans," declared Mr. Bellegarde, "and it has destroyed the American prestige." He told of the atrocities that the Americans practiced upon the Haitians, and said that they are taken advantage of in every way. Bellegarde said the Haitians are not allowed to carry guns, and this has put them to the mercy of the marines. He alleged that Haitians had been shot down by Americans, and cited an alleged case where an American officer had raped a Haitian girl and was not punished for it. He told of the need of a better educational system in Haiti and said that if the American Negro does not take a greater interest in the Haitians and come to their rescue, they will be exterminated. He told of the history of Haiti and said it was a glorious one. Bellegarde declared that according to the laws of Haiti, President Borno is not legally president of the Republic.

By CLEVELAND G. ALLEN

It was one of the most successful held, and before it adjourned it went down on record as being opposed to the exploitation of Africa, asked that the Negro be entitled to its own land, urged the federation of the West Indies Islands, asked for larger political opportunities for the Negro, scored lynching and prejudice in America, urged the withdrawal of the Americans from Haiti, asked that the election be held in Haiti in 1928, and advocated a larger interest in the economic and social development of the darker peoples of the world.

Discuss Haiti

Haiti came in for a great deal of discussion at the Congress, and M. Dantes Bellegarde a distinguished Haitian, who represented Haiti at the League of Nations, made a plea for that country, and scored the American occupation for the policy it has pursued in Haiti. He said that the American people had lost prestige in that country. Bellegarde was one of the most picturesque delegates at the Congress.

Another prominent delegate was Chief Amoah III from the Gold Coast, who brought to the attention of the Congress the exact status of Africa, and interpreted the African philosophy as it relates to customs and habits. There were 155 delegates present, representing the best leadership of the Negro race. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the Crisis, who has been foremost in the Pan-African movement, was the general director of the Congress, and brought to its attention vital problems affecting the Negroes of Africa, Haiti and West Indies, and America. Dr. Du Bois urged a closer study of the problems affecting the Negro throughout the world.

Headquarters of the Congress were at the Grace Congregational Church, where the morning and afternoon sessions were held. The Congress was sponsored by the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, of which Mrs. A. W. Hunton is president. The opening session of the Congress was held at St. Mark's M. E. Church where a large gathering was present. Mrs. Hunton told of the efforts of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations to have the Congress come to America for its fourth session.

Greetings were brought to the Congress by Chief Amoah III representing Africa, Hon. Augustus Toote, a member of the legislature of Bahamas, who represented that island, Bishop R. G. Barrow who spoke for Barbadoes, H. E. Rahkit for the East Indies, M. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti, and Hon. Adolph Sixto who represented the Virgin Islands. Monsieur Bellegarde through the official interpreter of the Congress, Prof. Rayford Logan, made a fervent plea for a better understanding of the Haitian peoples. Dr. William Pickens gave a report of the conference that was held at Brussels.

Conditions In Africa

The session on Monday began with an exposition of conditions in Africa, and was led by Dr. Du Bois. He told of the traits, customs, traditions, and habits of the people. This discussion was opened by Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cooke of Washington, D. C. The afternoon session had to do with a discussion on African missions. Mrs. Helen Curtis, widow of the former minister to Liberia, the late James L. Curtis, told of the work that she was doing in Africa for the training of the children. She urged a better support of the missionaries who go to Africa, and praised their work as being one of the most important in its development. Mrs. A. P. Camphor, wife of the late Bishop Camphor of Liberia told of the missionary work that was being done by the M. E. Church, and Mrs. A. W. Dickerson, told of the work that the Baptist church was doing in its missionary program in Africa.

At the close of the afternoon session a public reception was tendered the delegates at the Y. W. C. A. At the reception the American delegates had an opportunity to meet the foreign delegates and give them their first welcome to America. The evening session was held at the St.

James Presbyterian Church. The discussion had to do with the history of Africa. Dr. Charles H. Wesley of Howard University told of the historical and cultural background of Africa. He said, "No peoples or nation has ever played a great part unless it was aware of its background." Dr. Wesley said that we should know more about the history of Africa. He said that the knowledge spread about Africa which has been erroneous, was due to missionaries, and imperialists.

M. Bellegarde Speaks

M. Bellegarde of Haiti, and former minister to France, told of the existence of slavery in Haiti prior to the independence of the country in 1804. He scored the peonage system in America, and said that such conditions should end. Prof. Melville Herskovits spoke on the "American Negro and His Half Brother." He pointed out the development of the American Negro into a distinct type, which made his background and culture different from that of Africa. At the session on Tuesday morning, Dr. Du Bois gave an exposition of conditions in the Carribean Islands, and told of the struggles through various periods of its history. Prof. Hudson Phillips of Cheyney Institute said that the educational system in the West Indie Islands must be changed for the best development of the peoples. He told of the situation as it faced the Islands of Granada, and said that such conditions were typical of the West Indies. Others who spoke were Eugene Corbie who told of conditions in Trinidad, Dr. Brooks of Jamaica, and Richard B. Moore.

The afternoon session on Tuesday was held at the Fourth Moravian Church. The addresses were on "The future and the History of Africa."

The speakers were W. Tete Ansa, and Prof. William Hansbury. The discussion at this meeting was one of the most interesting of the afternoon meetings. The meeting was followed by a visit to the W. 135th Street Public Library to see the African exhibit and the Schromburg collection, which is the largest collection on the Negro in the world.

The evening session was held at Salem M. E. Church. The discussion centered around "The Economic Development of Africa." Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast said that Africa had an area of 11,000,000 square miles, and a population of 142,000,000. He said that Africa was one fifth of the area of the world. He told of its vast resources, and said that education was one of its greatest needs for the development of the resources of the country.

Prof. Leslie Pinkney Hill of Cheney Normal School told of the need an educational campaign that would serve to get the case of the Negro before the peoples of the world. He said that Negroes should ally themselves with every agency making for the general betterment and advancement of the world. Prof. Hill said progress cannot be made by "policy of self exclusion." You cannot separate the economic interest from the human element he said. Mr. Bellegarde of Haiti made a motion that the Congress form a permanent organization. Bishop R. C. Ransom of Nashville spoke strongly in support of the motion.

Europe and United States

The session on Wednesday morning began an exposition of conditions in Europe and the United States led by Dr. Du Bois. Vital questions affecting the social, intellectual, social and economic welfare of the Negro in Europe and America were presented. He told of the poor educational system of Abyssinia, and said that the real need of Africa was more colleges. He said that the increase in college education among the Negroes in America was remarkable. He said that there were 12,000 Negro college students in America.

Eugene F. Corbie deplored the lack of interest of the educated Negro towards the welfare of the masses. Richard Br. Moore urged a closer solidarity of the darker peoples of the world, as the ultimate solution of the problems facing them. Bishop Ransom of Nashville, Tenn., said that if the Pan-African movement is to succeed it must have the religious element in to command the confidence of the thinking people.

Political Partition of Africa

At the afternoon session the discussion had to do with "Political Partition of Africa." Prof. Hudson Phillips spoke on "The Need of Negro History being taught in Schools and Colleges." He told of a campaign that was conducted to reach the students of the various institutions to interest them in Negro history. He said that the results in many cases showed a lack of knowledge of the history of the Negro. He said that greater cooperation was received from the white teachers than from the Negro teachers. Prof. Rayford Logan in speaking on "Political Partition of Africa," told of the need of greater political power and control of the people of Africa. A committee consisting of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Mrs. A. W. Hunton, Prof. Rayford Logan, Dantes Bellegarde, Prof. Hudson Phillips, Bishop R. C. Ransom, Mrs. Cannady, Chief Amoah III, Eugene F. Corbie and Chris Huiswoud and others was appointed to work out plans for a permanent organization.

The closing session of the Congress was held at Abyssinian Baptist Church on Wednesday evening, 2,000 people were present. The discussion was, "Education in Africa." The speakers were Dr. Wilhelm Mensching of Germany, and John Vandercook, author of "Tom Tom." Both addresses dealt with the cultural contribution and gifts of the African peoples.

Dr. Du Bois in his closing address surveyed the economic, political and social conditions in Europe as it relates to the Negro.

FINDS HAITI RICH IN HISTORICAL TREASURES

Scientist Makes Many Valuable Finds On Island. Negroes Still Use the Ancient Caves

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 27. — A reputation for occult powers is a great aid to zoological collecting in the mountains of Haiti, according to Dr. Alexander Wetmore, asst. secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who has recently returned from an expedition to Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Dr. Wetmore's handling of birds, reptiles and other animals persuaded superstitious natives that he was a wizard and in consequence he could both count on their assistance and leave his camp unguarded without fear of depredations.

7-29-27

St. Louis, Mo.

On La Selle mountain, a point not previously visited by zoologists, Dr. Wetmore had the good fortune to find bones of several extinct kinds of small animals including a shrew-like creature and several rodents. They were deposited in a sink hole sixty feet deep.

"The age of the bones is problematical," said Dr. Wetmore. "A hundred years is a low estimate and they may be a great deal older. Possibly they were brought into the sink hole by an owl which had its nest there. This is the second find of this sort on the island."

Evidence of an artistic culture of considerable variety among the Indians who occupied the island when the Spaniards first visited it centuries ago were observed by Dr. Wetmore in the mountains near Constanza in the Dominican Republic. These included clay heads made for pottery ornaments, as well as stone hatchets, graters for Cassava, and other implements. Limestone caves which the aborigines occupied on Samana bay on the coast are still used by Negro fishermen.

Dr. Wetmore's major purpose was to survey the bird life of the whole island and to round out the already large collection made for the Smithsonian by Dr. W. L. Abbott, in preparation for a monograph which he and Mr. B. H. Swales are to write. In addition to a new species of thrush, he brought back reptiles, molluscs and miscellaneous invertebrates new to science.

NOTED BAHAMA EDITOR IS GUEST OF CHICAGO DOCTOR

Etienne Dupuch, editor of the Tribune, Nassau, Bahamas, is in Chicago visiting Dr. George C. Hall. Mr. Dupuch, who is a member of the Bahamas legislature, is on his way to St. Johns university, Collegeville, Minn., where he will remain a year for the study of history. He is the special correspondent of the New York Times in the Bahamas and saw three years' active service with the British West Indies regiment during the World war in Egypt and on the western front.

Chicago Defender 9-17-27

He expects to remain in Chicago for several days and is already impressed with the housing conditions here; the individual home appealing very strongly to his West Indian notions. He is frankly surprised at the activity that is evident among our people in Chicago and considered it an honor to have the privilege of inspecting so many large business organizations.

This is not Mr. Dupuch's first visit to the United States, but it is decidedly the most enjoyable, he said. Before coming to this city he was a guest of Father Leopold Probst, rector of the Holy Cross church, Spangler, Pa., where he was highly entertained by citizens of that town.

Race Problem - 1927

West Indies.

Haiti

Pope Confers Cross on President Borno of Haiti

Rome, Italy, May 20.—The pope last week ordered the grand cross of the Order of St. Gregory the Great conferred upon Louis Borno, president of Haiti, as a reward and recognition of the recent establishment of a Haitian legation at the holy see. The decoration was transmitted through Mgr. Caruana, papal nuncio in Haiti and apostolic delegate to the Antilles.

KING SAYS HAITI DEBARMENT WAS "IMPERIALISM"

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., March 28.—[Special.]—Indignant because he was barred from entering Haiti, Senator King [Dem., Utah] intends to protest to Secretary of State Kellogg over what the senator considers undue American influence in Haiti. He desires also an investigation by the senate foreign relations committee.

WM. H. KING.
[P. & A.]

After Senator King was barred from Haiti he accused Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, the American high commissioner, and the state department of controlling President Borno's actions, and also denounced American "imperialism" in the island.

HAITI BARS SENATOR KING

WASHINGTON, March 13. Classed as "undesirable," Senator William H. King (Democrat), of Utah, has been barred from entering the Republic of Haiti despite the request of the American State Department that he be permitted to land, it was learned Saturday night.

This is the first time in history that a United State Senator has been forbidden admission to a friendly country. The situation is all the more remarkable because Haiti is now under American occupation.

Senator King was barred by direction of President Borno, who keenly resented "personal and violent attacks" made upon him by the Utah solon in public speeches.

U. S. PROTESTS.

Officials at the State Department Saturday night admitted that a sharp protest was lodged with the Haitian Government over the refusal to permit Senator King to enter.

The department assumed the attitude, it was learned, that Senator King should be allowed to "see for himself" the benefits which have accrued to Haiti by American occupation, a course which he has consistently attacked.

President Borno, however, remained adamant, asserting that the visit of Senator King was to have been made the occasion for anti-government demonstrations, which might have assumed serious proportions. The proposed demonstrations might also have an unfortunate effect upon the economic situation of the country, he said.

DEPARTMENT POWERLESS.

In view of President Borno's flat refusal to permit Senator King's entry, it was admitted that the State Department can take no further action.

The incident was disclosed in a message received here by Hannibal Price, Haitian minister, from Foreign Minister Leon. Added importance was given the incident because the Borno regime has been supported strongly by this government. Senator King charged recently in the Senate that President Borno never would have been elected without the aid of United States Marines, now in that country.

Senator King is scheduled to arrive at Cristobal, Canal Zone, Sunday, where he planned to remain three days before proceeding to Haiti for a two-day visit. He has been warned summarily by the Haitian Government, however, that his presence is not wanted and that he will not be allowed to land on Haitian soil.

In his message to Minister Price, the Minister for Foreign Affairs justified the action of his government by charging that Senator King has uttered "false and offensive declarations against the President of Haiti and his coadjutors, who are carrying out faithfully the Treaty of 1915, voted by the Senate of the United States and by the legislative body of Haiti."

WHITE CAPITAL HAS DESIGNS ON HAITIAN VALLEY

U. S. Financiers to Irrigate Rich Area in Black 'Republic" Under $5,000,000 Plan—Haiti Papers Opposed to Project

WASHINGTON, May 24.—Financiers of Chicago and other Middle Western cities have formed a corporation which will attempt to put through a $5,000,000 irrigation project in the Artibonite Valley in Hayti. This became known today in connection with the fact that several Haytian newspapers and organizations have sent a cable to the "Nation" protesting against the preparation.

The irrigation contract has been laid before the Conseil d'Etat, or Council of State, by the Haytian government. It is expected that it will be approved. Those who are objecting to it say the contract would impose little restriction on the company and would enrich a few at the expense of the peasants.

Wealthy Men Interested

Former Representative William A. Rodenberg, of Illinois, former Representative Allen Moore, of Illinois, and other wealthy men are interested in the project. They have taken it up with the State Department. The company is known as the Artibonite Irrigation Company. Mr. Moore is a multi-millionaire and one of the wealthiest men of Illinois.

Mr. Rodenberg said today the project was to irrigate the Artibonite Valley, which is naturally a rich region, but had long been neglected.

"It is a legitimate proposition and has the approval of the treaty officials and the Haytian government," said Mr. Rodenberg. "It would irrigate about 90,000 acres and aid in the agricultural development of the country. General Russell is heartily in favor of the development. It is no secret; it is strictly a business proposition, and has been pending over three years. The company has already spent about $75,000 in a preliminary way.

"The interests of the people with respect to rates have been fully safeguarded and I know of no reason for objections. I assume the objections come from elements opposed to the government."

Treaty Officials Approve

Mr. Rodenberg said that once the irrigation works were in operation tropical fruits, sugar and various tropical products could be produced to advantage.

It was learned at the State Department that the Rodenberg concession had been approved by Captain Cooke, the American technical officer in charge of public works, and Dr. Cumberland, the American financial advisor of the Haytian government, who are officers serving under the Hayti-American treaty. The contract, the State Department has been advised, provides for the irrigation of the Artibonite Valley, which at present is practically a wilderness. The agreement, it was stated, specifically provides against any dispossessing of property owned by Haytians and states that Rodenberg and his associates have the right to irrigate the land only.

U. S. Aid Named in Treaty

The treaty with Hayti contains two articles, under which the contracts with the Americans are understood to fall. One article says:

"The government of the United States will by its good offices aid the Haytian government in the proper and efficient development of its agricultural, mineral and commercial resources and in the establishment of the finances of Hayti on a firm and solid basis."

Another article reads: "The government of Hayti agrees not to surrender any of the territory of the republic by sale, lease or otherwise or jurisdiction over such territory to any foreign government or power, and not to enter into any treaty or contract with any foreign power or powers that will impair or tend to impair the independence of Hayti."

U. S. BOSS PUTS HAITI ON FEET IN FIVE YEARS

BY GERALD MARTIN.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

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PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, June 4.—Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American high commissioner in Haiti, with the financial adviser and general receiver, Dr. W. Cumberland, are aboard the Panama Railroad Steamship Lincon, bound for New York. They are expected to arrive in New York on Monday for a vacation after they visit Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg. Gen. Russell will discuss the Haitian irrigation plans which call for the opening up of about 100,000 acres by Illinois financiers.

Gen. Russell is anxious to prove to Secretary Kellogg the complete failure of Haitian justice, administration of which is not covered by treaty. It is impossible at present for Americans and other foreigners to conduct cases in the courts. Each time they lose the decision, since the judges and juries always are raising the color issue. Recently numerous American cases were handled to the dissatisfaction of the Americans. A Haitian robbed a business man. After confessing, the robber was released unanimously by the Haitian jury, after which he took up proceedings against the prosecuting American firm.

$1,000,000 in Treasury.

Gen. Russell's administration since arriving in March, 1922, has been phenomenal. He has carried on America's experiment of creating within the decade a civilized commonwealth from the world's worst material, bearing the white man's burden and balancing the budget from bankruptcy to last year's surplus of revenues exceeding expenditures by $1,000,000.

Haiti today is a most peaceful country. THE TRIBUNE correspondent accompanied Capt. Frederick H. Cooke of the United States navy, controller of public works, motoring along 200 miles of excellent country roads and visiting Hinche, where a decade ago natives battled unmercifully with natives and marines fought bandits in the historic revolutionary area.

However, we saw only contented villagers, a big hospital, an agricultural

college and schools. A decade ago transportation was only possible via mule trail at the risk of one's life yet today the natives come peacefully to town with their produce and are not molested, while the men no longer remain in the hills fearing conscription for service in revolutionary or government forces.

Coördinates the Work.

Gen. Russell was appointed following the McCormick commission's report to Washington. He has coördinated the work of the five American treaty officials, each advising the Haitian cabinet members. He has been the channel between Haiti and Washington. Finance, public works, sanitation, the constabulary, and agriculture were the five departments, but the treaty omitted education, meaning that Gen. Russell's difficulties have increased.

The general has presented the facts on Haiti's faulty system of justice to President Borno. Following his visit with Secretary Kellogg there will be a new treaty covering the abolition of the life appointments for judges and giving the president authority to dismiss them. Dr. G. Freeman of Alabama, agricultural engineer, is giving the students a grammar school education under cover of the department of agriculture, creating education where the budget does not provide for it. including girls' schools and vocational training schools.

The high commissioner's work includes paying off a loan of $21,000,000 at a high rate, paying other debts, balancing the budget and reorganizing the railroad. As the marines are withdrawn gradually they are replaced with American trained Haitian constabulary.

Builds Up Reserve.

The high commissioner is creating cash reserves against lean financial years. He is introducing the American disbursement system in government offices. He is bringing in a law for reorganizing the internal revenue and placing this department under American control. Without increased taxation the revenues have increased.

Gen. Russell has combined the jobs of financial adviser and general receiver and brought about a saving. He has built new hospitals, has reconstructed the old ones and has established rural clinics everywhere. He has cleaned up the swamps and has obliterated yellow fever and malaria. He has inspected schools and has ordered increased medical attention for the people with rural dispensaries throughout the country.

The high commissioner has persuaded the Rockefeller Institute health board to make a survey. This resulted in generous assistance from the medical schools, with scholarships for the doctors in the United States.

Record of Accomplishment.

The general constructed within five years 700 miles of highways, paved the capital, improved trails and roads, and built bridges over rivers and streams. This resulted in an increase of American cars and trucks from 300 to 2,000. He has developed lighthouses, making Haiti the best served of the West Indies. He rebuilt the Port au Prince waterworks and extended the country's irrigation system, making 100,000 acres of waste lands productive for the Haitians. Americanized telephones and telegraphs were developed from the world's worst system. The capital is being fitted with automatic telephones and subscribers have increased from 300 to 3,000.

Under the department of agriculture and its engineer the high commissioner created colleges and demonstration farms, introduced the breeding of cattle for improving breeds, started schools, presided over by veterinary experts from the United States for instructing teachers on the care of animals, and founded traveling clinics.

During five years the customs have been increased $2,000,000, with the collection cost reduced from 5 to 4 per cent. The exports have been doubled, the imports increased $2,000,000, and revenues increased $4,000,000, with a total public debt of $16,000,000, less than when America intervened.

Marine in Haiti One, Wounds T...

WASHINGTON, July 28. — Charge d'Affaires Christian Gross at Port Au Prince, Haiti, reported to the State Department Thursday that Marine Private J. M. Branski, white, while on sentry duty at the legation early Thursday left his post, wandered about the city and without provocation shot three working people, killing one, seriously wounding another and slightly wounding the third.

Branski then returned to the legation, the report said, and continued firing at random from a balcony, several shots coming close to a gendarmerie officer who was approaching to arrest him. The Marine is to go on trial within a few days, Gross said.

HAITIANS RESENT POLITICAL WAR ON ARCHBISHOP

Caruana Attacked for Praising Borno.

BY GERALD MARTIN.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]
[Copyright: 1927: By The Chicago Tribune.]

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, June 28. —Haiti, strongly a Catholic country, is quite perturbed over the attacks being made on Archbishop George T. Caruana, who in an interview in a Havana newspaper, declaring President Louis Borno of Haiti is an intelligent, public spirited chief of state, doing everything for the improvement of the country and showing excellent results, led to the present political turmoil here. The opposition forces cabled the Havana Dario de la Marina saying, "the archbishop's statements are intended to mislead. President Borno is the enemy of his country, in Washington's service, and constitutes a danger for all Latin America."

More arrests followed of opposition leaders as a result of the cable of the archbishop. Editors of newspapers in interior towns, including two at Cape Haiti, were taken into custody. However, the majority of the evening papers reappeared today. The arrests were made by marine officers under Capt. William N. Best, head of the gendarmerie of Port au Prince, who handled the matters on instructions from President Borno.

Prisoners Well Cared For.

THE TRIBUNE correspondent visited the jail and found the prisoners well cared for, but unrelenting. The offices of the building were crowded with supporters of the prisoners and lawyers.

No writs of habeas corpus are issued here and it is evident that the prisoners will remain in jail for a lengthy period, althogh many influences are being brought to bear to force a trial. They demand the alleged libellous statements against the President be proved.

American Charge d' Affaires Christian Gross of Chicago, acting in High Commissioner Russell's absence, stated to THE TRIBUNE correspondent, "I do not believe that these people who are accused of libelling President Borno ar eempowered to speak in this manner in the name of South America. It was also quite discourteous to the pope's ambassador.

Seeks Aid of Communists.

THE TRIBUNE correspondent unearthed a copy of a letter forwarded by Senor Jolibois, editor of the Haitian Courier, now incarcerated, to A. M. Kalinin, president of the executive committee of the central Russian soviet at Moscow, appealing for help in Haiti.

Archbishop Caruana is papel nuncio to Haiti and Cuba. He was born in Malta, studied for the priesthood at Rome, then took up a post in the Philippines. Later he went to Brooklyn, N. Y., and took out citizenship papers. He acted as a chaplain of American forces in the Panama Canal Zone and then was made archbiship of Porto Rico. He was recently expelled from Mexico after being sent there by the pope to investigate the religious quarrel. He now is archbishop of Haiti, as well as papal nuncio.

Seven Haitian Editors Smuggle Letter From Jail, Pleading for Relief From Borno Oppression

NEW YORK.—A letter presenting the case of nine imprisoned Haytians against the policies of their government under President Louis Borno reached The World Monday, August 1 from Port-au-Prince. Seven prisoners are newspaper editors and two labor representatives. A report of the detention of the labor men was read by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor at the recent Pan-American Labor Congress in Washington. They were delegates to the Congress but their imprisonment prevented their attendance.

The latter blames President Borno particularly for the highly suppressive attitude of the Haitian government toward all criticism. It was he who refused admittance last March to Senator William H. King of Utah, who wished to investigate personally reports that President Borno's administration was created and upheld by United States marines.

Charles Moravia, editor of Le Temps and former consul general of Haiti in New York, wrote the letter and signed it on behalf of the other eight prisoners. In it he says:

"This letter is to be smuggled out of the penitentiary, so I begin by apologizing for writing with a pencil. We are nine in jail, seven editors of newspapers and president of the L'Union Patriotique (a nationalist association) and the secretary of the general of the organization.

Arrested on Sending Cable

"On the 20th of June we sign and sent a cablegram to the Diario de la Marino, Havana, Cuba, taking exception to a statement printed in that paper wherein Mgr. Carmano (the Bishop who was expulsed by the Mexican government) said everything was all right in Haiti and highly praised Borno, our de facto president.

"On June 20 we were arrested and confined in jail. Our relatives are allowed to see us twice a week and only from 2 to 3 o'clock. We have no right to write.

"Some of us have been in jail before; myself four times, Mr. Chauvet twice and Mr. Jolibois fourteen (14) times; we have never been tried; so we know that we have no justice to expect, excpt a word coming from Washington, wherefrom Borno's dictatorship derive.

"One of our friends, the secretary of the Federation of Labor of Haiti, wrote a cablegram to Mr. William Green, president of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, wherein he reported M. Percival Thoby, president of the Federation of Labor, was in jail and could not attend the fifth Pan-American Congress of Labor in Washington. The cablegram was accepted by All America Cables and paid for, but four days afterward it was returned to the sender with a letter saying that the government's censorship opposed such cablegram to be sent.

"In the same way, a cable addressed to an American newspaper would not pass. The gag is applied to the victim and he must not be heard, he must not cry out.

"Can the American people stand for such a regime?

Belated Offer of Bail

"Yesterday after thirty-one days of confinement somebody in touch with the American legation came to see us and said unofficially that he was authorized to let us know that we might be released on bail if our lawyers make a request for provisional liberty. We received that unofficial offer thirty-one days after our arrest, and do you know that the minimum of the bail is one thousand dollars in cash, no title of property being accepted while a crook or murderer might be bailed for less.

"Writing in my name and in that of the other eight, I beg to raise your powerful voice in protest against that illegal suppression of our rights, against the inhuman treatment we are submitted to."

The other names attached to the letter are Percival Thoby, Victor Cauvin, representative of the Grand Masonic Lodge of New York and Secretary General of L'Union Patriotique; Ern. G. Chavet, former vice consul at New York and editor of Le Nouvelliste; Jolibois Fils, editor of Le Courrier Taitien and correspondent of the Federations of Labor of Santo Domingo and Nicaragua; Jean C. Pressoir, editor of Le Haitien; Clamant Ricourt, editor of Les Varieties; Edmond Liautand, editor of Le Petit Capois, and Lao Fouche, editor of the Stella.

Race Problem-1927
West Indies.

Haiti.

JANUARY 13, 1927

WASHINGTON LETTER

9

HAITI'S BIRTHDAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 1.—This is the 123d anniversary of the independence of Haiti. The little republic was the second in this hemisphere to achieve its independence. Some of the individuals who led the fight for independence had already been baptized on the battlefield fighting for the independence of the United States. In 1779, responding to the call of the Comte 'dEstaing, 8,000 blacks and mulattoes of Haiti left their homes and families and came to this country to fight shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of Washington. At the seige of Savannah they shed their blood for America.

The United States has felt itself morally bound to maintain the independence of Haiti. **It is now engaged in that task,** which requires that Americans shall assist the Haitians to organize their government, rehabilitate the national finances, and enable the people to develope their country's resources. They know that when the time comes for the restoration of the native government the United States will hand over all authority, without any demand for compensation, as it did in Cuba and Santo Domingo. The people of Haiti appreciate this help.

The writer desires to say that if the United States desires to play the part of a big brother rather than a bully she has an opportune time to show her hand. This little republic has paid off her indebtedness to foreign countries and now has a clean bill. The colored people of our country look forward to this time: that is, when Haiti will be given her autonomy. And the restoration of proper diplomatic relation and a colored minister from the United States.

The writer attended the funeral of Dr. M. W. D. Norman of the Metropolitan Baptist Church, Twelfth and R streets N. W., on Thursday last week. One of the most imposing he had ever witnessed among our people. Twenty-five thousand people milled around the church. Doctor Norman took the church about twenty-one years ago; it had then 400 members, when he left it there were 7,000.

Dr. Norman was a man of unusual ability, of tack, versatility, a very few peers as a pulpit orator. He has made good and left a valuable place for some worthy young man who has the necessary qualifications to do likewise.

Speeches Will Mark Emancipation, Says the Local Paper.

The sixty-fourth anniversary of the emancipation proclamation will be celebrated at Galbraith A. M. E. Church, Sixth street between I and M strets N. W., today at 1:30 p. m. under the auspices of the emancipation association of Washington. Severel fraternal organiations have been invited to take part.

Haley G. Douglass of the Dunbar High School, a son of Lewis Douglass and a grandson of Hon. Frederic Douglass, will deliver the principal address.

The writer, in company with Miss Edna Fleet, Mrs. Edna Fleet and Miss Amentha Hayden, climbed the dome of the Capitol building about 400 feet, from this point the City of Washington is a beautiful sight.

The historic Potomac River winds about the city at the foothills of Virginia and Maryland, like a silver thread with its clear waters. No one should visit Washington and fail to take in this prospective of the city. You miss a thrill.

Miss Hayden is visiting here a few days from Leavenworth, Kan.; Mrs. Edna Fleet from New York City, Miss Edna Fleet of Arlington.

President Coolidge had his picaure taken the other day with the Kappa Alpha Psi, says Reverend Bradley of Detroit, who spoke of this event in glowing terms. It is very unusual, of course, for the President of the United States to pose with Negroes, but the writer would like to remind the reverend that 1928 is fast approaching and a third term is very inviting.

The reports on lynchings in America is appalling to say the least if the reports are true. Poor negro innocent women have met that fate. This is the 1926 record: **Two colored women among 29 lynched in the past year.** Increase of 13 over total for 1925 is announced by Tuskegee Institute. Florida, with 8, had the largest number, figures compiled by the Institute showed; Texas had 7, Mississippi had 4, South Carolina, 3; Arkansas, 2, and Georgia, Kentucky, New Mexico, Tennessee and Virginia, 1 each. Of those lynched 22 were negroes, 6 whites and 1 Indian.

There were 33 instances in which officers prevented lynchings, 29 being in Southern states. Thirty-four persons were indicted, in connection with lynchings, the Institute representatives said, 9 received prison sentences, 8 for terms ranging from 4 to 20 years, and one for life. One of the mob victims had been acquitted by the court the report set out. Twenty of those lynched were taken from the hands of the law, 8 from jails and 12 from officers outside of the jails.

Offenses charged against those lynched, the Institute report said; were murder, 8; criminal assault, 2; attempted criminal assault, 3; killing officers of the law, 5; wounding officers, 2; attacking women, 1; insulting women, 1; fighting women, 1; burglary, 1; charges not reported, 5.—Washington News Letter, Martin R. Powell, Editor.

Haiti Denies Entry to Senator King of Utah Because of His Views on Our Policy There

WASHINGTON, March 12 (AP).—The Haitian Government has notified Senator King, Democrat, Utah, that it will not permit him to visit the island as he had planned.

Senator King, who is now touring the West Indies to survey conditions in Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Haiti, has persistently attacked the policy of the American Government in the Haitian Republic and has sought the withdrawal of marines from the island. The Haitian Government based its refusal to let him enter that country on this attitude.

In a statement received today by the republic's legation here from Camille Leon, the Haitian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Haiti notified the Utah Senator "that it considers him as undesirable and the access of the territory of Haiti is forbidden to him."

"The attitude of the Haitian Government is justified," the statement said, "by the following motives:

"First, Mr. King has publicly uttered in the United States false and offensive declarations against the President of Haiti and his coadjutors, which are carrying out faithfully the treaty of 1915, voted by the Senate of the United States and by the legislative body of Haiti.

"Second, Mr. King has made himself in the United States the agent of the worst elements of disorder of the Haitian politics. His presence in Haiti would provoke a political agitation which would create a general feeling of unrest and insecurity, whose consequences would be disastrous to the population, which are now accustomed to peace and labor."

The statement was cabled today by M. Leon from Port au Prince to Minister Hannibal Price.

HAITIANS OBJECT TO SENATOR KING

Utah Democrat Not Wanted on Little Island on Account of Severe Criticisms

WASHINGTON, March 12.—(AP)—Informed that Senator King, democrat, Utah, had been barred from Haiti, which he had planned to visit to observe conditions, the state department interceded in his behalf but without success.

Resenting King's views on the administration of public affairs in Haiti, President Borno today advised the Haitian minister here that he considered the Utah senator "undesirable" and that access to Haitian territory had been forbidden to him.

Mr. King sailed from New York last Saturday to visit Porto Rico, Haiti and other places in that region which are closely linked to the United States. He is not a member of the senate foreign relations committee although he has taken a deep interest in foreign affairs.

Inquiries at the state department tonight elicited the information that on learning of President Borno's action, John H. Russell, American high commissioner in Haiti, had been instructed to use his good offices in an effort to persuade President Borno to permit Mr. King to visit the island.

It was said, however, that Borno had declined to alter his position, and under the circumstances there was nothing further the department saw it could do in the Utah senator's behalf.

The state department, it was stated, felt that it would be best for all concerned for Senator King to have the opportunity to see for himself the benefits which have accrued to Haiti by American occupation.

However, President Borno is said to have informed Commissioner Russell that Mr. King had attacked him personally and violently in public speeches and that his visit to Haiti was to be made the occasion of large anti-government demonstrations which might have assumed serious proportions.

Further, the Haitian president took the position that unrest would have been caused by Senator King's visit which would have had an unfortunate effect on the economic situation in Haiti.

For these reasons the state department was informed, he did not feel that he could alter his decision to keep Mr. King out of the island.

SENATOR KING BARRED BY HAITIEN OFFICIALS

Notified Government Considers Him "Undesirable."

WASHINGTON, March 12.—(AP)—The Haitian government has notified Senator King, Democrat, Utah, that it will not permit him to visit the island as he had planned.

Senator King, who is now touring the West Indies to survey conditions in Porto Rico, the Virgin Island and Haiti, has persistently attacked the policy of the American government in the Haitian republic and has sought the withdrawal of marines from the island. The Haitian government based its refusal to let him enter the country on this attitude.

In a statement received today by the republic's legation here from Camille Leon, the Haitian minister of foreign affairs, Haiti notified the Utah senator that it considers him as "undesirable."

SEN. KING HAS RETURNED.

Haiti Not Included on List of Places Visited.

NEW YORK, March 25.—(AP)—United States Senator William H. King, Democrat, Utah, who was prevented from entering Haiti by governmental decree, returned to this city tonight. He refused to comment on his exclusion from Haiti but said he would issue a statement later.

HAITIAN EMBARGO ON KING PERMANENT

President of Island Republic Incensed at Action of Democratic Senator

WASHINGTON, March 14.—(AP)—Exclusion of Senator King of Utah from Haiti by order of President Borno apparently is a closed incident. At least, the Haitian minister, Hannibal Price, so regards it and there was no indication at the state department today that Secretary Kellogg contemplated renewing the effort to have the ban on the senator lifted.

The anticipated conference between the secretary and Minister Price on the incident failed to develop. The minister confined himself with transmitting officially a copy of the telegram announcing that Senator King would not be allowed to land in Haiti.

The ban applies only to Senator King. It was made plain at the Haitian legation that there was no intention to extend it to other senators contemplating visits to Haiti who may have criticized the Haitian administration publicly.

A new angle to the reason prompting the refusal to permit Senator King to enter Haiti developed at the legation with the statement that before he left New York, the senator had telegraphed to the leader of the political opposition in Haiti to the Borno administration that he would visit Haiti to inspect conditions, presumably in company with the anti-government leader, Percival Thoby. It was indicated that President Borno was incensed by this even more than by criticism of his administration by the Utah senator and regarded it as attempted intervention in Haitian political affairs.

There have been political troubles in Haiti recently in connection with local elections and it appears possible that this situation had something to do with Senator King's exclusion.

HAITI IS MAKING ECONOMIC GAINS --GEN. RUSSELL

High Commissioner Reports That Republic Has Witnessed Its Best Year

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER

Washington, D. C., Mar. 21—During the past year the American treaty officials have been directing their efforts toward increasing the productive wealth of Haiti to the ultimate end of strengthening and improving the general economic condition, Brig. Gen. John S. Russell, American High Commissioner to Haiti, declared in his fifth annual report to the Secretary of State, which was made public by the State Department Monday.

Stabilizing Haitian Finances

In addition, he reported, the Haitian Government and the treaty officials have continued the general governing program for the stabilization of Haitian finances, the maintenance of law and order, the construction of public works, and the improvements o the public health service.

A bumper coffee crop in a perio of exceptionally high and abnorma prices and the reelection of Presi dent Borno contributed to the sta bility and prosperity of Haiti in 192 General Russell stated.

Confidence Restored

"Confidence among business men which, on account of the usual sensational rumors which precede a presidential election in Haiti, had been trembling in the balance, was restored immediately upon the promulgation of the results of the election," General Russell reports. "This fact contributed largely in making the past year the greatest in the history of the republic from a financial and business point of view."

As a result of the visit of President Borno to the United States in last June he returned to Haiti imbued with a stronger desire to further the progress and development of his country and to make it a republic in being as well as in name, General Russell states.

The Haitian judiciary system is in need of complete renovation. "The courts are, if such could be possible, less effective than ever and their inefficiency and incompetency more notorious," General Russell reports. "Trials by jury are farcical."

SEN. KING COMPLACENT ON RETURN FROM HAITI

Incident Served Its Purpose, He Tells Reporters.

WASHINGTON, April 2.—(AP)—Senator King of Utah, who was barred from Haiti recently by President Borno of Haiti, expressed himself as "well satisfied" with his exclusion after a call today at the State Department.

"The situation could not have been better ordered had I done it myself," he said. The incident served his purpose, he said, because it attracted attention to the little republic "and the fact that American marines are still there and that we have abrogated Haiti's constitution and given them one of our own making."

Senator King said that Haiti was not mentioned by himself when he saw Secretary Kellogg, but that the secretary had "mentioned it briefly." The secretary explained that their conversation was to arrange for an interview next week.

PICTURES HAITI AS QUEEN OF ANTILLES

Greensboro, N. C., April 15.—Mrs. Harriett Gibbs Marshall, wife of the American attache at Port au Prince, Haiti, addressed the faculty and student body at Bennett College for Women at the midweek services Wednesday, calling attention to opportunities open there for foreigners in contrast to the limited advantages available for the Haitian people.

"To my mind," said the speaker, "the most significant movement in America today, and the one that gives greatest promise to all people, is the interracial movement." She called the attention of the students to their obligation to help raise the status of the Race here in America and in Haiti and other tropical countries. She pictured Haiti as the queen of the Antilles, with a delightful climate and rich resources, and yet with 95 per cent of its population in need of common school training.

SENATOR KING TELLS OF BARRING BY HAITI

Borno Suppressing People's Desire For Independence And Freedom From Military Dominance

BORNO A PUPPET, HE SAYS

Controlled By High Commissioner And State Department. Senator King For A Free Haiti

NEW YORK, Mar. 30. — Fear that his presence would have parcipitated a conflict due to strong sentiment against the "anti-imperialist program" of President Borno, led the executive to bar him from the little Negro sovereign republic recently as an undesirable, said Senator Wm. H. King, Friday on his return from a Caribbean tour, in an interview here. He also stated that the High Commissioner to Haiti had had a hand in the restriction.

Borno, "A Mere Puppet"

In expressing his opinion of the ban set up against him, Senator King stated:

"President Borno has no power but what he gets from the State Department and General John H. Russell the High Commissioner. He is merely a puppet. If the State demanded that I be admitted, President Borno would have raised the ban at once. By their failure to do this, the State Department and General Russell acquiesced in my exclusion."

"As for the State Department's instructions to General Russell to use his good offices with President Borno to persuade him to allow me to enter Haiti, that was a mere subterfuge," went on the Senator. "I repeat that if the State had said genuinely to President Borno: "Let King in," all opposition would have vanished at once."

To Renew Demand in Senate.

Asserting that he would again move in the Senate to force evacuation of our military forces from Haiti, the Senator said he would not ask any Senatorial investigation of the exclusion incident.

"That is purely a personal matter and it is offically finished as far as I am concerned," he said. "Of course, when I take up the fight in the Senate again for Haitian independance I shall probably mention it to illustrate certain points, but I shall not ask for any investigation."

"The entire circumstances surrounding the exclusion show that it was an effort to keep alive the fiction of Haitian independence," he said, and added, "It has really served to focus the attention of Americans upon the domination by this Government of Haitian affairs.

Attacks Government's Policy.

In terms similar to those which he has used in the past to attack the United States policy in Haiti, the Senator attacked what he termed the "imperialistic" policy there. He said that only a very small portion of the population supported President Borno and that, if American military domination ended, Mr. Borno would depart at once.

"But I am sure that within a year or two Haiti will be free of such domination and that public opinion there and here will force the granting of genuine independence," he said.

"The policy of our country in Haiti, in Santo Domingo and in Nicaragua has reacted against us seriously in Central and South America," he declared.

Senator King said that when returning on the transport he had spoken to 300 soldiers on board regarding Latin American conditions and that he had referred to his exclusion. He denied however that his talk has caused criticism by the officers of the vessel or by any of the ten Congressmen who were also on the ship.

Race Problem-1927 I.

West Indies.

Haiti.

HAITI, SOME OF OUR READERS will recall, was occupied by American Marines in 1916, and the marines are still there. Haiti's customs-houses are under American control, her Constitution and budget are American-made, and her President, M. Louis Borno, is a pure American invention. Haiti has not elected so much as a dog-catcher since Smedley Butler, pistol in hand, dissolved her Senate because it refused to sign on the dotted line. Admiral Caperton from his battleship arranged for the election of Sudre Dartiguenave despite the hostility of the Senate which Butler later dissolved; and Dartiguenave's hand-picked Cabinet arranged for Borno to succeed him, without consultation of the Haitian people. When, therefore, "President" Borno announces that Senator King will not be permitted to land in Haiti because of his expressed hostility to the present regime, any informed person, in the language of the street, smells a rat. Mr. Borno does not so much as change his peculiar style of hair-cut without consulting the American High Commissioner, General Russell. He certainly does not bar an American Senator without at least finding out what General Russell would think of such a course. And when the State Department—which instructed Admiral Caperton to have Dartiguenave elected and edited the present Haitian Constitution, which supervises Haiti's finances and instructs General Russell what to do—announces that it could not think of invading Haiti's "national sovereignty" by insisting upon the admission of Senator King—well, again in the language of the street, it is to laugh.

The Minister to Haiti

The colored Republican voters in the Northern and Western states are properly alarmed at the attitude of the Coolidge administration. They do not believe that the National Republican Organization has yet learned that they intend to hold it to a strict accountability for their performances, and not their promises. They realize that the party will probably give the Liberian post to some "inoffensive" colored man in some Southern State where colored people do not vote and then expect that the colored people in the States where they do vote will throw up their hats and shout hooray. They realize that this will be the practical sum total of party recognition between now and November, 1928, and that this thing, together with the few other places that have been left to them, will be ballyhooed as the great and enduring friendship of the Republican party for colored citizens. They realize that the report which comes from Port au Prince that the Haitians do not want a colored American Minister is pure propaganda. They know that this is bunk manufactured by unfriendly politicians and Southern capitalists. They know that the Registry of the Treasury will be closed to them and that all of the fine things that they expected of the Coolidge administration are rapidly vanishing into thin air. Colored Republicans are greatly disappointed. President Coolidge should know it.

SENATOR KING AND HAITI

Senator King announces that he will abandon his purpose to visit Haiti, now that the bumptious president of that stormy republic has banned him. King is anathema to the president because of critical remarks made about that celebrity, who, King says, is able to stay in power only because he is supported by American troops. King, however, might have gone to Haiti in comparative safety. Borno would not have dared to harm him, although some individual hot-head might have taken a pot-shot at him, and we are quite certain that vast fleets of mosquitoes would have fallen upon him and filled his blood with malarial microbes.

Marines In Haiti

The Senate turned down again last week the resolution of Senator Wm. H. King, Democrat, of Utah to withdraw U. S. Marines from Haiti and leave the Haitian people the control of their government.

The resolution wos in the form of an amendment to the navy appropriation bill which provided that no part of these funds should be used to keep marines in Haiti.

Senator King has introduced this same amendment in Congress for several years. Each time he is voted down by republicans whose eyes are on American capital which has invested millions in Haiti's fertile fields.

Even Senators like Lenroot (Rep. Wisconsin) and Hale, (Rep. Maine) put up the silly objection that marines were in Haiti to protect U. S. lives and property.

The rape of Haiti is not a party issue. It was begun under Wilson and continues under his republican successors.

It's a measure like the Dyer-Anti lynching bill which cannot secure a majority vote in Congress because those it would benefit are black.

OUR FLEET REVIEWED BY HAITIAN PRESIDENT

Forty Thousand Sailors Mann Rails as Borno Passes Before One Hundred Warships.

ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES FLEET OFF GONAIVES, Haiti, March 18 (AP).—President Borno of Haiti today reviewed the United States fleet of more than 100 warships. The 40,000 sailors manned the rails under a tropical sun as the Haitian President, accompanied by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Douglas Robinson, passed before the anchored fleet on board the cruiser Trenton.

A national salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the biggest vessel. Fifteen Admirals took part in the review.

The greatest force of American sailors ever assembled was disappointed when Admiral Hughes, commanding the fleet, prohibited shore leave at Gonaives. No statement was made as to the cause of the order.

Admiral Hughes, lecturing the division commanders on the lessons of last week's manoeuvres, told them that the strength of the modern navy is in its power to dodge, shoot and steam. The official findings in the problems carried out in the manoeuvres have not been made public, although both the oppoing sides claimed victory.

In the crew racing events held thus far the oarsmen of the battleship Colorado, Pacific fleet champions, are tied with the West Virginia. The Arizona crews rank third and will participate in the finals against the Atlantic fleet.

PROGRESS OF HAITIANS TOLD BY FOREIGN TRADER

NEW YORK., Jan., 19.— (Special) Arthur M. Hill, President of the West Indies Trading Company of Port au Prince, Haiti, distributers there for the large American manufacturers, is on a short business trip to the United States, and was recently staying at the Hotel Pennsylvania.

"The country has developed remarkably in the last four years, and the customs of the people have greatly changed," said Mr. Hill. "Four years ago if one were to travel into the interior, thousands of natives could be seen wearing nothing but flowers or sacks around their bodies. Today these same natives wear shoes and other simple clothing.

"The great need of that country has been education, and that need is being supplied in some measure through a better system of education. Dr. Freeman, an American appointee, is in charge of the schools, and recently there have been a number of agricultural and trade schools organized. The organization of agricultural schools is of great importance to the republic, as the country is especially adapted for farming and offers wonderful opportnuities along agricultural lines.

"Ninety-nine persent of the population of Haiti is of the native who are direct descendants of the original Africans brought to that country by the French at the time of the early settlement.

HAITI BARS VISIT BY SENATOR KING

(By Leased Wire to The Constitution and The Chicago Tribune.)

Washington, March 12.—Senator William King, democrat, Utah, has been refused permission to visit Haiti, according to word received today by Hannibal Price, Haitian minister to the United States.

A cablegram from the Haitian foreign minister, made public by Mr. Price, states that the Haitian government in denying admission to Senator King justified its action on the following grounds:

"Mr. King has publicly made in the United States false and offensive declarations against the President of Haiti and his coadjutors who are carrying out faithfully the treaty of 1915 between the Uitned States and Haiti. Mr. King has made himself agent of the worst element of Haitian politics. His visit to Haiti would provoke a political agitation which would create a feeling of unrest and insurrection whose consequences would be disastrous to the population who are not accustomed to peace and order."

Senator King sailed from New York last Saturday for Porto Rico. He intendent first to visit the Dominican Republic and then go to Haiti.

At the state department tonight it was denied that this government was consulted before the order barring Senator King was issued by the Haitian officials. The department, however, it was learned, acted immediately on hearing of the exclusion and instructed Brigadier General John H. Russell, the American high commissioner at Porto Au Prince, to use his good offices with the president of Haiti to allow the senator to enter. The commissioner's effort failed.

The department, it was explained, felt that it would be best for all concerned if Senator King could have the opportunity to see for himself the benefits accruing to Haiti by the American occupation which the senator has vigorously assailed.

$5.00 NECKLACE COST HAITIANS $8,000,000

NEW YORK.—$5.00 string of baubles, imitation pearls, launched Haiti into a financial venture which will in the end cost her people more than $8,000,000 which was one of the causes for the American intervention in 1916, according to Paul H. Douglass writing in the current issue of the Nation.

In 1900 an American advertiser named James P. McDonald came to Haiti and by bribing the members of the Haitian congress, secured a concession for the National railway and also a concession of 20 kilometers of land on either side of the railroad for a growing of tropical fruit.

He also bribed the president Antoine Simon but the latter delayed signing the bill.

McDonald went to the president's daughter, Celestine, and promised her a costly string of pearls if she would induce her father to sign.

In 1914, said Douglass, Haiti found it had three disconnected sections of a railroad, one of 60 miles, another of 20 and another short spur of 28.

Douglass obtained mony to build the road from foreigners and [illegible] for his work at the rate of [illegible] a mile. Those sections of the railroad over difficult country and mountains were never completed and the bonds got into the hands of unscrupulous bankers, some of them Americans, who since the United States has intervened have extorted from Haiti the sum of $8,000,000 for this disconnected railroad.

U. S. MARINES TO STAY IN HAITI UNTIL 1936

(Preston News Service.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 14.—The U. S. Senate has gone on record as opposing the withdrawal of Marines from Haiti until 1936, as provided by treaty. An amendment by Senator King, Democrat of Utah, to the Naval supply bill, which would have prevented the use of any funds for maintaining the Marines in Haiti, was rejected by an overwhelming vote. Chairman Hale said that the Government was bound to keep the Marines in Haiti until 1936 under the treaty.

USING A HAITIAN CATSPAW.

According to a Washington letter published in The Age last week, there is indirect but authortative information at the Capitol that the Republic of Haiti does not want an American Negro at its capital as Minister Plenipotentiary. "And forasmuch as it would be gratuitous violation of long established diplomatic usages to name a person as minister to a country which does not want one of that person's race, what is there for the administration to do? Nothing, most assuredly." As the French, and probably the Haitians educated in France, would say, "C'est pour rire."

Everybody knows that the present Haitian government represented by the Borno administration is of American origin, put in power and held there by the grace of the American High Commissioner, General Russell, and the force of United States marines, machine guns and bombers. The announcement that the republic does not want an American Negro as minister merely means that General Russell and the horde of prejudiced Southern officeholders under him feel that way about it. They want no colored functionary on the island to whom they must accord the slightest official courtesy or who might set an example of savoir faire in dealing with the Haitians. They must preserve the traditions handed down to them by Simon Legree and his kind.

This alleged objection of the Haitian government to the appointment of an American Negro as minister will doubtless be used by the present Republican administration as an excuse for doing the obvious thing, that is allowing the present autocratic and prejudiced regime set up by President Wilson to continue its sway. The motives that underlie this weakness of the administration in dealing with Latin-American countries, are probably due to the policy of imperialism imposed by the capitalists who have a financial stake in the results.

As for the real sentiments of the Haitian people on the personality of the American diplomatic representative, we consider M. Belgrade, a former minister to France who represented Haiti in the assembly of the League of Nations, as better authority than the Borno government. In a letter written to Mrs. Addie C. Hunton who visited Haiti within the past year, on a tour of investigation, M. Belgrade denied absolutely the report that there existed any objection to an American minister based on color. The fact that such former ministers as Frederick Douglass and E. D. Bassett, after their terms of office had expired, were selected to represent the Haitian government officially in this country would negative such a proposition. This ostensible objection of the present Haitian government is a stuffed scarecrow, set up by the Southern American oligarchy running Haitian affairs, to avert the appointment of any diplomatic representative unless he is to their liking.

Haiti is the victim of American exploitation, as was the case with San Domingo and as threatens to be the case with Nicaragua. The weak Latin-American countries are regarded as fair game for American capital and American prejudice to exploit.

Haiti's Objection To Naming Colored Minister To That Republic From U. S. Kills Chances Of Charles E. Mitchell

Prideful Carribeans Object To Classification On Color Basis, Which Would Mean Black Americans Only For Diplomatic Posts At Capitols of Black Nations

By R. B. LEMUS

Washington, D. C.—There is not going to be any Negro U. S. Minister to Hayti—unless such a person is forced on the more or less Black Republic. And we have already forced so much upon it unto, in the light of experiences with this Administration, it would be a safe prediction that for the first time the subjugated Haytians will be considered in at least one objection to the American "program of force."

It now may be definitely stated categorically persona non grata to the Borno-U. S. Marines Haytian Government, as well as to the Democratic majority [illegible] confirming U. S. Senate. The information comes indirect but is authoritative, and this is how it got out:

Mitchell Was With Goff.

It was a generally accepted policy of the Coolidge Administration to limit Negro appointments to one person per State. The able and unostentatious Recorder of Deeds, Froe, well filled the West Virginia [illegible]. In the 1924 primaries Mr. Froe supported his friend, the unsuccessful candidate against U. S. Senator Guy D. Goff of his State. If course, that was the primary—a family affair: in the election campaign Froe worked for Goff.

Mr. Charles E. Mitchell was with Senator Goff in the primary. This led many to believe that the Goff influence would be effective in eliminating Froe and clearing the way for Mitchell to get the West Virginia race-appointment allotment; and there are many who still contend that such explains the reason for the attempt to have Froe superceded here with an Illinois or a Maryland man last Spring. Mr. Froe was re-appointed.

No American Negro Wanted.

If Secretary Kellogg's Minnesota got four major appointments (certainly not Negroes), surely West Virginia with its formidable Negro electorate is entitled to more than one Nero appointee. Hence Mr. Mitchell's friends got busy; they stormed the breastworks, with the Haytian portfolio as the objective. They called upon influence the possessor of which, in the language of the streets, "should come through." This possessor did—with the information that the Republic of Hayti does not want an American Negro at its capital as "Minister Plenipotentiary, etc., etc."

And forasmuch as it would be a gratuitous violation of long established diplomatic usages to name a person as Minister to a country which doesn't want one of that person's race, what is there for the Administration to do? Nothing, assuredly!

Surely, if Hayti doesn't want him he could not be sent to China, Liberia, Guatemala, Patagonia, Roumania, Costa Rica, Equatoria, Andorra, Wyoming or Leavenworth! And if Hayti, it is believed, objects to classification on the color basis, for [illegible] all accord deserved credit, [illegible] though its peasantry may still subscribe to "voodoonism" and believe the mahogany is not fre- [illegible] No Color Classification.

Continued on back of next card

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Continued on back of next card

Race Problem - 1927 IV.

West Indies.

Haiti.

SENATOR KING AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF HAITI.

Senator William H. King of Utah intended to make a visit to Haiti. The American state department is informed by the Haitian minister, Hannibal Price, that the Haitian foreign department regards Senator King as undesirable and therefore he will not be permitted to land. The senator has been critical of American administration in the republic and President Borno believes it would be dangerous to have him in the country. Also the senator has said uncomplimentary things of the president.

Senator King, being critical, has demanded that the American marines be withdrawn from Haiti. President Borno knows that the day after the marines went out his head would be in a sack. His regard for Senator King has this personal quality which does not always get into international relations.

The marines were sent into Haiti to stop government by assassination. Assassination is probably too pale a word. It was by butchery. The slaying of political prisoners had made Haitian politics even more sanguinary than usual for Caribbean campaigning.

Mr. Borno even now when he takes the air feels a greater repose if there is a marine not more than six feet from him. In a most particular sense Senator King would be persona non grata to him.

Even Mr. King may find a minor gratification in the incident. He has been critical of American administration because it was extinguishing Haitian sovereignty, liberties, and rights. Enough sovereignty has been retained for the president of Haiti to tell a United States senator to keep out of the country. The American state department says that if that is President Borno's state of mind there does not seem to be anything to do about it but to permit him to have his way. Possibly the state department is not taking the matter to heart as it should.

HOGG WARNS SENATOR NOT TO GO INTO HAYTI

Hypocritical Maneuver To Hide Oppression

WASHINGTON, March 15. — If Senator Wm. H. King (D) of Utah, attempts to enter Haiti, despite his exclusion by President Borno, he will do so entirely upon his own responsibility and can expect no help from the state department, it was stated by department officials today.

King, now in Porto Rico, is reported in press dispatches as intending to try to enter the country despite the exclusion order against him.

Borno U. S. Hireling.

President Borno of Haiti and his foreign minister, Leon, issued a warning to King not to come near the place, after the American senator had exposed them as mere hirelings of the American marines. The government of Haiti is notoriously under the control of American sugar, tobacco, and financial corporations, with the U. S. navy actually running it in the interests of American exploiters.

Borno's action, therefore, and the U. S. state department's unwillingness to interfere, are alike branded by observers here as a mere hypocritical slap by the Coolidge administration at its critics.

Will Enter Back Door.

King's plan to enter the country, it is understood, will take him thru Santo Domingo, overland into Haiti. The only way to get him out then, should Santo Domingo refuse to take him back, is by carrying him thru to the coast, and deporting him from Port au Prince.

Santo Domingo was also recently under the domination of the U. S. even as Haiti is today, and it is feared by state department officials in Washington that his trip will encourage the people to a more independent spirit.

SENATOR KING IS BARRED FROM HAITI BY BORNO

Washington.—A new precedent and a distinct jar to the prestige and dignity of the United States Senate are involved in action just announced by the government of Haiti, whose president, Louis Borno, has barred Senator William H. King (Democrat) of Utah, from entering that country on the ground that he is undesirable.

Senator King, who is a deep student of foreign affairs, though he is not a member of the Senate foreign relations committee, is now in Porto Rico and contemplated visiting Haiti and other countries in the interest of a first-hand personal investigation of conditions.

He has now been informed that he is not wanted and that he will not be allowed to land on the territory of the Haitian republic.

President Borno

If there were any doubts that the State Department of this country means to keep its hands firmly gripped around the throat of Haitian economic life and that President Borno is merely a tool of American financial interests, recent happenings there must have dispelled them.

In fact, the unofficial barring of a United States Senator from Haiti where U. S. Marines are in complete control, would make a ludicrous picture but for the serious shock it must have given liberty loving men and women who are familiar with the growing imperialistic tendencies of the present administration.

But everybody with a grain of common sense knows where the current was turned on which produced the shock to Senator King. Again Borno has been used as the shock absorber which Haitians charge is standing between them and self government. It's all so very simple. Secretary Kellogg, who has fully

BORNO'S FOES HOPE TO WELCOME KING

Send Word to Santo Domingo That "Haitian Public" Is Preparing to Greet Senator.

DEPUTIES AWAIT HIM TODAY

Washington Fears Rash Action May Cause Senator's Arrest by Gendarmes of Haiti.

SANTO DOMINGO, March 15 (AP).—The Haitian public is continuing its preparation to receive United States Senator King of Utah, according to a message received here today from Percival Thoby and M. Joliobis at Port-au-Prince, leaders of the opposition to President Borno.

The message was received by the two Haitian Deputies, Pierre Hudecourt and Pierre Paul, who arrived here today to await the arrival tomorrow of Senator King, whose criticsm of the United States policy in Haiti had led to the decision of the Haitian Government to exclude him from the country.

The Haitian Deputies intend to confer with the Senator regarding his projected visit to Haiti. Upon sailing from Porto Rico Mr. King expressed "hope" of going to Haiti.

The City Council of Santo Domingo is arranging entertainments in honor of Senator King.

Arrest of Senator King Feared.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 15.—Officials here expressed concern today that if Senator King of Utah persisted in his reported intention of visiting Haiti despite the exclusion order of President Borno an unpleasant situation might develop with the possible arrest of the Senator by native gendarmes under the command of former American marines. Hope was expressed, however, that the Senator would not go so far.

It is understood that notice was formally served upon him by the Haitian Consul at San Juan, Porto Rico, before he left that city yesterday, of the intention of President Borno to prevent his crossing the Haitian border.

Officials of the State Department take the stand that the Department did all it could in the matter when Joseph C. Grew, as Acting Secretary of State, telegraphed to John H. Russell, American High Commissioner to Haiti, asking him to intercede with President Borno on Senator King's behalf.

Borno Receives Congress Party.

Commissioner Russell has reported to the State Department the landing at Port au Prince on March 13 of a Congressional party of eighty-three from the steamship Cristobal.

President Borno, speaking extemporaneously in English, proposed a toast to President Coolidge, to Congress, and to the visiting officials. He spoke warmly of the cooperation of the United States, the accomplishments under the treaty and the collaboration of the [illegible] Commissioner and the treaty which he said had been [illegible] test value. [illegible] Barkley, speaking for th[illegible]ers of Congress made [illegible]propriate response.

King arred From Haiti

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 17.—Senator William H. King, democrat, of Utah, who has long fought for the evacuation of the marines from Haiti, was barred from entering that country under the classification of being "undesirable," it was learned last week.

News releases claim the president isued the order because of "personal and violent attacks" made upon him by the Utah solon in public speeches.

SAYS HAITI GAINS IN ALL DIRECTIONS

American Commissioner Reports Economic and Social Improvement in the Island.

DEBT IS $1,384,836 LOWER

Increase in Revenues Enables Reduction 100 Per Cent. More Than Required.

COURTS FOUND INEFFECTIVE

Report Condemns the Judiciary System and Declares Jury Trials Are Farcical.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 18.—Criticism of the judiciary syste mof Haiti and praise for President Borno's Administration were features of the annual report of Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American High Commissioner at Port au Prince, to Secretary Kellogg today. The advancement of the Haitian people in all directions, particularly in economic well-being, since supervision by the United States was provided for by the treaty of 1915 is told at length.

In sanitation, education and public works the advance has been notable, General Russell said, while improvement in the state of the public Treasury was of first importance in making possible the raising of the general standard of living.

"The courts," he said, "are, it such could be possible, less effective than ever, and their inefficiency and incompetency more notorious, while the long delay in bringing cases to trial often results in a miscarriage of justice due to witnesses having disappeared or forgotten important details relating to the case. The foreigner is indeed bold who dares to take his case to court. Most cases between foreigners and aHitians are consequently settled out of court, nearly always to the disadvantage of the foreigner.

Says Jury Trials Are Farcical.

"Trials by jury are farcical. The jury is always opposed to the Government and can be easily swayed by racial or other prejudices or by drawing upon its imagination and sympathy. This deplorable and humiliating condition of affairs is well known to the Haitian Government, and it is my understanding that the Government is no wengaged in drafting a drastic plan of judiciary reform which, if seriously put into effect, will go far toward placing the Haitian judiciary in a position where no one would fear to take his case to court, be he Haitian or foreigner, and where the integrity of the Judges would be beyond question. Unti lsuch action is taken there can be no real and lasting progress and development in the republic."

The re-election of President Borno ast April, by practically unanimous vote of the Assembly, was described as "unquestionably a wise step," creating confidence among business men.

The customs receipts for the year, General Russell reported, amounted to $8,118,966.35, while the total receipts were $9,072,929.62. From the first full year of the American Financial Adviser-General's receivership, the customs revenues have increased 122.86 per cent.

The actual debt reducing amortization was $1,384,836.90, while the required reduction was only $717,218.36, almost 100 per cent. less than the actual reduction. The position of the fiduciary currency was strengthened to an extent that leaves only about one-third now uncovered. .The total public debt amounts to $18,849,000, General Russell reported.

Get High Price for Coffee Crop.

The outstanding fact in the business situation, he continued, was an abundant coffee crop and exceptionally high prices. Coffee exports amounted to 78,685,094 pounds, which netted an average price of 18 cents a pound. Steps were taken to introduce other crops, particularly sisal, so that Haiti would not continue to be a one-crop country

An increase in imports, of which $18,851,406 came from the United States, contained large quantities of cement and lumber. This was accompanied by an extensive improvement in port and harbor facilities.

Due to the new tariff, which went into effect in August, there was an overstocking in supplies and, with a poor coffee crop forecast for the present year, and low prices for cotton, it was feared there might be some temporary recession. Modifications are to be made in the tariff and consideration is being given to Port au Prince as a free port for certain commodities and as a distributing centre for the West Indies.

Improvement in health conditions was reported, and discussing general improvements, the commissioner mentioned the inauguration of a reforestation program, establishment of additional cable facilities and greater public buildings construction, improvement of the irrigation system, public roads and trails, increased telephone and teltgraph services, improved water supplies, the repairing of streets and construction of bridges throughout the country.

Education, he declared, had made long strides and emphasis was placed upon utilitarian studies in industrial schools. A broadcasting station had been established in Port au Prince, through which educational lectures were delivered for the benefit of all the people.

HAITI AS FREE AND NOW

IF PRESIDENT BORNO OBJECTS TO A COLORED AMERICAN AS MINISTER FROM U. S., HE DEPARTS FROM HAITI'S ATTITUDE WHEN FREE AND INDEPENDENT SAYS T. H. R. CLARKE—VICE-PRES. OF NATL. EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE DECLARES COLORED MINISTERS EVER SHOWED ABILITY—SUCH MEN HERE TODAY

(Washington Post, Jan. 10, 1927)

To the Editor of The Post—Sir:—

Please accept my sincere thanks for your great editorial utterance on "Haiti's Birthday." I can not recall any editorial utterance in recent years which says so much in such few words. In a certain sense it reminds me of Lincoln's Gettysburg address.

Twice recently the press has carried the statement that President Borno does not desire the appointment of a colored man as United States Minister. I do not know whether he has been correctly quoted but if he has, it may be of interest to recall the following facts:

Ebenezer D. Bassett, of Philadelphia, a graduate of Yale university, was the first colored Minister sent to Haiti. He was appointed by President Grant. He served through several Republican administrations and was commended highly by successive Secretaries of State for his efficiency. Bassett was a scholar and did much good for Haiti by revealing to the world the history and resources of that country in many scholarly treatises, one of which in book form is in the library of the Pan-American bureau as the leading authority on the subject.

John M. Langston, of Virginia and Ohio, one time member of the House of Representatives from the Petersburg, Va., district, and graduate of Oberlin university, scholar, educator and orator of note, served as United States Minister to Haiti under President Arthur, and for a time under the administration of Grover Cleveland. His work as United States Minister in Haiti was commended highly both by Haitian and American statesmen.

Frederick Douglass was appointed Minister to Haiti by Benjamin Harrison and the great secretary of state for Haiti, Firmin, thought so much of Douglass that he afterward was appointed one of the Haitian commissioners in charge of the exhibit of that country to the world's fair at Chicago.

John R. Durham of Philadelphia, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and for many years associated with Charles Emory Smith on the Philadelphia Press, served acceptably as United States Minister to Haiti under Benjamin Harrison's administration.

Durham formerly had served as consul to Puerta Plata, Santo Domingo, where his popularity with President Heureux was so great that it led to his appointment as manager of a large sugar plantation, to his accumulation of a large fortune and his recognition and employment as adviser to the Havemeyers and the big sugar interests of London, England.

Harry W. Furniss, of Indianapolis, Ind., Howard university, former United States consul at Bahia, Brazil, served as Minister to Haiti under the Taft and Roosevelt administrations.

Dr. Furniss was promoted from consul to Minister because of his efficiency upon recommendation by a representative of the State Department who had been making a study of our consular officers in South America.

Powell, of New Jersey, a highly educated man and engaged in teaching school, was appointed Minister to Haiti and served under President McKinley. He left, as each one of his predecessors had left, an excellent record in Haiti.

Capable Men for Job Now

There are many educated and highly successful colored men in the United States today, who could duplicate the diplomatic performances of our former colored envoys.

When Haiti was free and independent, she welcomed American Colored men, who carried into that country a great deal more than they brought back.

THOMAS H. R. CLARK,
January 1, 1927.

HAITI BARS ADVOCATE OF HOME RULE

Senator King Who Favored Removal Of U. S. Marines From Island, Excluded As Undesirable.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 16 — Pres. Louis Borno of the Negro sovereign republic of Haiti, who was received by the hoots and jeers of his countrymen on his arrival in New York last week for a visit of, the United States, is again being held in bitter distain by many as the results of the refusal to permit Senator Wm. H. King, Utah Democrat of the foreign relations committee, to visit the republic.

Favor Independence

The restriction was placed against Senator King, officials declared, because he was in favor of removal of the U. S. Marines from the Island, and absolute self-government for the Haitians. The diplomat was making a survey of the west Indies in an effort to confirm his views.

Borno backed the action of the government as being a move to support the American-Haiti policy against which Senator King's views had made him a foe.

Borno Wants Marines

The State Department received a flat denial to its request that Senator King be admitted in spite of American military occupancy and American controlled administration of public affairs. Haiti being a sovereign republic has the right to exclude any person.

It was considered that Senator King's presence of the Island would stir up the Haitians and create unrest due to his advocating of self-government and independency. Borno receiving the strong backing and support of the American Government favors to continue under present conditions. It is said, however, that many thought that President Borno acted under the directions of Brigadier General John H. Russell, the American High Commissioner of the Island.

best antidote for small pox is the burned left hoof of an aristocrat's swiped mule, roasted on an ordained spit in the sacred woods.

Granting the accuracy of an old New York Sun story of "another revolution" sprung out of a General's revenge because a Colonel beat the General to the best paying American luggage, when the most recent revolutionary army on review became redcaps upon unexpected arrival of an American ship at Port au Prince, the fact remains that the prideful Carribeans are on solid ground with their objections to the idea that black Americans are only eligible for diplomatic posts at the Capitals of so called black nations.

It is not believed that American Negroes will feel resentful toward Hayti on account of its Government's position of objecting to an American Negro Minister. Here it always has been known that the Haytian Ministers have the same status as other diplomats and do not associate with Negroes. What it will be difficult for most to understand is, why should American Negroes be so much concerned about Hayti, with Hayti not annoyed about us, and so much trouble requiring attention right here at home?

For instance, Freedman's Hospital needs a new ambulance.

Race Problem - 1927.

West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

Negro Bishop, Long Persecuted for Stand In Behalf of Virgin Islands' Masses, Wins Fight Against Deportation From the U. S.

After fighting four years against deportation, Bishop Reginald Grant Barrow of the Christ African Church of Long Island, N. Y., won his case before Judge John C. Knox of the Federal Court of New York City, on March 11. His counsel was Isaac Shorr, New York attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Shorr charged that naval officers of the Virgin Island and officials of the Harding regime persecuted Bishop Barrow because during his stay in the Islands he displeased the wealthy classes by his talks on the labor question.

Bishop Barrow, a British subject from the West Indies, was held for liability to "become a public charge" and entering the United States "by false and fraudulent presentation of fact." Mr. Shorr pointed out that he has a salary of $3,000 a year, besides owning property. The attorney also declared that the government had framed up a false certificate of landing to have Bishop Barrow deported. Under immigration laws a clergyman may enter and remain in the United States regardless of quota rulings.

Bishop Barrow was taken into custody on March 2 for deportation on March 4. A writ of habeas corpus was secured for a hearing on March 8, which was postponed at the request of the prosecution to March 11. Bail was denied, and Bishop Barrow was kept at Ellis Island. This was the fourth hearing he had since 1923 when his deportation warrant was originally served. At each hearing it was recommended that the warrant be dropped. In February, 1926, Inspector Downing of Ellis Island declared that the government had no case. Persecution nevertheless continued, says Mr. Shorr, because the naval rulers of the Virgin Islands were "egging the government on to save their faces."

Mr. Shorr quoted from Federal Court records of the case to prove that "all pressure was brought to bear on the Labor Department to get Barrow out of the country. President Harding wrote Secretary Denby of the Navy to write a letter 'suggesting the propriety of making no reversal of a deportation order unless there is good reason for such action.' Secretary Denby in consequence wrote the Secretary of Labor 'This Department would be pleased if the Department of Labor can see its way clear to support by its decision the action already taken by the government of the Virgin Islands.'" Similar letters came from governors of the Islands and the district judge, George Washington Williams. The latter was recently quizzed by a Congressional committee on his repeated sentences against Rothschild Francis, Negro editor of the Emancipator, and advocate of civil government.

Bishop Barrow was ordered out of the Virgin Islands in 1922 by Admiral Kittelle, then governor. He was charged with agitating for franchise and civil government. Summoned to a court hearing, he agreed to leave. He came to the United States and took out first citizenship papers in 1923. He has studied at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and has taught in several southern Negro colleges. He is anxious to become a citizen so that he can bring his wife and five children here from the Virgin Islands. One of his children, born in the Islands after they were acquired by the United States, is an American citizen.

Governor Hough of the Islands wrote to the Labor Department in 1923, according to the court record: "I hope that in view of the President's approval of Barrow's deportation from these islands and of the previous action of this government, that you will see your way clear to cause Barrow's deportation from the United States, as it is not only a present embarrassment but will continue to be an embarrassment to this government."

Inspector Ebey of Chicago, after reviewing the case, wrote to the Labor Department: "The impression I have gained from the investigation is that this young man has been unjustly deported from the Virgin Islands because his views on the labor question did not accord with those of the wealthy class in the Islands. He claims to be a minister in good standing in his denomination and no evidence has been produced to show anything against his character or that he has in any way violated the immigration laws. I believe the warrant should be cancelled."

Navy Officer Inaugurated as Virgin Islands' Chief

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Islands, March 1.—(AP)—Capt. Waldo Evans, U. S. N., retired, was inaugurated governor of the Virgin Islands today.

Virgin Islands Governor's Report

THE Honorable Martin E. Trench, Governor of the Virgin Islands, has submitted to the President of the United States his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1926, and the same has been presented to the United States Senate and printed as Seante Document No. 170, Sixty-ninth Congress, Second Session, by Senator Bingham, Republican.

Matters of citizenship, education, and the bay rum industry in the Virgin Islands constitute, in the opinion of this column, the most important points in Governor Trench's report. The Governor openly states "that these islands should be governed by laws purely American." In further reasoning upon this assertion, the Governor says:

"It is believed that the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands should be given United States citizenship. They expected it with the purchase of the islands and it would appear that their expectations were translated into favorable terms of the treaty of cession. This interpretation was later decided to be erroneous so that they are now 'inhabitants of the Virgin Islands entitled to the protection of the United States.' If this small outpost in the West Indies is to be a credit to the nation their aspirations to citizenship and naturalization should be heeded. With such favorable action on their desires, there should not of necessity follow unlimited franchise without at least an educational qualification. Conditions in the Virgin Islands bear little or no resemblance to those in the States."

That the Virgin Islands children are hampered in their educational equipment by the lack of money is emphasized in the Governor's report. It appears that repairs to many of the public school buildings in which 113 teachers are instructing 3,107 children are urgent; while the extensions of manual training facilities, including an agricultural school, are most needed. The Governor recommends the construction and opening of a trade and agricultural school, in order that apprentices anxious to learn a trade may enjoy that privilege within the confines of their homeland.

Contrary to the general belief in the United States that Prohibition has crippled the bay rum industry of the Virgin Islands, the tabulation in Governor Trench's report shows that during the past year 85,148 gallons of bay rum were manufactured, sold and exported. This is the highest mark since 1919, and is nearly three times as much bay rum as was placed in commerce during the years prior to the purchase of the islands by the United States.

The Governor urges annual financial assistance from Congress, to stimulate the economic and political possibilities of the islands. He expresses the regret, however, that complete self-help cannot be expected in the islands for many years.

VIRGIN IS. FOLK NOW CITIZENS OF THE U. S. A.

COOLIDGE SIGNS ACT ALSO APPROPRIATING $100,000 FOR ROADS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Coolidge last Friday approved and signed two congressional acts affecting the Virgin Islands.

One is to confer United States citizenship upon the inhabitants and to extend the naturalization laws to the Virgin Islands.

The other bill authorizes an appropriation of $100,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to construct and maintain public highways in the island of St. Thomas.

In St. Thomas there are about 16 or 25 miles of road demanding reconstruction. In most places there is already a road bed, but torrential rains and consequent washouts during many years have rendered these roads quite beyond the capacity of the local government to rebuild or to repair.

This bill was designed to encourage the large landholders of St. Thomas to sell their lands at reasonable prices to deserving small farmers, encourage agriculture in the outlying districts, render the island's beauties and beaches readily accessible to tourists, increase trade and revenues, keep down unemployment and increase the tendency of the natives to be self-respecting and self-supporting.

VIRGIN ISLANDERS ORGANIZE TO CAPTURE TOURIST TRADE

They Are Enthusiastic Over the Future of Their Location as an All-Year Resort, but Need Capital for Development

To the Editor of The New York Times:

It is because of considerable interest of late on the part of Americans in the Virgin Islands, and the fact that the various questions asked with regard to the islands lead to the belief that the American people are not at all informed of their latest possessions, that this letter is written.

It is a fact that the people of Denmark, Germany, England and France are better informed concerning the Virgin Islands than are the people of the United States. This is due to the close contact and association of the Europeans mentioned with these islands and their people in time gone. However, the area is so small that our people on the American Continent, being a people of superlatives, have not had time to devote to studying them.

The Virgin Islands of the United States, comprising St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John, an area of 132 square miles, lie about 1,400 miles southeast of New York. They were discovered by Columbus during his second voyage, in 1493, and were at different times occupied by Dutch, English, Spanish and Danish settlers, the United States finally purchasing them for $25,000,000 and taking possession on March 13, 1917.

There has been considerable comment on this purchase, some going so far as to say that the United States got a squeezed lemon. The argument against this is that the United States bought the islands primarily as an outpost of defense, their location being such a strategic one that it was early realized what a menace they would be in the hands of an unfriendly nation. It should be taken into consideration that the cost of three good warships would far exceed the price paid for the islands, and the maintenance of the ships would have to be taken into account, plus the fact that their period of usefulness would be comparatively short, whereas the Virgin Islands were acquired with the same object, viz., the national defense, and their usefulness will continue for all time.

On the part of the natives there is complaint that the United States bought the islands and then forgot them. This, however, is not borne out by the facts, for considerable attention has been given to the islands and their people by the national authorities. Congress has appropriated annually for assisting the insular Government approximately $280,000. A grant of some $150,000 for building reservoirs was also provided, and the last Congress passed a bill appropriating $100,000 for building public highways in St. Thomas, which amount is not yet available, however, due to the failure of passage of the deficiency appropriations.

By executive order the islands were placed by the late President Harding under the administrative control of the Navy Department, and a number of naval officers were loaned to the civil Government. The complaint that these officers are not sympathetic toward the natives is not real, for, as a matter of fact, they do their best, but they are expected to correct ills that can only be corrected by Congressional enactments. The natives have, however, been calmed considerably since the passage of the bill introduced by Senator Willis making them citizens of the United States.

The islands are just now suffering from economic ills. The population, which ten years ago was approximately 26,000, has dwindled until it is now not more than 22,000.

Time was when the commercial importance of St. Thomas far exceeded that of New York and prosperity was at its height. People were too busy making money to pay attention to anything else. St. Thomas prospered from every revolution, whether it was in South America or Haiti, Santo Domingo, Mexico or anywhere else. Even during our own Civil War the harbor of St. Thomas was used for the transshipment of arms and other materials. It is said that in those days fugitives would arrive from the country in which revolution had broken out with large amounts of money and would settle there, most of them going into business. The massive stores stand to this day as evidence of the earlier trade.

The central location of St. Thomas made it most desirable as a transshipment centre as well as a port of call for ships to receive orders from principals in European, Central and South American countries, and the harbor was kept full of sailing vessels. The change from sail to steam and the invention of the radio, along with other world-changing conditions, have made the island of less

Race Problem - 1927

West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

It grows increasingly hard to appreciate America's point of view in her relationship with the Virgin islands. For what reasons are our naval and military resources used to maintain an iron rule over there that is so manifestly contrary to the best interests of the natives, who have expressed nothing but willingness to serve this country? For what reason did the United States government take over those islands from Denmark? Certainly not for the purpose for which they are being used today.

It is a well known fact that the Virgin islanders are in worse condition today than they were during their Danish connections. With prohibition, natives were deprived of their chief source of revenue, that of making and selling rum. The dry law, just as rigidly enforced in the Virgin islands as attempts are made to enforce it in this country by protectors of others' morals and behavior, has placed many of the islanders in destitute circumstances, and yet no steps have been made to give them relief through other measures.

When America acquired the islands, natives were promised American citizenship upon their relinquishing allegiance to Denmark and transferring their fealty to America. This the great majority of them did readily. But today they are without recognition or representation in any form in the government that rules them. Rothschild Francis, an editor, has been sentenced upon several occasions because he dared speak out against conditions in his native land. Even now he is under sentence for his utterances.

This is unlike America. It is certainly against the principles for which our government purports to stand, and it is high time that we declare our intentions toward those trusting people. America went to battle with Spain for the same principle we are violating now. It is time we were carrying out our agreement with those islands before other countries get the idea that we are an imperialistic nation and can't be trusted!

VIRGIN ISLANDERS GIVEN CITIZENSHIP

Washington, D. C., Feb. 11.—A bill conferring citizenship upon the inhabitants of the Virgin islands was passed by the senate at its session last Wednesday night.

This bill confers citizenship upon all former Danish citizens, who on Jan. 17, 1917, resided in the Virgin islands and are now residing there but made no declaration preserving their Danish citizenship. It also confers upon all natives of the Virgin islands who on Jan. 17, 1917, resided in those islands or in the United States and are now residing in those islands or in the United States or in Porto Rico and are not citizens or subjects of any foreign country.

It also makes citizens of the United States all persons born in the Virgin islands since Jan. 17, 1917.

The bill also extends the naturalization laws to all natives of the Virgin islands who on Jan. 17, 1917, resided in those islands or in the United States or in Porto Rico and are now residing in those islands or in the United States or in Porto Rico.

The United States purchased the Virgin islands from Denmark in 1917 for $25,000. Congress at that time continued the old Danish laws in force without giving them American citizenship.

VIRGIN ISLANDS TO GET $100,000 FOR GOOD ROADS

President Coolidge last Friday approved and signed two congressional acts affecting the Virgin Islands.

One is to confer United States citizenship upon the inhabitants and to extend the naturalization laws to the Virgin Islands.

The other bill authorizes an appropriation of $100,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to construct and maintain public highways in the island of St. Thomas.

Employment Movement

The House committee on insular affairs reported that "the building and maintenance of public roads in the Virgin Islands would do much toward relieveing the present unemployment in St. Thomas. Now that the water supply system is completed in St. Thomas there is considerable unemployment of which the local government must take and is taking notice. Thus the extension of the road system in St. Thomas will furnish employment to many in need of work.

"In St. Thomas there are about 16 or 17 miles of road demanding reconstruction. In most places there is already a road bed, but torrential rains and consequent washouts during many years have rendered these roads quite beyond the capacity of the local government to rebuild or to repair."

This bill was designed to encourage the large landholders of St. Thomas to sell their lands at reasonable prices to deserving small farmers, encourage agriculture in the outlying districts, render the island's beauties and beaches readily accessible to tourists, increase trade and revenues, keep down unemployment and increase the tendency of the natives to be self-respecting and self-supporting.

SENATE PASSES VIRGIN ISLAND CITIZENSHIP BILL

Washington, Feb. 28.—On Wednesday, February 2nd, the U. S. senate passed Senate Bill 2770, "to confer United States Citizenship upon certain inhabitants of the Virgin Islands, and to extend the naturalization laws thereto." The bill was strongly sponsored by Senators Willis, (r), of Ohio, and Bingham, (r), of Connecticut, and was read for the third time and passed, after Senators Bruce, (d), of Maryland, and McKellar, (d), of Kentucky, had withdrawn their objections.

The bill provides "that the following persons and their children born subsequent to January 17, 1917, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States:

"(a) All former Danish citizens who, on January 17, 1917, resided in the Virgin Islands of the United States, and are now residing in those islands or in the United States or Porto Rico, and who did not make declaration required to preserve their Danish citizenship by Article 6 of the treaty entered into on August 4, 1916, between the United States and Denmark, or who, having made such a declaration, have heretofore renounced or may hereafter renounce it by a declaration before a court of record:

"(b) All natives of the Virgin Islands of the United States who, on January 17, 1917, resided in those islands, and are now residing in those islands or in the United States or Porto Rico, and are not citizens or subjects of any foreign country; and

"(c) All natives of the Virgin Islands of the United States who,

SOUTH HITS RIGHT OF VOTING ISSUE

Washington, D. C., Feb. 25.—The house last Wednesday passed the senate bill conferring citizenship upon the inhabitants of the Virgin islands and extending the naturalization laws to these insular possessions.

The senate bill was called up by Representative Edgar R. Kiess, Republican, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the house insular affairs committee. An identical house bill was on the calendar, but if it had been passed the law would not have become effective at this session. Senator Frank B. Willis, Republican, of Ohio, has given assurances that the senate will act upon this bill at this session. It is on the senate calendar.

Terms of Grant

The bill provides that all former Danish citizens who have continued to reside in the Virgin islands or in the United States, who did not preserve their Danish citizenship under the terms of the convention providing for the cession of these islands to this country, and also all natives who were temporarily absent at the time of the cession and who have since returned and now reside in the islands, and their children shall be citizens of the United States.

Persons born in the Virgin islands after this act shall have become a law will be citizens of the United States.

Natives of the Virgin islands who were absent from the islands at the time of the cession to the United States and have received an honorable discharge from the military or naval forces of the United States may be naturalized without making a declaration of intention upon filing a petition within one year after the passage of this act and complying with the other provisions of the naturalization laws.

The district court of the United States for Porto Rico is given jurisdiction for the naturalization of aliens residing in the Virgin islands.

Act of Justice

"The enactment of this legislation," said Mr. Kiess, "is an act of justice to these people, who will thus be given fresh courage for the larger problems crying for solution and renewed confidence in the great nation of which they were glad to become a part."

An amendment reducing the export duty on sugar from $8 a ton to $6 a ton was added to the bill.

Representative Charles J. Linthicum, Republican, of Maryland, favored an amendment granting half citizenship. He expressed opposition to permitting the inhabitants of the Virgin islands, 93 per cent of whom are dark-skinned, to come into the United States and vote in the states. The act as passed by the house gives them the right to qualify as voters anywhere in the United States.

The Virgin islands were purchased from Denmark in 1917 for the sum of $25,000,000. The United States took possession March 31, 1917. The Danish laws are still in effect. The government of the islands is in the hands of the navy department. The governor general, appointed by the president, is a naval officer.

The population of the Virgin islands is about 23,000. There are about 3,500 Virgin islanders in New York city.

ROTHSCHILD FRANCIS

An appeal for assistance has been made to Negroes of this country by Rothschild Francis, editor of The Emancipator, a militant Negro newspaper published in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. Francis has consistently fought the arrogance of the naval administration in the Virgin Islands and has thereby incurred the enmity of the powers-that-be down there. For some years they have been trying to "get" him. It seems they have finally succeeded—he reports that he has been sentenced to thirty days in prison and a fine of $200 for re-printing in his paper a release from the American Civil Liberties Union. If he does not pay the fine he must go to jail for 200 days. This same release was published in all of the principal Negro newspapers in the country and had to do with the misgovernment of the Virgin Islands. If Negro friends do not come to the rescue of Francis, he will have to serve 230 days in jail, away from his family of five of which he is the sole support.

This is a good illustration of the sort of government the United States has fastened on the Virgin Islands. It is a naval government; a government of marines and sailors, most of whom are doubtless from dear, old Dixie. Under them is a population nine-tenths Negro. Not satisfied with ruining the islands by killing the liquor industry through application of the notorious Volstead Act, the United States has kept in force an archaic political system that gives special privilege to the few and disfranchises the many; has denied the bulk of the inhabitants the right of self-expression and self-representation; and has made them perform American duties without granting them American rights. Many outspoken Negroes down there have been deported and economic conditions have gone from bad to worse. Still, this government does nothing to right the wrong it has perpetrated upon these black people. Only recently Senator Willis said: "Organized government has broken down in the Virgin Islands."

For years Mr. Francis has been publishing the facts about American mis-government in the Virgin Islands. He has been a sharp thorn in the side of the naval authorities and they have long schemed how to get rid of him.. Mr. Francis has in the past received valuable assistance from the American Civil Liberties Union in New York, both in money and publicity, and also from American Negroes and Virgin Islanders now resident in cits of the Atlantic Coast, and we again urge all friends of liberty and justice to come now to his assistance.

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

Due to the strenuous objections of Senator McKeller of Tennessee and Senator Bruce of Maryland, Bill 2770, "to confer United States citizenship upon certain inhabitants of the Virgin Islands and to extend the naturalization laws thereto" was pigeonholed. Both these estimable gentlemen are Democrats. Mr. Bruce, the ardent friend of personal liberty (in Maryland) is against granting a full measure of citizenship, his inference being that because the population is four-fifths Negro it is thus unqualified, while the gentleman from Tennessee is also concerned about whether the Virgin Islanders" are qualified for citizenship; whether they can use it properly; whether they are educated to the extent that they could use it properly."

Such arguments are always raised when a minority or suppressed group is asking for its rights, and they are always without an ounce of validity. These Virgin Islanders are now a part of the United States. This fact alone entitles them to all the rights and privileges of citizenship. There is no way to determine how wisely or well a group of people will use the right of suffrage before being invested with that right. Moreover it is always the people themselves who are the best judges of their government—not outsiders. From observation of the Virgin Islanders in this country it would seem that they are far more capable of exercising the rights of citizenship than the illiterate hill-billies of Tennessee's mountains or the morons of her cities who swear by the Ku Klux Klan.

PHI BETA TO PROBE VIRGIN ISLANDS RULE

Three Investigators Named by Conclave

Greensboro, N. C., Dec. 31.—Phi Beta Sigma fraternity has just held its 13th annual conclave at A. and T. college here with Eta and Gamma Beta Sigma chapters. Forty-five chapters were represented, either by delegate or by letter. This was by far the largest meeting of its kind ever held by this fraternity. Scores of prominent Sigma men, in addition to the large number of delegates, were in attendance.

The program was begun Sunday. The annual session was preached by Rt. Rev. W. J. Walls, bishop of the A. M. E. Zion church. Welcome addresses were delivered on behalf of the citizens of Greensboro by M. E. Patterson, Attorney General W. Mitchell, Prof. J. A. Grimes, vice president of A. and T. college, and Mayor Jeffries. Response was made by the general president.

Reports Are Made

Business sessions opened Monday morning, Dec. 27. The registration of delegates were begun. Reports from the general officers were made, showing tremendous progress for the year. Chapters reported $10,554.92 had been raised since the last convention. Five new chapters have been established. The membership has increased from 1,200 to 1,800. Several Sigma homes have been bought and other houses have been opened. Remarkable progress was shown along all lines.

On Monday afternoon Prof. Charles Williams, Jr., of Howard university delivered an address on the study of German. The reports on bigger and better business week showed that substantial work is being done to encourage business among our group of the country. Tuesday afternoon Dr. Alain Locke of Washington, D. C., addressed the convention in his usual philosophical and interesting way.

Commission Formed

The convention, at the suggestion of the general president, took notice of the conditions alleged to exist in Haiti and in the Virgin islands, and at his suggestion, the fraternity appointed a commission composed of three men to investigate conditions in Haiti and the Virgin islands and to report same. Funds for this purpose are being raised by the general fraternity and contributions are being made by members of the commission appointed.

The next session of the convention will be held in St. Louis, Mo. The entertainment of the convention by the chapters in Greensboro and by A. and T. college was of such nature as to create in the delegates a desire to return at the earliest possible time.